

SELECTIONS

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"No man who has felt the power of truth will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with their own positions to the world: and, were they, but as the dust and terrors of the world, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

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THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD DALHOUSIE. BY W. S. SETON-KARR, ESQ., C.S.

1. *The Punjab Blue Book.*
2. *The Friend of India.*
3. *Selections from the Records of the Government of India and from the Records of the Governments of Agra and Bengal.*
4. *Printed Reports, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853.*

IT is a difficult and sometimes a dangerous experiment to attempt as a contemporary to write history. We live too near the events to judge of their just proportions. There is a temptation to magnify some things which posterity will hold cheap, and to slur over others on which future generations might have been glad to know our impressions. There is the danger of partisanship and the danger of antipathy, and above all, on the shifting scene of India, there is the obvious fear that we may indulge in poems which a few years will convert to wailing, give way to regrets for which there is no good foundation, or predict triumphs, social, political, and financial, which the change of a Cabinet, the caprice of a future Governor, or the mere instability of human events, shall prevent from being realized. Why, then, do we try to describe the Administration of Lord Dalhousie? We do so, because it has been fruitful of great changes, striking events, important reforms, and considerable improvements; because it is now time to review some of the remarkable points in the history of the last six years, and because it is often a good thing that the impressions of contemporaries should be recorded in all their freshness, and even in all their exaggeration, in order that future writers, who take a calm and unprejudiced view of men and measures, may see where the sight of their predecessors has been defective or dull. The greatest critic of the present age, when republishing his criticism on the works of its great novelist, tells us that posterity may be perhaps glad to know how the luminary appeared to ordinary mortals at its first rising, or before it had reached the meridian. In humble imitation of the above sentiment, we venture to hope, that the future historian of India may cast a glance on this paper as detailing facts drawn from authentic sources, and representing opinions,

which, however open to correction, are formed on the spot. Would not a paper on the Administration of Warren Hastings, or Lord Wellesley, written by a contemporary, be eagerly perused, though it contained much that was erroneous, many shortsighted opinions, and much that could interest only the men of those days?

The present Governor-General of India, then Earl of Dalhousie, landed in Calcutta on the 12th of January 1848. He came to fill a place, where, since the last Charter, beyond which we shall not look back, had sat no less than five Governors-General, none of whom had been unworthily chosen, while all had taken part in great and striking events. We shall not preface this paper with a review of their several administrations: we pass over the unflinching firmness, the unwearied eagerness in the pursuit of truth, the reforming, enquiring, analysing spirit of Lord William Bentinck: we pass over also the indomitable will, the profound statesmanship of that Governor, who was bred entirely in the school of the Company, but was selected to govern the two greatest dependencies of the Crown; and we leave the amiable Lord Auckland, with his private virtues, and his public errors, his zeal for education, and his political weakness, to the judgment of Mr. Kaye and to the verdict of posterity. To Lord Ellenborough, in spite of eccentricities which put his good qualities "to the foil," no man can deny the praise of much vigour and energy, and of that clear perception of coming events, which is one of the undoubted attributes of a statesman. If the conquest of Scinde has proved a drain on the imperial finances, we had still in that sandy waste a commanding position during both the Sikh campaigns. Lord Hardinge has owned himself obliged to the policy which humbled the Mahratta ruler, reduced the army, and dismantled the guns of the Gwalior Durbar. It is not inconceivable that without Maharajpore, the roar of Mahratta artillery and the trampling of Mahratta cavalry might have been heard in 1846 or 1848, at the very gates of Akbarabad. No man foresaw with greater certainty than Lord Ellenborough, the inevitable struggle on the banks of the five rivers. His piercing, rapid, and comprehensive glance surveyed the dangers that might arise from the presence of one army un-reduced in the very heart of India, and of another bristling on our most important frontier: an army strong in national feeling, abounding in resources, complete in organization, and longing to add to its old triumphs. It is to him that we owed the power of concentrating our forces against the Sikh army, instead of scattering them to observe the motions of a turbulent soldiery,

a wavering minister, a corrupt court. When his recall took India by surprise, it was remarked that he was "*capax imperii nisi imperasset*," but, while the contemporary writer would say of him as was said of the Roman Emperor, that he was above a private gentleman only so long as he filled a private station, the calm and unprejudiced historian, we think, will eventually dwell on his rapid conceptions, his prompt execution, his indomitable energy, the clear, vigorous, and forcible language of his writings and his oratory, his indifference to patronage, and his fortunate selection of that lamented Lieutenant-Governor, whose rule transcends the best days of Elphinstone and Munro.

The career of Lord Hardinge, who succeeded to the *opera imperfecta* and the *ingentes minæ* of his near connexion, and the career of Lord Dalhousie, afford materials for a comparison which might seem attractive to a Macaulay or a Mahon. In habits and in training, in their experience of the past, in their anticipations of the future, the two men were essentially opposed. The one was born in 1785, and the other in 1812, Capt. Hardinge had stood by the dying Moore at Corunna, and Col. Hardinge, with characteristic decision, had let slip the fourth division at Albuera, when Lord Dalhousie was still unborn. Sir Henry Hardinge had sat in Parliament, had held office, and heard "the Duke" recant his opinions on the subject of Catholic emancipation, when his successor might have still been thinking of the *literæ humaniores* and the class papers of Oxford. Selected to govern India at a time of life when most men are thinking of retirement, and few can willingly contemplate a residence in the East, the old soldier had gone there to maintain peace, and within eighteen months of his arrival, had taken an active and personal part in war. He had endeavoured in all honesty of purpose, to create or restore a free Hindu State, the rulers of which, forewarned by experience, awed by a power seemingly invincible, and conciliated by moderation without weakness, might interpose a barrier between the British power and the fanatic Mohammedans of Central Asia. His experiment failed, but its failure, owing to causes, perhaps beyond the control of human politicians, proved the sincerity of the Indian Government, and the turbulent character of the Sikhs. Nor was Lord Hardinge's Administration unmarked by measures of social or internal progress. He procured the active co-operation of native rulers to his measures for the abolition of Suttee: he encouraged education, and he practically gave us the first Indian railway. We may remember how Dominic Sampson, when reviewing the attain-

ments of Col. Mannering, "a man of war from his youth," pronounced him to be possessed of erudition, considering his imperfect opportunities." The most determined opponent of Lord Hardinge could pass no weightier censure on that gallant old General, whose timely presence in the field of battle probably saved the State.

The previous career of Lord Dalhousie is well-known. A younger son of an old and honourable Scotch House, he succeeded to the family title, or rather to the prospect thereof, on the demise of an elder brother, graduated at Christ Church after the school training of Harrow, and then betook himself to public life. At College he was the contemporary of Lord Elgin and of other men who, though higher in the class papers and of ability as public servants, have hardly kept pace with, our Governor-General in the great struggle of life. As a speaker, the capacity of Lord Dalhousie has been tried on the hustings and in the Upper House: as a man of despatch and dauntless energy in business, he has been lauded by Sir Robert Peel on the last occasion when that great minister gave evidence before a Parliamentary Committee. With natural advantages carefully improved, with talents which had already commanded respect, and from which careful observers augured the highest results, at a period of life which unites the activity of youth with the experience of manhood, he was appointed to the situation of Governor-General by a ministry of political opinions not then in unison with his own. Lord Hardinge was the companion in arms of the Duke. Lord Dalhousie had held office in the ministry of Sir Robert. Lord Hardinge had unavoidably been General as well as Civil Governor, and had reminded us of the spectacle so common under the Roman Republic, when the civil and the military jurisdiction, the Scales and the Standard on the Rhine, the Thames, or the Danube, were committed to the care of one and the same individual. But Lord Dalhousie, we were told, was to be the man of reform, of progress, and of peace: of peace, unbroken in aspect, prolonged in duration, and important in results.

We may, many of us remember how, on one clear fine evening in January 1848, the steps of Government House were thronged by civilians, merchants, military officers, and functionaries of all sorts, eager to catch a glimpse of their new chief. We may remember, too, that on that date there was not a cloud visible on the political horizon, to warn us that, in fifteen months' time, we should be talking about a rebellion, a protracted siege, two pitched battles, several

desultory engagements, and the annexation of a new kingdom. Lord Dalhousie having assumed his seat as Governor-General and Governor of Bengal, on the 12th of January 1848, was quietly making himself master of the somewhat intricate details of Indian business, and was beginning to talk to his Secretaries about sundry important reforms. There was no note of warlike preparation, no sound of the approaching storm, no voice that warned the helmsman to be ready. It is true, that Sir F. Currie reported the formation of a regular conspiracy to expel the English, to have commenced as early as February 1848: that Col. Sir H. Lawrence in the April of the year preceding, had clearly pointed out to Lord Hardinge the chances of a revolution at some future day: that even drawing-room politicians might anticipate for warlike men, rankling with defeat in four great battles, a career more stirring than labour in the fields, under a regency guided by a mere handful of foreigners. But at the time of which we are speaking, no person in office, at Lahore or Calcutta, openly expressed his apprehension of anything more serious than an occasional emcute at some high festival, a few gang-robberies, a good deal of cattle lifting, a refusal on the part of refractory villages to pay their lawful dues to the State. Already were civil and military officers beginning to travel over the country, under the orders of the Resident. There was a talk of expenditure on roads: lines for canals were being surveyed: summary settlements of revenue were in progress: the past history, the capabilities of the country, the character of the people, the climate of the Doabs, were matters for reflection, enquiry, and report. Things were, in short, going on smoothly enough. We know that there are always wise soothsayers who remind us, after the event, how they had warned you of the danger, predicted the outburst, foreseen the hurricane, foretold the crash. But we shall be content to abide by the testimony of the Blue Book, wherein we find the Governor-General in Council, as late as March 1848, quietly writing to the Secret Committee in terms of congratulation on the "perfect tranquillity which prevails in the Punjab."

More stirring times were at hand. Early in April, two young but rather distinguished officers, the one a soldier, the other a civilian, were deputed to relieve the Dewan Moolraj, at his own request, of the important change of the Mooltan province. At the close of that month, every resident at every station in India was startled by the announcement that these two officers had been attacked in a manner, the details of which are too familiar to need repetition, had been deserted

by their escort, had been fired on in the Eedgah where they had taken shelter, and displaying in their union in death the calm intrepidity of Englishmen, had been murdered and mutilated by a rabble of Sikhs.

—————Hoc cruciati
Lentulus, hæc pœnâ caruit, ceciditque Cethegus
Integer, et jacuit Catilina cadavere toto.

In the deaths of Agnew and Anderson there is nothing of which their surviving relatives, their friends, and the respective services to which they belonged, may not feel a mournful but honourable pride. It is true, that there were several unfortunate circumstances in that expedition to Mooltan. The officers deputed went down by water, and their Sikh escort by land, so that the two parties had no mutual intercourse till within a very few marches of Mooltan. The demand on Moolraj for the accounts of past years, and the refusal to assure him that his past government would not be too strictly scrutinized, were certainly not judicious. The chances of what a Sikh ruler might do, at a distance from the capital, when called on to give an account of his stewardship, and the chances of finding staunchness and fidelity in a Sikh escort, in hour of need, were perhaps not carefully weighed. But on the other hand, such an outbreak might have occurred then, or subsequently, at any time, in any part of the Punjab, amidst such a population. The materials for combustion would have been ready, though unseen, and there wanted nothing but the spark. We shall not detain our readers with an examination of the case as against the Dewan on his trial. He may have acted with malice prepense, as many distinguished officers think, and as the famous letter of VINDEK to the *Friend of India* would have had us believe—or he may have been “the victim of circumstances,” as the High Court of Justice at Lahore recorded, in a phrase which was used advisedly on a solemn occasion, passed into a proverb at Lahore, and long covered its unhappy authors with ridicule. In any case he was fairly tried, and not treated with undue harshness. But the die was cast: the Sikh calculated his chances, and within six months of his arrival, Lord Dalhousie had a great war on his hands.

This paper does not pretend to be a military history of the Sikh campaign. Lord Dalhousie did not command a division at Guzerat, like Lord Hardinge in his battles, and the striking events of the Punjab war are fresh in the memories of most readers, and have already been reviewed in previous numbers of this periodical. We shall, therefore, pass over with rapidity

the purely military operations of the years 1848-49, nor perhaps have our readers any desire to linger with General Whish before the fortifications of Mooltan, to flounder with dragoons on the quicksands of the Chenab, or to be sent headlong, in company with brave and devoted thousands, through an almost impenetrable jungle, against the Sikh batteries on the Jhelum. A cursory review of the various turns of fortune, which brought about the desired consummation, and which after the event it is so easy and so pleasant to survey, will probably be thought sufficient. The tactics of the enemy, their wonderful discipline, their remarkable union, their fanatic courage, their mysterious resources, were not wholly unknown. The first Sikh war had more than proved the truth of a saying of General Allard in the year 1838 to the late Mr. H. W. Torrens, uttered, in spite of disbelief and doubts that were scarcely suppressed by other hearers, "*Les nôtres se battrent bien—mais une fois, bien.*" The second Sikh war was destined to see that truth repeated in a manner so forcible as to convince the most incredulous. The first campaign had been decided in our own territories, in the short space of sixty days, into which were crowded, an invasion, four battles, a slight disaster, a rout and a capitulation. There was, then, little time to dwell on contingencies or to deplore results. The advanced guard of the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej about the 10th of December, and Soobraon was fought on the 10th of February. But the scales of the second Sikh war hung suspended, the balance inclining to one side or the other, for the greater part of a year. First, there was the doubt whether the assassination of the two British officers should be promptly avenged, and the Fabian policy, which waited for a better season, and feared exposure to the climate: then came the opportune success of Major Edwardes, in the month of June, which excited differently in various quarters, honest exultation, hearty praise and ungenerous envy; and finally the march of General Whish, with what was deemed a competent force, at the close of July. We can well remember with what avidity the letters from that column, in its march, were caught up and retailed; how joyfully officers and men bore up against the heat by day and the occasional heavy showers by night: how they amused themselves, when the tents were being pitched in some grass-jungle, with knocking over hares with tent-pegs, and slaying wild hogs with bayonets: how false had proved the vaticinations of men who talked of disease: how the troops in admirable condition were encamped before Mooltan at the commencement of September. During the previous month the plot had thickened: there had been

disturbances in Hazara, and Chuttur Sing had risen—but as yet there was no general war. The appearance of General Whish, with a siege-train, to reduce the Dewan, was, obviously, one of the turning points in the campaign. Either he reduced Moolraj, avenged the murder of our officers, and smothered the flames of insurrection, or if he failed, we had to encounter our enemies, not merely shut up in a fortress, but in the plains of the Manjha, on the banks of the Indus, and even in the Jullunder Doab. We all know that the siege was raised, and we know, too, that the failure or check was owing to Shere Sing's secession, and not to the effects of the climate, or to casualties amongst the troops. But from the middle of September the aspect of affairs was entirely changed. The native army was at once recruited to its original full complement. The Jullunder column was ordered to be ready. Active preparations were made in every department. The Governor-General left Calcutta for the Upper Provinces on the 9th of October; and a large army took the field under Lord Gough, at the commencement of the ensuing month. From this time, to the beginning of the new year, there is nothing for the historian to recount which can be termed decisive. Against the check at Ramnugger, and the partial action at Soodalapore, we have, certainly, to set the successful attack on the audacious enemy at Mooltan during the first week of November, the prompt and energetic measures of Mr. John Lawrence and Brigadier Wheeler to preserve the tranquility of the Jullunder, and the well-timed occupation of the fort of Govindghur. The first of these operations vindicated our fame in the eyes of Moolraj and his adherents, the second preserved the peace of our frontier, kept down the turbulent spirit of the Manjha, and perhaps saved Simla, and the last, rendered unnecessary another costly siege. But in spite of these partial successes, there is no denying that the first twelve months of Lord Dalhousie's Administration were singularly inauspicious and dark. He had been promised peace, and he found himself involved in a war which, undertaken on the most righteous ground, was yet neither prosecuted with energy nor terminated with effect. What was the aspect of India on the 12th of January 1848, when Lord Dalhousie took his seat in Council, and what was it in the same day of the subsequent year, or on the eve of the battle of Chillianwalla? To these questions there can be but one reply. Profound tranquility on the former date, and on the latter a combination of events, for which *disasters* is perhaps not too strong a term. Political gentlemen baffled: one large and well equipped army that had struck no one

decisive blow : another that had only just re-commenced active operations after more than three months of inactivity : the department of intelligence contemptible when compared with the minute and accurate information of our movements possessed by the Sirdars : the enemy insultingly burning a bridge of boats within sight of Lahore : officers and tender women in the hands of the rebels : a failing exchequer, adversaries increasing, friends standing aloof—such was the state of events within exactly one year after the arrival of Lord Dalhousie. Some signal success, some display of skilful strategy, some series of effectual operations—were now anxiously expected. The hopes of every European in India were divided between the Mooltan force and the fine army of the Punjab. General Whish was gaining ground before the fortress, Lord Gough was gradually closing with Shere Sing, and bets were even laid on the chances whether we should first be gratified by news of the fall of the citadel, or by the announcement of a second Sobraon. All at once came the startling results of Chillianwalla.

An immense deal of paper has been covered with explanations of this engagement. We have had the Journal of a Subaltern, the account of Capt. Thackwell, articles in reviews, leaders in every paper in India and in England, letters from intelligent eye-witnesses, attacks by the enemies, and vindications by the friends, of the Commander-in-Chief. About the main features of the battle there is, therefore, no doubt. We all know that, after the fall of Attock, Sirdar Chuttur Sing's advance in order to effect a junction with his son, Shere Sing, rendered it almost imperative that something should be done. We know, too, that the Commander-in-Chief one day, about encamping time, finding a shot or two fired at his out-posts, and deeming that the enemy would advance his guns so as to reach the British encampment during the night, gave the order for battle after midday, with the ground before him quite unexplored. We know the results of that order. Men went onwards through a dense jungle, guided by the flashes from the enemy's batteries : the artillery did its part admirably,—as it always does,—during the one hour's time which the general allowed it : there was no want of conspicuous gallantry on the part of particular corps : deserted in the jungle, cut off from friends, and surrounded on all four sides by the Sikhs, several regiments displayed heroic firmness under these trying circumstances : the 24th regiment was half cut to pieces : the 14th Dragoons, in one of those unaccountable panics to which the bravest and best troops are liable, and acting, it is said, under orders, went "threes about : " night fell : an immense

deal of execution was done on the Sikh army. Some of their guns were captured, and some of our own, which had been taken in the early part of the day, were recovered ; and thus ended a memorable engagement, which cost us between two and three thousand men, which literally gained us no advantage whatever, on which the first of Greek historians would have recorded that both sides erected a trophy, and which Livy perhaps might have set down as a *clades accepta*.

We must bear in mind, that our position in India, as the conquerors in a hundred fights, imposes on our armies the necessity of commencing the attack. Our Generals know this : our soldiers expect it : our politicians and statesmen regard it as a fundamental axiom in the maintenance of our supremacy. Whether the enemy be posted on the bank of a deep river, or be shut up in a stockade, or be securely entrenched, or be crowning some heights, or be lining the right side of some morass, we are expected to dislodge him by force, with as little delay as may be practicable and expedient. This was exactly the feeling under which Lords Hardinge and Gough ordered the attack on the Sikh entrenchments at Ferozshah, almost as soon as the British army, which is not a mathematical point without parts, could be got into position. There may be occasions when even rashness is the better part of valour. There are times when the delay of twenty-four hours would be fatal. At Ferozshah the Sikh battalions were encamped on British territory : Tej Sing was bringing up his reserve of 25,000 men : there was nothing to be done but to repulse and chastise the insolent invader who, without the slightest provocation, had crossed the boundary. But previous to Chillianwalla, Lord Gough had been following the enemy about from the Ravi to the Chenab, from the Chenab to the Jhelum, by combinations which resulted in nothing, by movements directed by no intelligence, by operations where the absence of system was the only thing systematic. A civilian will leave it to military men to say how, with the Sikh army posted at Russool, a prudent commander, after a few days' cautious examination of localities, would have stormed their position. With every allowance made for the difficulty of the ground, with an avowal of the principle that it behoves the British commander to open the ball, we can admit no excuse but that of intemperate rashness, for an action which cost us so many precious lives, dispirited our army, and left us just where we were.

Yet this battle was not as critical a point in Indian history as the night of horrors at Ferozshah, nor did it ever excite in the mind of any European resident in India any thing that

could justly be denominated a panic. No province rose in rebellion. Nowhere was the revenue not punctually paid. Patna did not resound with the Allah Akbar of the Mussulman. Benares did not echo to the shouts of rebellious Hindus. Lord Dalhousie was not seen to rush about frantically, calling on Varus to restore him his legions. No Calcutta editor counselled the inhabitants of the metropolis to retreat to the merchant ships in the Hooghly. No up-country paper predicted the sack of Delhi by an enemy more cruel than Nadir Shah. To judge from the leaders in the English papers, all this and even more must have passed through the minds of fund-holders, Directors, and leading men in the State. Napier was sent to rescue us, but the spirit of Napier—*atrox animus Catonis*—was not needed on this occasion, though the Sikhs were as warlike as any into whom Togh Bahadur had ever breathed the spirit of fanaticism, or as those whom old Runjeet had disciplined and drilled.

The best thing that can be said in favour of Chillianwalla is, that it was the turning point in the long lane: the dark part of the night, which immediately precedes the day-spring. Within ten days of the battle, the fortress of Mooltan was in the hands of our troops, salutes were being fired, and General Whish was on his way to reinforce the Commander-in-Chief. Then were hopes aroused, and dark faces grew bright, and men congratulated each other as they met, and the wounded looked up with smiles from their weary couches, and annexation began to be canvassed, and *ECONOMIST* issued his series of vigorous and animated letters. There was still some little room for doubt during the time when it was thought that General Whish might be intercepted, that Shere Singh might descend on Lahore, or that Lord Gough might not be able to come up with his dexterous and shifting adversary. But every cloud vanished on the 21st of February 1849, in the battle of Guzerat. This engagement, while it forms a bright contrast to, is at once a severe condemnation of, Chillianwalla. It seems hardly credible that the General who judiciously planned and accomplished this crowning victory, who made such an excellent use of his heavy guns, who carefully guarded his soldiers from needless exposure or sacrifice, should five weeks before have petulantly ordered them to take artillery, the position of which they did not know, and to try and beat an enemy who lay *perdu* in the jungles. We are glad, however, at length to deal with operations of the Commander-in-Chief, which can be recounted in no qualified phrase. The battle of Guzerat, well-planned and well-executed, and without serious loss on our side, broke the Sikh power, dis-

persed the Khalsa, and virtually ended the war. It showed the Bombay and Bengal artillery to be completely superior to that arm of the service in which the Sikh had most reason to confide. It enabled Lord Gough to claim the honors not of an ovation, but of a triumph, and to quit the warlike stage with grace, with dignity, with the congratulations of his many personal friends, and with redeemed fame. It almost atoned for all the previous delay and disappointment. It added one more to the great victories of the army of India. It sent the veteran Gilbert, that keenest of horsemen and first of board-hunters, on a raid to the Khyber, by which a united foe was allowed no breathing time, and forty pieces of artillery, with sixteen thousand stand of arms, were laid at the feet of Lord Gough. And, lastly, it enabled the statesman at length to come forward, and to show of what he was capable, in a series of papers, on the subject of annexation, as remarkable for classic diction and cogent reasoning, as for liberal policy and enlarged views.

The Punjab was annexed on the 29th of March, in a proclamation, the terms of which are widely known; and the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab was formally established in a minute, dated the 31st of the same month. But before proceeding to allude to the measures taken for the settlement of the new province, we should wish to say a few words on one officer who played a conspicuous part in the commencement of the war, and who for a time divided the attention of dinner tables at the West end of London with the Ban of Croatia. It is no part of our plan, as we have said already, in a paper which is a review of Lord Dalhousie's Administration, and not a military history, to detail the actions of the campaign, to dwell on blunders or successes, or to recount the honours deservedly earned by so many officers. We must, however, spare a little space for Major Herbert Edwardes. A chivalrous nature is no guarantee against detraction and envy; and when the *Times* talked of his finishing the war, by two successive blows, the progress of the insurrection could not have been foreseen in England, and the magnitude of succeeding operations threw Kineyree and Suddoosam into the shade. But the young subaltern was not a presumptuous "political," involving the higher authorities in a dilemma, nor a Clive, who could crush Moolraj at once. Nothing can be more unjust than to tax Major Edwardes with underrating the power of the Dewan,—a charge which his own writings disprove, "I am a terrier barking at a tiger,"—or more futile than to say that there are other officers in the

Bengal army who would have done what he did. No doubt, there are : nor will such men ever be wanting as long as the Company lasts : but history can only praise the victorious warrior, the successful statesman, the orator or the poet, who seize opportunities and make themselves heard. Major Edwardes seized his opportunity. He saw that a slight insurrection unchecked, would spread like wild fire. By his tact he smoothed down animosities, disciplined raw levies, and skilfully managed elements almost irreconcilable. He never held Moolraj cheap, and he never thought procrastination anything else but dangerous. Finally, he fought two engagements, and was successful in both. His book, the charm of which, to an Indian reader, lies in the first volume, shews how he can handle the pen ; nor will any future history of the Punjab campaigns be complete without a due notice of the manner in which he handled the sword.

The feverish interval, the doubts and fears, were now all past. We can remember how many lamentations were uttered, because instead of peace for the first year of a new Administration, we had had a costly and prolonged war. At this distance of time we can look back, and allow everything, politically, was for the best. There was no doubt that at some time or other, a knotty Punjab question would tax the powers of some British statesman. The great Punjab case was, in fact, as *ECONOMIST* told us, "a mere question of time." It might be decided summarily, like a trial before a Californian jury, or it might be protracted beyond the limits of the longest Chancery suit. When our two officers were assassinated, it is possible that a display of energy might have crushed the insurrection ; but the same thing might have happened again in the next year in any part of the Punjab. When we see the result of the Lawrence Administration for five years, we can have little doubt that things are better for us now than if we had been just looking anxiously forward to the termination of the Bhyrowal Treaty, and to our handing over the Government to a young and inexperienced Prince, during this very year.

The task now remaining for us is to describe the moral conquest of the Punjab. The first thing to be done, was to determine the precise form of the local Government, and to give habitations and names to the various departments and officers. Lord Dalhousie, who from this time must be the prominent character in our picture, decided on entrusting the Administration to a Board of three Commissioners. The first member, or rather the President, was Colonel Sir H. M. Lawrence, an

officer possessed of mighty energies, large sympathies, and a most intimate knowledge of the Sikh character. He knew them, and they knew him, and their knowledge of him led them at once to confide in his willingness to protect and his power to quell them. It was a signal good fortune that gave Lord Dalhousie the disposal of the services of Sir Henry Lawrence. The second, who was, however, called the *senior* member, Mr. C. J. Mansel, a man of originality, had filled some high posts in the Secretariat, and in the Financial Department, during the rule of Lord Ellenborough. He had lately returned from furlough, and having rubbed off any old Indian prejudices by the contact of English society, might be thought well suited to conceive and carry out a liberal system of administration. Mr. John Lawrence was the junior or third member. This gentleman, till selected by Lord Hardinge to be Commissioner of the Jullunder Doab, after the first Sikh war, had never filled any post of extraordinary emolument or responsibility out of the regular line of the service. He had never been Secretary to Government, nor envoy to a foreign court, nor Governor-General's Agent at a native Durbar. But with energy equal to that of his brother, he had acquired in one of the best of schools, a rare amount of experience in the important subjects of revenue and police. In the tent for months in the cold season, at the head of the district of Delhi, on the disputed boundary, in the crowded bazar wherever the character of the natives could be most intimately studied, he had gained a complete insight into the *common law* of the country. He was familiar with the minutest details of the village communities: he knew the value of all the various crops which the two harvests of the year produce, the whole system of irrigation, the mode in which land is acquired, farmed out, rented, and transferred: his love of work was inexhaustible, and he possessed the key to many points in the native character, in a manner which, to an unpractised stranger, appears almost inexplicable. Under this Board, then, were placed the country newly annexed, and the Cis and Trans-Sutlej provinces. The country was parcelled out into seven Commissionerships and twenty-seven districts, and by the 1st of June, or in some cases a little later, the Civil Administration was fairly set a-going.

We have so lately had occasion to describe the whole system of administration introduced by the Board at Lahore, and the official report of the two first years after annexation has been so widely discussed, that it would be almost superfluous, in this place, to give a detailed account of the various measures introduced by the local Government or by the Head

of the Empire. It is no new thing for an Indian Government to have thrown on its hands the settlement of a ceded or conquered province, or for a Governor to exercise his judgment in the selection of instruments well calculated to attain this important end. For upwards of a century we have been making experiments on a dozen different races, on all kinds of revenue settlements, perpetual, protracted, or summary, in territories marked by broad and striking distinctions of fertility, climate, and soil. We have made some blunders, but we have achieved some real triumphs, and we have laid up a vast stock of administrative experience. We were standing, at the annexation of the Punjab, in the position of men who are "the heirs of all the ages, in the foremost files of time." It was then well known that every theory had been tested in practice, that every crotchet had been analysed, every plan for the security of the land-revenue, or the welfare of those who paid it, had been subjected to examination equally searching and minute. To investigate the nature of intricate land-tenures of different denominations, to select the sites of stations and cantonments, to establish courts for the administration of codes, technical, refined, simple, or comprehensive, to build jails, hospitals, treasuries, to teach a native population the difference between lawlessness and liberty,—all these things have attracted the attention and taxed the energies of many able and conscientious men in various parts of India, since the beginning of this century. There had, however, it must be confessed, been grounds for regret at the appearance in our system, when fairly consolidated, of evils which either growing up with its growth, or not timely observed, or not boldly eradicated, a moderate degree of precaution might have prevented at first. There had been a neglect to preserve or to record, against future encroachment, the rights of the sovereign power, of the landlord of limited domains, of the village community, of the tenant proprietor: when hundreds of acres were lying waste and uncultivated, no portion had been appropriated for public purposes, a due percentage of the land had not been set apart for annual expenditure on internal communication and public works, a variety of petty taxes, vexatious to the payers and not very profitable to the State, had not been remitted as early as was just; adherence had been too long given to an unsound commercial policy or to internal restrictions on trade: some element of European Administration, congenial only to Anglo-Saxons, had been forced on the acceptance of a population who could neither estimate its value nor comprehend its scope:

some of the best instruments of the old native Government, sanctioned by time, endeared to the ryot by immemorial custom, and valued by the native administrator for their cheapness and their facility of application, had been contemptuously disregarded or prematurely crushed. But our latest acquisitions had been the scene of our greatest success. It was important that grievous mistakes should not be made in the settlement of our new and magnificent acquisition ; that crude measures should not be attempted ; that just reforms should not be delayed ; that the shattered or dislocated fabric of good native institutions should be carefully put together ; that every department which admitted of it, should have the benefit of the greatest amount of European science, and the truest maxims of Indian official life. How all this was done, we endeavoured to show in the October number of this *Review*. Lord Dalhousie, calmly reviewing the manifold claims on his time, wisely, as it appears to us, gave to the new kingdom the largest share of his attention. Its claims, though not "prior in time" to those of other provinces, were yet, to use the language of Burke, "superior in equity and paramount in importance." From the very commencement of the task, whether the Governor-General was watching the progress of the settlement from the heights of Mahasoo, or was visiting every thing with his own eyes during a cold-weather tour in the plains, the motto has been "forward," the maxim hard work, and the result prosperity. The Jat Sikhs, the disbanded soldiery, the warlike peasants, settled down at once under the new rule, not to growl at the foreigner, but cheerfully to irrigate their lands and to pay their rents. This rapid change, hoped for, but certainly not anticipated, except by a very few, is a feature which cannot be too often dwelt on. Had the cultivators stood aloof with sullen and lowering brows : had we had jails without occupants, or filled only by rebels, courts without suitors, and blank statements of revenue without rupees in the treasury chest : had no civilians ventured to proceed into the interior without an escort of cavalry and a six-pounder : had officers at every cantonment been shot at from the road-side, in the twilight, as they were returning from their evening ride : had there been barricades at Umritsir, or had Lahore streamed with blood : had communication by post been cut off for days together, and the possession of the Punjab been described as that of certain localities lit up by camp-fires—had any picture of this kind, we say, been true and accurate in its main features—we should then have acknowledged that we had annexed a loss, that a century's experience had taught us nothing of the

science of governing aliens in blood and religion, and that the Sikhs of the Manjha and the Mussulman of the Chuj Doab were beyond the reach of kindness, sympathy and control. But from the 1st of April 1849, the very contrary has been the case. No guerilla warfare harassed our troops. No where did indignant patriotism or incensed nationality, hurl their defiance at us from fields of sugar-cane, bamboo jungles, or forts of mud. The settlement officer, the active magistrate, the civil judge, taught a lesson as enduring as the Bengal artillery or the famous Scinde horse. With few exceptions, the men selected to fill places in the Punjab, were equal to the task. Their service has been one of considerable exposure, constant toil, and even occasional risk. They have had to live in places in which the sleek, contented and well-housed civilian of the Upper or Lower Provinces would hardly condescend to keep his grey-hounds or his horses: in mat houses, between clay walls, and in the tombs of Mohammedan saints. They have remained out, under canvass, in the interior of the district, at seasons of the year when the fierce sun and the stifling hurricanes of dust severely tried the strongest constitution. The organization of the whole body of native officials, whether Punjabis or Hindustanis, has, in most instances, been the entire work of their hands. They have selected, where choice was but scanty, men suited for the responsible posts of Thanadars and Tahsildars, and have taught the inferior police officers the very elements of their duty, and the common routine of their work. Their mornings and evenings have often been consumed in actual field-work, in the survey of lands, and the adjudication of boundary disputes: their days have been devoted to the trial of cases of all kinds, and to the decision of those hundred conflicting claims, certain to spring up in such a country as the Punjab. This labour has gone on under all the inconveniences of climate, under the absence of comforts, which would be luxuries in England, but are necessities here, and under periodical visitations of disease. No men have ever more nobly vindicated the character of their service, or more effectually disproved the calumnies thrown out against the officials of India, by men who either knew, or should have known, better. Moreover, the reward of this labour, though in some few instances not inconsiderable, has not to the majority been of that character which obviously excites envy in the less fortunate. Their reward has been that which springs from the consciousness of duty boldly and honestly performed, and from the gratitude of an agri-

cultural population, whose wonder has been visibly excited to a degree well nigh ludicrous, at the formerly unseen sight of courts to which the humblest has constant access, where the presiding officer is just without propitiation, strict without cruelty, and lenient without weakness, and where the rich and powerful defendant is compelled to liquidate just debts, to atone for violence, and to acknowledge the majesty and the supremacy of Law.

We sum up the things accomplished in the Punjab, under Lord Dalhousie's guidance, as follows: A revenue of more than two millions has been raised from the land-revenue, from salt, from the excise, and from other legitimate sources, by means which fetter neither the resources of the country nor the lawful claims of the State. A surplus, in spite of all that the Napiers can say, lies at the disposal of the Government, amounting to one-quarter of a million, after large disbursements on great public works. The Baree Doab Canal, and the military road to Peshawar, are progressing towards completion. Other great lines for commercial and social purposes are in progress, and cross-roads are covering the districts in every direction. Violent crimes have been entirely put down: and secret ones have been traced to their source. Justice is dealt out in a fashion which combines the salutary promptness of the Oriental, with the scrupulous investigation of the European, court. The vexatious enquiries into rent-free tenures are fast drawing to a close. Churches and dispensaries, the medicine of the soul and of the body, may be seen side by side in many of the principal stations. In sanatoria on the hills, the wounded or invalid soldier, and the worn-out civilian, can recruit their strength. Warlike subjects may enlist in our irregular troops, and find something better to do than to sit down and grumble at their lot. Not six months ago a grand meeting was convened at Umritsir, where measures were adopted to put down the fearful crime of infanticide, by the exercise of authority combined with persuasive influence and moral force. A civil code, sufficient to meet the growing requirements of a commercial and agricultural population, has been compiled by the joint efforts of Messrs. Montgomery and Temple, has been revised by the Chief Commissioner, who is now a sort of Lieutenant-Governor, and submitted for sanction to Government. The missionary is endeavouring to win converts at Lahore. An Agricultural Society is striving to improve the produce of the plains. Tea cultivation is being extended in the hills. The whole face of the country tells its own tale in expanding cultivation, secure highways, long lines

of camels, and carts laden with rich merchandize. There is not one of the above summary and downright assertions which we cannot prove incontestably by an appeal to printed papers, to written words, and to the testimony of hundreds of living witnesses. Had the Governor-General effected no other reform, planned no other great work, grappled with no evil, given to India no one single benefit, the pacification and prosperity of the Punjab, would be enough, by itself, to place his name amongst the foremost of the benefactors of the East.

We pursue the thread of our narrative, not wholly losing sight of the maxim of Tacitus, when he wrote his annals—*singula quæque in annos referre*—but at the same time diverging from the course to mark the result of events whenever it may be expedient or necessary. At the commencement of 1850 there was the unfortunate affair of the 66th Native Infantry. It will be in the memory of our readers that the men of this corps, when marching into Umritsir, in February of that year, betrayed a mutinous spirit in regard to their allowances. The spirit of insubordination was promptly repressed, the corps was disbanded and no symptoms of disaffection were ever seen in other regiments of the Bengal Army. Sir Charles Napier, who had succeeded, or rather superseded Lord Gough as Commander-in-Chief, took on himself to disband this corps. To quote one of Sir Charles' own phrases, "*this was wrong*": and it was even worse to go and alter the compensation for the price of *atta* and other necessary articles, not merely in anticipation of the orders, but against the wishes, of the Head of the Government. The Government had very properly ruled that when *atta* was dear and other articles, such as ghce and pulse, were cheap, the one should be pitted against the other, and the compensation be calculated on the value, not of *atta* alone, but of every article of food. The Commander-in-Chief decided just the other way, and told the sepoys, through the Generals or Brigadiers, that they were to get compensation calculated on the price of *atta* only. Both of these orders were, however, upheld. It had long been current that this produced a strong difference of opinion between the Head of the Indian Army and the Head of the Indian Empire, and that much correspondence passed between the two men, both of whom are remarkable for a pretty strong will of their own. The particulars of this passage of arms were not, of course, made public at the time, but every one has lately read them in No. III. of the printed Selections of the Government of India. Under what deceitful planet, by whose injudicious advice, one Napier was led to bring on an *exposé* of the folly of another, we are unable to guess—but the result

shows that good sense, temperate but firm language, sound reasoning, logic and grammar, were with the Governor-General, and the very opposite to all these qualities with Sir Charles Napier. Brian de Bois Guilbert did not receive a more complete overthrow from the lance of Ivanhoe, than did the late eccentric Commander-in-Chief from the pen of Lord Dalhousie. This subject, however, demands separate treatment, and we say no more about it here.

Lord Dalhousie having assured himself of the tranquil condition of the Punjab, confiding in the Civil Administration of the Lawrences, and fully satisfied of the sufficiency of our military preparations to meet an outbreak, had any been intended, took a short trip to sea, to recruit his energies and his impaired health. He proceeded down the Indus, satisfied himself of the tedious nature of its navigation, visited Bombay, Singapore and the Straits Settlements, and the Tenasserim Provinces, and finally returned to Calcutta in the commencement of March 1850. No Governor-General had paid a visit to Moulmain since Lord William Bentinck went there in 1829. By no other Governor-General could such a tour have been even contemplated. He was the first Indian statesman who could make the circle of India without exceeding the bounds of the Company's landed estates. It may be asked of what use are such rapid tours, during which no subject can be thoroughly mastered, and some can hardly be understood at all? A flying visit from the highest official in the East will not cover Guzerat with roads, or light Bombay with gas, or simplify the difficulties attendant on the growth and transport of cotton, or settle the land-revenue of the Deccan on a prosperous footing, or fertilize Scinde, or increase the revenue of Tavoy and Mergui. The reply to this is, that personal conference may do a great deal in making the men acquainted with each other's views, and with the general aspect of great questions. Unfortunately oral discussion is never much in fashion in India. Nothing is done without long letters and bulky reports. But every one must admit that such letters and such reports are read with more interest, when the reader knows the locality from which they emanate, has heard something of the subject which they discuss, and has talked, though it be only for half an hour, with the persons by whom they are written. Preliminary discussion, knowledge of the parties interested, will go a great way towards smoothing difficulties, and leading the mind to go deep into the subject. And are not all subordinates, be they Governors, Councillors, or Commissioners, more likely to address with confidence and earnestness, a Governor-

General whom they have seen and talked with, than one who lives, as the late Chancellor of the Exchequer said, in a cloud, like one of the Homeric gods? It is our belief that such meetings, though transient, generate mutual confidence, invite fair discussion, and facilitate progress. The Governor-General will not be less likely than he was before to listen to a representation from Bombay, because he has seen its splendid harbour and received a deputation from its Chamber of Commerce; nor should the local functionaries be less backward in stating their wants, and expounding their various remedial measures. We could wish that every Governor-General or Governor had visited as much of his dominions, as Lord Dalhousie has done in the last six years.

One of the first objects to which Lord Dalhousie directed his attention during his short stay at the metropolis in March and April 1850, was that of a reform in the Post Office. The abuses of this department, and the paramount necessity for a complete change, were universally acknowledged. To deny this is just as absurd as to deny to successive Indian Governors the credit of originating and maturing many excellent reforms in various other branches of the public service. He would be a bold advocate who should undertake to prove the efficiency of the Company's postal arrangements. We may even doubt whether in this matter we have not retrograded, and whether the *Cossids* of Akbar and Aurungzebe were not faster of foot and more punctual in their deliveries of letters than those of the present day. We adhere to the old fashion of travelling in palanquins, and of employing runners or walkers, as the case may be, to convey the correspondence of Government, as well as that of a community daily increasing in importance. But there were worse evils than the mere retention of human beings as letter-carriers. With very few exceptions there were no stations with distinct post-masters, appointed, paid, and supervised in a manner consistent with the importance of the work to be done. The ubiquitous civil surgeon of the station, or a subaltern with spare time on his hands, got through the duty of post-master, in some instances as fairly as could be expected, in others with absolute indifference to every thing, save the pittance assigned to the office. The native clerks were overworked and underpaid: the roads were bad: the postage was very heavy: the whole of the carriers along the line were liable to be fined for delay, which had occurred at some one single point, while the precise point thereof was never carefully investigated. The speed of the mails everywhere, except on the Grand Trunk Road, was not more than five miles an hour, and sometimes

as low as two miles and a half. The mistakes in the transmission of letters: the number of letters mislaid or locked up in a spare chest, owing to the culpable indifference or the dishonesty of the Dawk Munshi: the frauds and speculations of clerks, and the absence of any redress—all this was sufficient to exhaust the patience of the community, engaged in commercial transactions, or much given to correspondence for obvious social reasons. Before the establishment of a regular steam communication with England, such a state of things might have been passively endured. The inhabitants of England in the reign of Charles II. might positively be glad of the postal system as described in Mr. Macaulay's famous Chapter III. The residents of India, in the days of Hastings or Wellesley, who were fortunate, if they received an answer from their friends at home within the twelvemonth, might very well be content to spend four months on the river in a budgee, or to creep up the old Benares road at the rate of three miles an hour, or they might post letters at Calcutta for Agra which should not take much more than eight days to reach their destination, and they might never even dream of sending a missive to Lahore. But with inland steam communication, and with other departments more or less undergoing reform, with improvements in the civil, revenue, and criminal codes, in jail discipline and national education, the postal department was still unimproved. Yet there were no insuperable difficulties in the way: no obstacles generated by climate or locality, which attention, energy, and a liberal disbursement could not overcome. Something had been already done on the Grand Trunk Road between Meerut and Calcutta, where the mail has for some years been carried at a rate never under seven, and generally at nine miles an hour, over a first-rate road for nine hundred miles. There are mail carts in the Punjab, Transit Companies competing for the public favour in Bengal, and carriages for passengers in some parts of the Madras and the Bombay Presidencies. The Editor of one of the Calcutta newspapers had startled the good folks of Calcutta, in January 1849, with the intelligence of the battle of Chillianwalla, brought by a private express which beat the Government dawk by thirty-six hours. The distances which men like Sir G. Clerk and the late Sir Walter Gilbert, and others, had accomplished by relays of horses in a wonderfully short space of time, proved all the talk about the heat of the Indian sun to be sheer nonsense, and showed that determination, even in India, will carry climate and everything else before it. The

Post Office, in short, to be efficient, required simply liberal expenditure, systematic arrangement, and careful control. To effect this, Lord Dalhousie very wisely entrusted the preliminary enquiry to a commission composed of a civil servant for each Presidency, namely, Mr. Courtney for Bombay, Mr. H. Forbes for Madras, and Mr. C. Beadon for both Agra and Bengal. We well remember how a cry was raised for the appointment of all sorts of committees and quorums to be composed of men who should have had, somehow, an intimate knowledge of the working of Post Offices: enlightened and public-spirited individuals, with their several plans and crotchets, and their minds made up. We remember that the usual amount of indignation was expressed, because the enquiry was entrusted solely to members of the "favored service," and because Lord Dalhousie was too wise to appoint a body of independent men, who would infallibly have wasted a deal of time, have squabbled amongst themselves, have covered acres of paper with all sorts of impracticable schemes, and have attained no one definite result. No doubt, Mr. Beadon had had no particular insight into the working of a Post Office. He simply possessed thorough business-like habits, great energy and quickness, and had no wish to carry out a favorite theory, or to force some crotchet of his own on Government. He, with his colleagues, only knew that many a district Post Office in India was very like that village Post Office in the Antiquary, which transmitted letters in the manner best calculated to air the correspondence thoroughly, to exercise the patience of the receivers, and to add a few pence to the revenue. The Post Office Commissioners commenced their work at the right end. They overhauled the department. They made themselves masters of all the details of the work, and of the whole subject of the rates of postage. They drew up long but lucid statements of the number of covers received and despatched, and of the salaries of clerks and delivery peons: they invited communications from all parties who had any thing to communicate, they took down evidence of Bengali Sircars and merchants from Marwar: they visited local Post Offices: they repeatedly conferred together—for it was one part of the plan that the Madras and Bombay Commissioners should meet Mr. Beadon in Calcutta—and finally they drew up a report which has been so often quoted and commented on, that any minute analysis of its contents in this place would be superfluous. The main recommendations of the commission may be briefly set down as follows:—

1. Half-anna postage, for all distances, on letters not exceeding a quarter tola in weight.

2. Consolidation of steam and inland postage.
3. Compulsory pre payment by stamps, and double charges on unpaid letters.
4. Abolition of franking, and the introduction of a charge on official letters.
5. General re-organization of the whole Post Office establishment in all its branches, from the head thereof down to the lowest delivery peon.
6. Extension and improvement of district dawks.

The above headings are taken, with slight alterations from twenty-eight changes summed by the Commissioners as desirable, in the close of their report. Some of the less important headings we have altogether omitted : others we have grouped together under the comprehensive term of general re-organization of the department. Such a heading, if honestly carried out, will embrace everything that requires amelioration in every Post Office in India : it will affect the receipt, registration, and delivery of letters : it will give us better clerks and more attentive post-masters : it will simplify the accounts, and will result in the compilation of a small code of Post Office Laws. Other recommendations will provide rules for book and banghy parcels, and for charges on ship letters : in short, whatever may be the opinions of individuals as to their own particular grievances, no one will deny that the report has embodied with marvellous precision and lucidity, every thing that could be devised in the shape of Postal Reform, and that it promises to give us eventually a practical and working scheme which will come home to the feelings of every resident in India. No department touches so many tender points as the Post Office : by none are domestic sympathies and fireside prejudices more effectually enlisted. Other departments touch only a class. Manchester groans over the salt monopoly. The genuine Anglo-Saxon inveighs against the Black Acts, the inefficiency of the police, and the corruption of the civil courts ; native landholders cry out against the Sale and the Resumption laws. The Chamber of Commerce remonstrates against impolitic restrictions on trade, and imperfect repairs of roads and bridges : every set of agitators can press for a removal of their own particular grievances in their own fashion and at their own time. But delay in the Post Office, and the expense of communication by letter, come home practically to the feelings of Europeans and natives, merchants and civilians, young cadets and old ladies. A delay in the dawk causes an anxious mother more real sorrow than any military procrastination along the Irrawaddy : a missing letter will excite a greater stir in a quiet gentleman's household than the report of a whole fleet of Commissariat boats missing on the Ganges or the Megna : the demand of

a delivery peon for fourteen annas as the postage from Lahore to Calcutta will raise a greater storm of abuse at the exactions of Government than the opium monopoly of Behar and Benares, or the Moturpha taxes in Madras. The benefit of Lord Dalhousie's comprehensive and statesman-like reforms will be felt and gratefully acknowledged by every one. The debt will be thankfully paid by the Chunds and the Mulls, who, in the exercise of their large commercial business, write dozens of letters daily to their correspondents at Joudpore, Muttra and Benares; by the young civilian on the eastern frontier of Bengal, who keeps up a gradually declining intercourse with his old college friend stationed at Khangurh or Mooltan: by the unhappy husband, who toils away during the hot winds at Agra or Cawnpore, while the sick wife is inhaling the mountain breezes of Mussoorie or Simla; by the English merchant at the head of a large firm at the Presidency, who wishes to know the prospects of the indigo crops on the banks of the Brahmaputra, or in the plains of Tirhoot; by the Editor, who looks anxiously for the details of the last inroad by the Shivaranees, or of the latest *fracas* at the mess-room of the 100th regiment N. I.; by the Choudaries and the Chuckerbuttees, who desire their local agent to report faithfully every turn in the great suit for the possession of Chur Nilabad, or every item disbursed in the hire of *lattials* and the propitiation of the police: by the cadet, who calls on his father to aid him in the purchase of "a step," or the fitting up of a bungalow; by the Calcutta tradesman, who can dun his remote debtors with less original outlay; and by dozens of fair correspondents who mutually interchange light and pleasant gossip about the assemblies at the Town Hall, the rides along Jacko, the inconvenience of a Mofussil station in the far West, or the *agremens* of the cold weather in the City of Palaces. It is not every Governor that can please so many classes, or finds it in his power to effect such universal reforms at so moderate an outlay. The Post Office Commission alone, had Lord Dalhousie done nothing else, would suffice to place his name in the list of Anglo-Indian reformers, alongside of that of Cornwallis. As we write, we are informed that the Post Office scheme has received the approbation of the Honorable Court, and that we are to have the half-anna postage on letters, and the two annas on newspapers, as soon as the requisite number of stamps can be made and stored. In six months time, from the issue of this number, then, every one of its Indian readers will be thanking Lord Dalhousie for his Great Postal Reform.

The second grand reform was entered on within a year after the organization of the Post Office Commission. In the commencement of 1850, the Court of Directors had earnestly pressed the Governor-General to appoint a committee to enquire into the whole system of public works ; but it was not until the close of the year that Lord Dalhousie found either the leisure, or the instruments, to enable him to follow the advice of the Court. In December 1850, however, he selected Major Kennedy, Consulting Railway Engineer to Government—Major Baker of the Engineers, who had lately returned from England—and Mr. Charles Allen, of the Civil Service, to be members of a Committee for an enquiry of the kind recommended. The engineering skill of Major Kennedy had been proved by the roads which he had constructed in the hills, and by the advice which he tendered to Government on all matters connected with the railway ; Major Baker was an officer of singular merit in a corps to which merit alone can obtain entrance ; and Mr. Allen had had great experience in several departments of the North-West Provinces, had secured the entire confidence of Mr. Thomason, and had given complete satisfaction wherever employed. These gentlemen were to reduce to some shape the thousand complaints which had been rife as to the superintendence and execution of public works in this Presidency ; and they were invited to make their suggestions, either for the modification of the present system, or for the establishment of some other in its stead. Records were opened to their inspection, and the functionaries of the department were to afford them every possible aid. Other commissions were appointed for Madras and Bombay, by the Governors of those Presidencies, at the request of the Government of India. Our business will, however, be with the Military Board at Calcutta. We believe that, in this department, as in that of the Post Office, abuses had long prevailed, which could find no apologist, and could admit of no defence. A barrister, rashly undertaking to defend the cause of this incapable body, *versus* the community or the Government, would, we think, throw up his brief in despair. In the first place, the officers under the Board, termed variously executive officers and executive engineers of divisions, are not all scientifically trained. If the cry has been loud against untrained civil judges, how much louder should it swell against men without ability to conceive, or skill to direct, the construction of roads, bridges, and civil buildings. Moreover, besides the want of training in such officers, they were chosen by one department and paid for by another. They were selected by the Military Department

of the Government of India, and forced on the reluctant Civil Governments of Agra and Bengal, which could neither exercise any veto on the nomination, nor directly remove an incapable nominee. In short, as matters yet stand, the department, which bears all the responsibility, pays all the expense, and must take all the blame of works ill-devised, ill-constructed, and irregularly repaired, is not at liberty to select its own tools. No wonder that the system had contrived to exhibit in itself all the combined evils which result from inexperience, from inefficiency, from delay, from lost time and lost labour, from lavish expenditure without any good object, from niggardliness when really great objects were at stake. Bridges had been constructed on unsound principles; roads had been laid out on the lowest levels in the country, where rain water soonest accumulated, and was latest dried up. Regular repairs, on some roads nominally under the Board, were, as we can ourselves testify, literally unknown for years. Occasionally, if a work of some magnitude had been well executed at a very considerable expense, it was left without any one to look after it, until it became quite impassable. Thus a *via silice vel lateribus munita*, which, when originally constructed, had cost half-a-lakh of rupees, has remained without even a timely basket-load of pounded brick or granite, until the outcries of the civil functionaries, and the intercepted traffic of the district, might at length arouse the apathetic Board to life. Then, instead of the small sums, which, if judiciously and regularly disbursed every year, would have kept the road in tolerable repair for all ordinary purposes of communication, another good round sum of half-a-lakh of rupees was obtained from the reluctant Government; the road was repaired, and left to look after itself for the next five years, until the same reiterated complaints might bring about the same costly remedy. In other instances, estimates were made for works declared to be urgently necessary, and were never acted on when sanctioned, or else works, when completed, were found to have largely exceeded their estimates. Yet, with all this, no man can justly complain of any want of skill in the members of the corps of engineers. On the contrary, we might complain that so much real talent has been lost to the country, or is productive of no great results, owing to want of supervision, to the prohibition of able men from acting on their own responsibility, to too few checks in some points, and to a great deal too many in others. In both the Upper and the Lower Provinces, we have had plenty of clever officers, who have taken levels, bridged hill torrents or deep-running rivers, erected colleges of some archi-

tectural beauty, have constructed hospitals with every regard to ventilation, and have metalled lines of road connecting some of the important localities in the country with each other. But all this individual talent has been neutralised by the acts of inefficient subordinates, by dilatory superiors, and by financial considerations. We can do nothing without money ; and in the department of public works, we have sometimes had skill without money, sometimes money without skill, and sometimes neither skill nor money. We could mention instances where the works constructed by the magistrate, with the aid of convicts, triumphantly beat those constructed by the executive officer and his native agent. The thannahs repaired by the civil functionary did not leak, his drains carried off the water, and his bridges did not tumble down, and we have known the only police building in the whole district, which was thought of sufficient importance to require the supervision of the executive officer, to be the only one that was repeatedly tinkered, and yet never water-proof. But as a testimony of what engineers can do, when untrammelled and liberally supported, we have only to look at the prosperous condition of the great works under the Civil Engineers of the Punjab. By Colonel Napier's magic influence, embankments are raised, coolies are found to work, canals are cut, civil buildings do not leak or fall down. Cross the Sutlej, come within the soporific influence of the Military Board, and you will find that all working men lie down and bask, like the Neapolitan, in sunshine, without caring for the remonstrances of the community, or the despairing cry of the district officers. All the above facts were elicited, and proved beyond a doubt, by the labours of the commission, and every reader of the newspapers has for some time been in possession of the views of the Governor-General on the subject. The Military Board, composed of an Engineer, who may be the ablest man in his corps, but who is harnessed to one officer, who knows nothing but how to supply beef and bullocks, and to another whose sole experience lies in the casting of guns, will soon cease to have anything to do with this great and important department. It will not be deemed necessary to fetter a really scientific man by the presence of an officer of the Line, and a Brigadier of Artillery, who might be efficient men at the battle of Guzerat, or at the storming of a stockade in Burmah, but who are quite out of their element when calculating the estimates of a road, or when deciding on the respective merits of suspension and stone bridges. The new plan, advocated by Lord Dalhousie, which gives a Superintending Engineer to each of the Governments of the Punjab, of

Agra, and of Bengal, will doubtless rid us at once of all those doubts, delays and differences, which have literally paralysed the efforts of the Civil Government to improve this department. We know, moreover, from the minute of the Governor-General, which has been read in almost every newspaper on this side of India, that the Government of Bengal, in its anxiety to support all complaints by the fullest proof, ransacked the records of ten years, in order to demonstrate the evils of the system; and the array of facts, which were disclosed by this laborious enquiry, was something literally startling. Shameful waste, unpardonable delay, indecorous squabbles, no definite responsibility—instances of each of these evils, or of all combined, were forthcoming in abundance. A Superintending Engineer, carefully selected, backed by influential support, and allowed a liberal discretion in expenditure, will very soon rescue our roads, our bridges, our dawk bungalows, and our jails from the reproach that has been attached to them for the last twenty years. We wait anxiously for the arrangements which will complete this much wanted reform.

The third grand reform, introduced by Lord Dalhousie, concerns a department with which the public in general have very little to do—that of the Army Commissariat. Few people, except native merchants, can feel much interest in the feeding of bullocks, or the storing of flour: and had it not been for the celebrated trial of Jotee Prasad, many persons might have remained in entire ignorance of the manifold abuses under which European troops are victualled, and horses are purchased, and bullocks are reared. Yet the Government for sometime had been fully aware of the necessity for thorough reforms, and as far back as 1845, Mr. F. Millett, then a member of the Supreme Council, had gone into the subject with his usual laborious accuracy. It was left for Lord Dalhousie to put matters on an improved footing, and to save the State a considerable yearly expenditure, which can be much better applied to the improvement of other important departments of the public service. Accordingly, in March 1851, the President in Council, under instructions from the Governor-General, appointed a commission to enquire into, and report on, the system of the Army Commissariat, past and present, and on the arrangements adopted in the other Presidencies for the same end. Mr. Charles Allen was again a member of this commission, and has since reaped the reward of his important labours, in the post of Financial Secretary, in succession to Mr. Dorin. Another member was Major Anderson of the Bengal artillery, an officer who gained great distinction in the

Affghan campaign, during which he was the right hand man of General Nott at Candahar, and who consequently was excellently qualified to speak of the system by which a large force is fed and equipped in the field. These two gentlemen, aided by Colonel Sturt, who was unluckily called off to Arracan before the conclusion of the investigation, were occupied for a year or more in their enquiries, during which time they received reports from the Military Board at each Presidency; they obtained copious returns and papers, and considered them attentively; they circulated questions to officers of the department, to engineers, doctors, and colonels of regiments, and after examining several individuals, drew up a clear and valuable report, which fills fifty-three pages of rather close print, and with the appendices makes up a volume of very decent size. Our readers may, perhaps, not be unwilling to have a sketch of the multifarious duties which the Commissariat Department, as constituted in 1809, and as since improved, was expected to perform. It had to victual the European troops; to provide elephants, bullocks, and camels, and to feed them; to transport troops and petty stores; to procure draught and carriage cattle when required, over and above those maintained by Government; to supply magazines with small stores, and European soldiers with quilts. It had, besides the above, its original duties, to victual native troops when on service, by land or sea; it had to supply harness, saddlery, camp equipage and buff accoutrements; to buy physic for the hospitals; to superintend sudder bazars; to collect the excise duties in cantonments, to look after the breeding of bullocks and camels, and to capture elephants in the jungles of Chittagong. The powers and constitution of the Commissariat Department have been several times modified in Bengal: in the other two Presidencies, they presented several differences, but we believe that the same objections were found to exist against the retention of the system in force anywhere. Without going into the minute details, with which the gentlemen of the commission were so long occupied, we may avail ourselves of their lucid summary, and extract thence a statement of the evils which they denounced, and the remedies which they proposed. Like the gentlemen of the Post Office Commission, they wanted a code of rules for the department, compiled with care and published under authority. The whole system of audit and supervision should, they proposed, be entrusted to two separate officers, independent of the Military Board; the Commissary-General to control the workings, and an auditor to check the accounts. The officers were too few, the establishments too weak, and the

salaries too limited. Warrant officers and serjeants were absolutely requisite; but it was not requisite that Government should rear its own calves, or that so many camels and bullocks should be maintained as Government pensioners. Contracts must be concluded in the places where the articles are required, with better securities, and under simpler but comprehensive forms. This provision alone, if properly enforced, would prevent another such *imbroglio* as that of Jotee Prasad. An annual estimate must be prepared and submitted to Government, and the expenditure should show the actual outlay disbursed in the year, without reference to the period for which such outlay was incurred. Finally, the whole system of supplying an army in the time of war should be placed on an improved footing. The above recommendations, drawn up after mature deliberation, met with the approval of the Governor-General, and the reforms in this department have been carried out with greater celerity, and more completeness, than those of either the Post Office system, or the Public Works. At the same time, it is admitted, that the abuses of the Commissariat are, like so many others in India, those of the system. Individual officers had done their parts well. It was the complicated machinery, the multifarious duties, the useless checks, the appalling delay, that did the mischief. Nothing could be more fatal than to entrust the Commissariat to a Board, and of all Boards to that one, which has found so many enemies, and not one single friend. Amongst the various reforms, which Lord Dalhousie has had the merit of effecting, none was more needed than the one just described. It is a dreary, unpoetical, unpromising subject, and we have neither the time, nor the inclination, to linger over it. But it will husband the resources of the State, provide for the public service at a reduced cost and with less delay, and will prevent contractors from being kept out of their just dues for eight or ten years. It is, in short, a reform by which Government is the first to benefit. But the community will eventually benefit by reductions in any department, which will allow Government to spend more money for the improvement of the country.

It will be seen from the previous pages, that in little more than three years, Lord Dalhousie had appointed three different commissions, for the reform of as many separate departments of the public service. The first commission—that on the Post Office—will be more for the benefit of the community at large than for that of Government, although the State will naturally gain, in authority and effectiveness, by an improved system of general intercourse, and by the rapidity and certainty with

which intelligence is conveyed. But every private individual will view the reform with approving eyes, when he can send letters across the Peninsula for half an anna. The remembrance of the Post Office reform is, we think, likely to be long cherished and widely diffused. The benefits of the second commission will be shared pretty equally by the Government and by the community. The Government will spend more money, and see its public works held in better estimation: the community will travel with more celerity and ease. The reform of the third and last commission will be at first appreciated by Government alone. In ten years more, not one private gentleman in a hundred, nor perhaps one public servant in fifty, will come to know any thing of the old Commissariat system. Whatever is saved will benefit Government only, and if the community at large are ever reminded of the improvements, it will be by the reduced expenditure of provisioning the army, and the greater available surplus for works of peace. But whether the advantages be appreciated by the community, by the community and Government, or by Government alone, the foresight which dictated these reforms, and the energy and statesmanship by which they were carried out, are entitled to the warmest praise.

We have digressed from a narration of events to a discussion of reforms. We resume the thread of our history, and shall now treat of the political changes in native states, which engrossed the attention of the Governor-General. In the close of 1849, we had a tempest in a tea-pot in the little war of Sikhim. It will be remembered that Dr. Campbell, the Superintendent of Darjeeling, when travelling in the interior of the Himalayas, and while engaged in prosecuting his enquiries in botany and natural history, was seized by the orders of the Raja of Sikhim, bound and treated with indignity, and threatened with further severity, and even with death. A detachment of the Hill Rangers was pushed up to the hills from Bhagulpore: the native regiment at Moorshedabad was directed to support the Irregulars; when the Raja released Dr. Campbell, we are glad to say, without doing him any serious injury; and we were spared another of the little wars of a great country. The result of the affair was that the Raja lost an annual sum of six thousand rupees, which used to be paid by us for the occupation of the sanatorium of Darjeeling, while the British Government gained the whole of the Sikhim Morung, hill and plain, a tract which, adjoining the district of Purnea, and said to be not unfitted for the cultivation of cotton, has been assessed for 16,000 rupees, and incorporated with the tract

under the Superintendent of Darjeeling. Not a shot was fired: the operations were directed mainly by the President in Council, and the matter is now almost forgotten. But it has a claim to a few lines in such a paper as the present.

The years 1850 and 1851 have left us no very remarkable political events to record. They were spent by the Governor-General partly in the hills and partly in the plains, and it was then, that by personal inspection, repeated conference, and continued study, Lord Dalhousie laid the foundations of an enlarged and sound administration in the Punjab, and reared on them an edifice which succeeding generations of statesmen may long look up to and admire. We think it proper here to give some little account of the proceedings of the Government of Bengal, which every one knows was administered, during the absence of the Governor-General, by the President of the Council for the time being—all matters of importance, and all nominations to the high prizes of the civil service, being referred to Simla or Mahasoo for the vice-regal orders. It would be impossible, in a paper like this, to give an account of all that was done under the four subordinate Governments respectively, though each Presidency, theoretically, stands in one and the same relation to the Government of India. They are all subject to the same control in legislation: the power of the purse, in the hands of Sir H. Pottinger or Lord Falkland, is just what it is in the hands of Mr. Colvin: the intent of the Charter Act was that Bombay and Agra, Madras and Bengal, should remedy their respective abuses, and attain their peculiar reforms, by one and the same process. But our concern is with Lord Dalhousie, and with those divisions of the Indian Empire, in which his influence has been most felt. Of the late Mr. Thomason's Government we have already given a notice in our last Number, and no additional praise of ours could enhance the merit of that successful administration. But with Bengal the case is different. It is the focus of civilization: the commercial capital of the country: it has been the residence of the Governor-General for the last two years: it represents one-half of India in the eyes of the untravelled at home: it is here that we have the most influential bar, and the largest mercantile community: here the spread of education is the most acknowledged, and the effects of missionary operations are most visibly seen. Moreover, Calcutta, or rather Bengal, conceives itself to have a right to the presence of the Governor-General, at least for such time as he is also the Governor of this large and fertile kingdom. When, then, the administration of the

Lower Provinces was left for the whole interval, between October 1848 and February 1852, in the hands, first, of Sir H. Maddock, and next, of Sir J. H. Littler, considerable dissatisfaction was expressed by the fourth estate and by the community generally ; and it was even asserted, that matters, instead of progressing, were actually going backward. For the time that Sir H. Maddock held the reins, from October 1848 to March 1849, these murmurs did not make themselves very loudly heard. Sir H. Maddock had had very considerable experience in civil business, and had been Deputy-Governor under Lord Hardinge. But when the administration was presided over by a soldier, who was not unjustly supposed to know more about platoon firing and advancing in echelon than about the Excise Code and the Decennial Settlement, the Government of Bengal was assailed by considerable obloquy, though the old soldier commanded respect by his kind manner and straightforward dealing, and though his responsible adviser was, in talent, integrity and uprightness, amongst the very foremost of the whole civil service. There is no doubt, however, that it is anomalous and unjust to hand over the Government of such a Presidency as Bengal to a man who has many other duties to employ him—to a man who may be somewhat worn out, who may be inexperienced, who though a good councillor, may not be the fittest man for such a post. There is more work to be done under the Bengal Government than under any other Government in India. The land-revenue, though assessed in perpetuity, is constantly giving rise to new, intricate, and perplexing questions. The manufacture and sale of opium creates a responsibility, of which the Lieutenant-Governor at Agra knows nothing. The salt, the excise, and the sea customs, in themselves, form no contemptible addition to the work. The police is a heavy burden, where the population expect to be protected, and will not stir a finger to help themselves. The Bengal Marine Department, as at Bombay, requires a great deal of attention, and would be a hard task for any Civil Governor, were it not for the admirable manner in which ships and men are disciplined, and kept in order by the Superintendent of Marine. The whole of the judicial branch demands constant attention, in a country where there is valuable property to be contended for, and acute intellects that make litigation a trade. Education is making grander and more rapid strides in Bengal than in any other part of India, without a single exception, and the schools and colleges under the Council of Education are more than double those of any other Presidency. The non-regulation provinces of Assam, Arracan,

Tenasserim, and the South West Frontier Agency, together with the Tributary Mehals, would, if geographically compact, form an area equal to that of a separate kingdom. Finally, Calcutta alone must occupy a large portion of any Governor's time and attention. It is unjust to blame those entrusted with the administration of Bengal for not having advanced its moral and material prosperity in the same ratio as that of Agra had been advanced. Great questions require undivided energies and uninterrupted leisure. A Governor of Bengal should be a person of "large discourse, looking before and after." He must be wholly unfettered by other duties, be a man of large experience and unquestionable ability, if he is to grapple with the question of improving the village watch, if he is to reform the police, to lay down roads, to simplify procedure, to establish Courts of Small Causes, to visit the different districts at intervals in the year. We think ourselves fortunate to have secured in Mr. Halliday a person equal to this task. If the routine and current work has been carefully and well got through under the old system, if cases have not been slurred over, nor practical difficulties eluded, nor blunders committed, we ought perhaps not to expect much more. But we shall hope to show, that while all this has been done, the forward movement, as it is termed, the great cause of reform, has not been wholly forgotten. We proceed then to state what was done for the Lower Division of the Presidency, during the absence of Lord Dalhousie. In 1849 we had the commission on the police of Calcutta, which terminated in a very satisfactory reform of that department. The merit of this is due entirely to the Governor-General. In the same year, the Bengal Government took possession of the small State of Sumbulpore, lying on the Bombay road, in the South West Frontier Agency. This little chiefship lapsed from failure of heirs, its last Raja having, in his lifetime, expressed a desire of seeing the administration made over to the British Government. The amount paid by this State as tribute previous to 1849, was only 8,800 rupees. The amount now taken in the shape of direct revenue is 74,000 rupees, of which only 25,000 rupees are expended in the cost of collection and in the payment of establishments, including an European officer. The country, naturally rich and productive, but unhealthy at certain seasons of the year, was admirably ruled by the late Dr. Cadenhead. Not the slightest symptom of discontent has appeared, and one of the members of the Board of Revenue was to visit it this last cold season. But greater changes, with regard to some of the non-regulation provinces have been carried out. It was found that Arracan and the Tenas-

serim Provinces, as to revenue matters, were under the Revenue Board, and that Assam and the South West Frontier Agency were not. Arracan, under the management of Capt. Phayre, was giving in nearly seven lakhs of net revenue, while its grain was exported to all parts of the world. Sixteen lakhs worth of rice are exported yearly from the port of Akyab. The province is remarkably free from crime, the population are contented ; a great stream of emigration is flowing yearly from Chittagong southward, the Bengali is pushing the native Arracanese aside. The Tenasserim Provinces, under the successive administrations of Major Broadfoot, Captain Durand and Mr. Colvin, had been gradually recovering from the distress and confusion into which they had been thrown by ill-advised measures, some ten years previous to the time of which we are writing. But of Assam little was known, and the same might be said of the district of Hazaribagh and Chota Nagpore, though much nearer in position to the seat of Government. Both these provinces were put under the Board of Revenue, and the good effects of this measure have been already made apparent in a better and more effective system of management. The mention of the Board of Revenue naturally lead us to record a change in the composition of the Board itself. For the first year after Lord Dalhousie's departure for the Upper Provinces, the two members of this body were very much opposed to each other in opinion. They differed—not as men often differ in India, from mere captiousness or unwillingness to yield points—but from honest conviction and after protracted enquiry. The result, however, of their antagonism, which never prejudiced the interests of either the Government or the landholders, was that an immense deal of additional work was thrown on the office of the Bengal Secretary. Several very knotty points of revenue law were referred to that office, and there set at rest. But it is obvious that an Executive Government should have something to do besides giving rules as to the party with whom lands in the Sunderbunds should be settled, or as to the precise meaning of some clause in Mr. Holt Mackenzie's famous Revenue Regulation of 1822. Accordingly, when one member of the old Board of Customs had retired, and another had been removed from office, it was found convenient to send the third and remaining member to the Board of Revenue. The advantages of this measure were, first, the saving of expense by the abolition of two appointments worth 52,000 rupees a year ; secondly, the addition to the Board of Land Revenue of a third member, who had long been its Secretary, and was well versed in revenue law ; and, finally, the union of all the great

sources of revenue under one well-selected body, the members of which were enabled to divide all current work amongst themselves, and to discuss all questions of importance in a full conclave. Indeed, it cannot be denied that the working of the revenue system in the Lower Provinces has, within the last four years, been greatly ameliorated. All the operations in the Chittagong division, which rendered the presence there of an officer with extraordinary powers indispensable, having been wound up by Mr. Ricketts, this gentleman was succeeded by an officer with the ordinary pay and powers of a Commissioner. Collectors everywhere were instructed to move about their districts in the cold weather, to examine the condition of Khas Mehals or Government estates, and to follow the example of magistrates in exchanging stone walls for canvass ones. A great deal has been done towards the arrangement of the records in various Collectorates, and order and regularity has been introduced amongst a mass of confused or moth-eaten papers. The survey has engaged much attention ; it has been manned by officers of ability, and has been pushed forward with the laudable desire of demarkating the boundaries of villages and estates, and of saving a very considerable expense in establishments. It is hardly possible, and it would certainly not be desirable that the survey in the Lower Provinces should mark off every field, or designate every holding. The advantages derivable thence would not be commensurate with the vast expense and the fearful delay of such a measure. All that the survey professes to do is to record the boundaries of estates and villages, the natural features of the country, the area, and the extent of cultivation, the products of particular districts, the extent of the pressure of the Government revenue on each acre—and other statistical information which the surveyors may pick up in the course of their work. All this will be available in a few years' time for every district in the Lower Provinces. With regard to the vigorous enforcement of law and the abatement of crime, much has not been done. We have, however, a Commissioner of Dacoity, who is doing his best ; and we have seen a vigorous and effective police established on the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to the Kurumnassa. The Lower Division of the Line, it should be remembered, is the very opposite in features to the upper part under the Government of Agra. From Benares upwards, the road passes through some of the richest and most populous districts of the Doab. After leaving Burdwan, the Grand Trunk Road merely skirts the edge of the districts of Beerbhoom, Bhaugulpore and Gya, and does not go within fifty miles of a single station. The line selected lies, in fact, through

a hilly, wooded, and thinly populated country, which, though fertile in materials for the construction of roads, is equally so, in places where unsuspecting travellers might be robbed and murdered by scores. An effectual protection to life and property has been afforded throughout the line. At every two or four miles there are stations, the police of which regularly protect the road from sunset till dawn. At certain parts there are sowars, and at every fifty or eighty miles there is a deputy magistrate. The whole force on the line is numerically about equal to a regiment of infantry, and it is as safe to travel along this line as it is to go from Calcutta to Baraset, or Kishnaghur. Besides the above reforms, the Bengal Government has commenced the very proper practice of publishing selections from its records, and the numbers, which already amount to more than a dozen, contain abundant information on the opium manufacture, on Teak forests, on several wild districts and their occupants, on the Electric Telegraph, on embankments, on the sanatory condition of Calcutta, and on other subjects. No doubt, when we have a regular Lieut.-Governor, things will move at a quicker rate, and we may think little of reforms, such as those just enumerated. But when we consider that current business alone is greater in Bengal than elsewhere, that the Executive during the period of which we are writing, was burdened with some personal cases, relative to the conduct of civilians and other officers, of a very serious and complicated character, it will be allowed that the Bengal Government has done, and done well, all that in common justice could be expected of it. Neither must we forget that its care has been to put into the highest court of criminal and civil justice, the very best officers that could be selected, and the Calcutta Sudder for four years was presided over by judges who, for energy and acuteness, long acquaintance with native character, with the procedure of the courts, and with the Company's law, were not approached by those of any of the courts at the other Presidencies. The contrast presented by the decisions of the Calcutta Court, with Mr. J. R. Colvin at its head, and by those of the Sudder at Agra, since it has been bereft of the judicial acumen of Messrs. H. Lushington and Deane, is something almost painful to contemplate. The files of the Calcutta court have been reduced to the lowest possible amount; the confidence of suitors and pleaders in its decisions has been increased by the new rules under which civil cases are argued before a full bench: the results of criminal trials appealed, or referred to the court, are widely made known, with the minutes of the several judges; and the good effects of a strict supervision by officers, whose

talents and character command respect, are visible in the additional care with which magistrates prepare, and judges in the districts dispose of the calendars.

We have reserved the great measure which originated with the Bengal Government, but which will be felt all over India, for the last. It is easy to acknowledge the utility of great material works, and to bless the name of the Government that paid for, and the engineer that planned, the long line of road, the noble arch, or the spacious college. A swamp drained, a whole tract protected from inundation, two great marts connected, a wide river bridged, an ubiquitous police—all this appeals to the outward senses. We have nothing to do but to travel, admire, and record. But the measure of which we are about to speak, is one of which the influence will be felt by degrees, and the benefits be more perceptible by the process to which the German school apply the term "subjectivity." Whatever improves the character, increases the official knowledge, and raises the tone of the civil service, must have a positive effect on the general administration. That such will be result of the rules for the examination of assistants after they have passed the college of Fort William, no one who has studied those rules and watched their results, will attempt to deny. These examinations will act beneficially not merely by excluding the incapable from important positions, and by stimulating the apathetic, who *can*, but *will* not work, but by making the really industrious and clever young men exert themselves to the utmost, and by rendering their knowledge of language and procedure complete and compact. A great deal has been written lately against the system of examinations in the college of Fort William; and, no doubt, the language and style with which civilians are there familiarized, are not those of the court-house: nor does a certificate gained in Tank Square argue conversancy with any colloquial dialect. But no one ever imagined that any such attainments would be met with there. The college course only pretends to afford the means of acquiring a fair knowledge of the grammar and general structure of the language, and of one or two of its standard works. That which is obviously wanted after such an ordeal, will be supplied by the new half-yearly examinations of assistants with their two standards of qualification. An examination for the lower standard, on passing which, the assistant is eligible for what are termed "special powers," will be a guarantee that each civilian can read official papers written in fairly legible running hand: that he can translate an English paper into the vernacular in a style intelligible to a native: that he can hold a

conversation with two or three natives, and that he has a general acquaintance with the leading principles of the revenue and the criminal codes, and with the rules of procedure. He will also be able to decide a criminal or a revenue case, and write his judgment thereon. The second or higher standard, which is to confer eligibility to the full judicial powers of a magistrate and a collector, is similar to the one described, but greatly more difficult in degree. Assistants have to pass in both Bengali and Urdu: the papers are more difficult: the dictation and conversation are to be fluent, correct and idiomatic: the questions on law and practice are selected from the whole field of the duties in both departments. The facts elicited by the above system, which has for some time been in full and active working in the Lower Provinces, are, first, that such examinations were really needed, and, secondly, that they have answered remarkably well. Something of this kind was wanted to take up the college course where it terminated, and to add to book-learning the power of talking fluently with *bunneahs* and ryots. To the really industrious, such an ordeal will not perhaps convey any great additional stimulus. There have always been some men, who without injunction from any one, will sit down on first joining a Mofussil station, to the study of the regulations, and will mix familiarly with the people till they can hold converse with them on all ordinary topics. But even to such men a little pressure from without is advantageous, while the effect on the idle, the undisciplined, and the improvident, is not easily calculated. It was, of course, at first asserted that the rules would never work well: that old assistants could not pass them: that the Bengal Government had flown at once from the extreme of laxity to the extreme of harshness: that examiners would favour: that men of active habits, sound judgment, and mild temper, would find these valuable qualities sacrificed at the shrine of philology. All these, and dozens of other objections, have proved nugatory. Philological niceties are not discussed by the divisional or central committees: the older assistants, whom the new system took somewhat at a disadvantage, as they were in charge of offices which left them little time for study, have all taken the test, and the men of less standing who, from the first, have prepared themselves for this special end, have obtained very great and signal success. No unprejudiced person, who will consult the list published in the *Gazette*, can have any doubt that the scheme was wanted, and that it has fully answered its end. Under the orders of the Court of Directors the same system is now being introduced into every Presidency of the

Empire, including the Punjab, with such modifications as local peculiarities may require. Into the N.-W. Provinces and the Punjab, the examinations can obviously be introduced with the utmost facility. Urdu in the one case, with perhaps an examination in Nagri running-hand, and Urdu and Punjabi, or perhaps Persian, in the other, will be the languages by which an assistant's knowledge will be tested. In revenue and criminal law the test will be mainly the same. At Bombay there may be some little difficulty, owing to the prevalence of Guzerati to the north, and of Mahratti to the south of that Presidency; and Madras labours under a plurality of tongues, Telingi, Tamil, Canarese and Malayalim, besides the ubiquitous Urdu; but there is nothing in either locality which determination and ingenuity cannot overcome. We shall expect soon to hear that examinations are held with signal success at Lahore and at Poona, in the Northern Circars, and in the Rohilcund division. The merit of this system belongs entirely to the Government of Bengal; and amongst the servants of that Government to Mr. Ricketts, who is not the man to let a good measure go to sleep, to Mr. Mytton, who had observed that some collectors would persist in employing young and unlearned assistants in duties, the best calculated to excite disgust and aversion, and to the gentleman on whose shoulder rested the whole weight of the Lower Provinces, Mr. John Peter Grant. It is not easy to estimate the invidious responsibility of such a position as was held by this last named gentleman, while Lord Dalhousie was absent from Calcutta. During his incumbency, several long, intricate, and perplexing cases, involving the personal character of officers high in the service, and ending in their removal, were taken up and most carefully investigated, and in *every single instance, without one exception*, the orders of the Bengal Government met with the entire support of the Home authorities. It is rather a wonder that, without a separate and unencumbered Lieut.-Governor, so much has been done in Bengal, than that more should not have been attempted. The manner of doing the work may, in part, be appreciated by a perusal of such papers as official form and secrecy have permitted to see the light. It has often been a subject of regret to us that there is no way of making important papers known, except through the somewhat laborious process of publishing them in "a selection." But to such as emanated from the Bengal Office, during Mr Grant's incumbency, and under his signature, we shall not hesitate to apply the description given by the most judicious and grave of English historians, of the style of one of the most eloquent and sound of our divines, that there was

"no vulgarity in that racy idiom, and no pedantry in that learned phrase," and we have reason to know that Mr. Grant's official career is acknowledged by competent judges to have exhibited better things than mere style, however weighty and precise, such as inflexible impartiality, high sense of honour, undaunted love of justice, and unwearied search for truth.

The Government of Bengal, since February 1852, just two years ago, has again been administered by Lord Dalhousie himself, aided by Mr. Cecil Beadon, a gentleman whose merits have deservedly gained him a high and important position at a comparatively early period of service. The principal measures by which these two years have been distinguished are, an important alteration in the law relating to the sale of estates for arrears of revenue, the promulgation of a new set of rules for the grant of waste lands in the Sunderbunds, which may, it is hoped, have the effect of inducing capitalists to lay out money in clearance and cultivation, the giving effect to the Mitford bequest to the city of Dacca, in accordance with the decree of the Court of Chancery: and the extension of English education by the establishment of a new college at Moorshedaabad, and an English school at the principal station of every district where the inhabitants may be ready for such a course of instruction. Lord Dalhousie himself has also visited Arracan and Chittagong, and has sent grave Sudder judges and members of the Board of Revenue to report on unknown and unexplored districts, and to suggest measures for their improvement. The only drawback to the benefit derivable from these tours, appears to be that the deputation of two judges of the highest Court of Appeal tends to disorganize the machinery of justice. It is not always easy to supply the vacant places on the bench; nor, if judges are to have roving commissions over huge provinces, do we exactly see of what use is the office of Commissioner of Division. But when we have a regular Lieut.-Governor, we shall expect that for him the steamer will be ready, the tent spread, or the dawk laid, and that a beneficial personal intercourse will be maintained between the chief, his subordinates, and the influential landholders, many of whom have never seen a live Governor. We believe that no Governor-General has ever worked harder than Lord Dalhousie, and that no man is more sensible of the paramount necessity of entrusting the Government of Bengal to the undivided time and the entire energies of the ablest civilian that can be found for the post. All considerations of reduced patronage and diminished weight and influence, even if correctly stated, ought to give way to the public interests. A Governor-General comes out

here to superintend and direct the affairs of each Presidency, to master all the political and external relations of India, to set the financial system on a secure basis, and to see that the legislative, social, and commercial policy of the Empire be directed by adequate means, and on approved principles, towards one and the same end. It is not his business, overwhelmed as he is with references on every point, from the building of a barrack at Peshawar, to the repairs of a gun-boat at Rangoon, to grapple with the intricacies of land-tenures, to promote vernacular education, to infuse spirit into the police of Bengal, to enquire by whom village-watchmen shall be nominated and paid. Let the Governor-General but choose a man in whom he can place implicit reliance, whose talents and character will command the respect of the services, and of the native and European population—and we will answer for it that no measure will be undertaken and carried out, in which the head of the Empire shall not be furnished with ample previous information. We have good reason to believe that the creation of a Lieutenant-Governor for Bengal is due much more to the candour and foresight of the present Governor-General than to the lugubrious declamation of Anglo-Saxon and Hindu reformers, who made a great stir about evils which no Act of Parliament could remedy, and said very little about the one measure which it was in the power of the Houses to pass. If report is to be believed, Lord Dalhousie will make over the kingdom of Bengal to Mr. Halliday: an act which the services and the community will think fully justified by that gentleman's long experience, intimate knowledge of the country, renewed energies, acknowledged service and honourable name.

The years 1850 and 1851 were not, as we have already remarked, fruitful in great political changes. Lord Dalhousie was occupying himself with the consolidation of the new province; and the commissions which he had organized were busy at their work. But the year 1852 saw a new comet on the horizon: we allude, of course, to the second Burmese war. The causes and origin of this war are widely known. The Governor of Rangoon had "beaten a Venetian and traduced the State." In other words, he had tried the Captain of one vessel for a charge over which he had no jurisdiction, and had ill-treated another on charges which were denied. But we have no intention of devoting any part of this article to the origin, progress and termination of the Burmese war. Its origin has been fully discussed already in our pages, and its consequences as yet are hardly appreciated. Its financial results are

uncertain, the capabilities of the valley of the Irrawaddy are matter for speculation. The organization of the executive system can hardly be termed complete. The development of the resources, the tranquillization of the country, have not attained that maturity which would warrant us in treating the subject in an historical light, as we have ventured to treat the Punjab. The very origin of the war is still occasionally disputed in the Senate at Home. We, therefore, purpose to leave the whole affair, from the sailing of Commodore Lambert to the return of General Godwin, and the late visit of the Governor-General, the conduct of Wyoons, Woondooks and Thyogyees, the achievements of Sir John Cheape, the storming of stockades and pagodas, the marches over swamps and through jungles, and all the other desultory operations, the loss of boats and steamers, the privations of men and officers, the temper of the inhabitants, the tone of the press, to some future writer. For our own part, we can only lament, like the Baron of Bradwardine at Gladsmuir, that the country and the armament were not calculated to display the true points of the *prælium equestre*, and we are strangely tempted, at times, to apply to the war, from its commencement to its termination, a well-known quotation from a well-known play of the inimitable Moliere :—*mais que, &c., &c., &c., &c.*

We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the other political events of the years 1852 and 1853. At the commencement of the latter year occurred the deposition of Mir Ali Morad, the Rais or ruler of Upper Scinde. It had been proved, on a lengthy and careful enquiry, that this prince, by the dexterous subtraction of one leaf of a Koran, and the substitution of another, had gained possession of certain districts to which he had no right or title. The trick played on the British Government consisted in the insertion in the new leaf of those *districts* of identical names with certain *villages*, which latter were rightly the appendages of the Turban or symbol of authority. His Highness had therefore got possession of extensive tracts, when he was only entitled to a few clusters of houses. It will be in the remembrance of some of our readers, that just before the conquest of Scinde, Ali Morad, by some means, persuaded his brother Mir Rustum to abdicate in his favor, while he himself remained faithful to the British power during that brief but eventful war. He was accordingly maintained in the undisturbed possession of the chiefship, and was formally acknowledged as Rais of Upper Scinde. When it was discovered, through information given by his servants, that he enjoyed the revenues of the tracts which did not go with the Turban, to use the phrase current in the province, he was of

course called on to give them up. Opposition was useless, and the Mir saw this at once. A brigade was held in readiness to coerce him and his adherents, but the lands were given up to the British Commissioner, without the smallest resistance. The mercenaries of the Rais were paid off and discharged: his most pressing necessities were relieved, and he was left in possession of the tracts devised to him by the will of his father, that is to say, of the younger brother's appanage. In an European kingdom, or even in some of the more fertile provinces of India, the land left to the Mir would have been considered a very pretty provision, especially to one of a dynasty that had neither long descent, nor meritorious exercise of power, to recommend it. But no part of Scinde, with the exception of land easily irrigated, can be termed remarkably fertile, and the character of Mir Ali's rule is not likely to develop whatever natural resources there may be. For a considerable portion of the year 1850, Major Le Grand Jacob and Capt. Stewart were occupied in the demarkation of Ali Morad's patrimony, and towards the close of last year, their report, transmitted by the Bombay Government with suitable recommendations, was duly received and considered by the Governor-General in Council. The terms conceded to the Mir were liberal. Old scores were cleared off summarily, and a doubtful claim he had against Government was allowed him as a set-off against our good claims for mesne profits on account of districts held by him without title. He was allowed to retain, not only what his father, but that which his uncle would have given him: he was even permitted to keep what it was *intended* by his father that he should have had; lands lying along a canal which had been dug, but never finished, in Mir Sohrab's lifetime, and along a stream called the Narra, which passes through a part of the patrimony, and which has been improved by the British Government, were left without stipulation in his possession, and if ever there was a doubt about the precise line of demarkation, the most liberal concessions were made in the Mir's favour. We regret to say that Mir Ali Morad is not likely to benefit by the lesson he has received, or to employ himself in the improvement of his patrimonial estate. Like *grande*s elsewhere, who have had a fall, he would fain keep up his ancient dignity on a diminished income. Fruitful tracts converted into hunting grounds: days and weeks devoted to sport—a whole population turning out to beat the jungles, and debarred from the timely cultivation of their fields—these are the main features of his paternal rule: and that the career of the late Rais will be rapidly downward, there can be little doubt.

In the same year (1852) the tract in Central India known as the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, was transferred from the hands of the Supreme Government to that of the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra. This fine province had been placed under the Governor-General in Council in 1842, by Lord Ellenborough, owing to the spread of disaffection there, which was said to require the constant attention of the highest power in India. But it was clear that the reasons by which Lord Ellenborough had been actuated, were of no weight ten years afterwards. The province, under the successive management of Colonel Sleeman and Mr. Bushby, was improving. There were no symptoms of discontent amongst its cultivators or its petty chiefs. The Government of India had other things to do than to administer directly the affairs of this province. The Lieut.-Governor of Agra, from position, experience and habit, seemed the proper person to introduce into the territories in question sundry improvements of which it stood much in need. The transfer got rid of the anomaly presented by a Commissioner or Agent, who was directly subordinate in political matters to the Governor-General, and not to the Lieut.-Governor, and who was yet, in revenue matters, placed under the Lieut.-Governor's subordinates, the members of the Sudder Board. The tract in question was to have been visited by Mr. Thomason during last cold weather, and though death interrupted this and other plans, we have no doubt but that the Jubbulpore school of thugs, the condition of the province, the necessity for a regular settlement, the denial of an appeal in civil suits from the judge to the Agra Sudder, while the same privilege is not denied to criminals, with other matters touching the welfare of the inhabitants, will be subjects of anxious consideration to Mr. Colvin next year.

In the commencement of 1853 an event took place on our North-Western frontier, which, but for the sagacity of the head of the Government, might have been productive of most serious results. We are induced to dwell particularly on this, because it is the fate of administrators to get very little credit for things which they have *not* done. The *was* which they prevented, the mistakes into which they did *not* fall, the first false move which they did *not* make, are hardly dwelt upon by cotemporaries, and may escape the research of even the most laborious of subsequent annalists. The events to which we allude, took place within the independent native state of Bahawalpore. The late Nawab had been the ally of Major Edwardes in the operations against the Dewan Moolraj, had been thanked for his services by the Supreme Government, and had exchanged visits with the

Governor-General. He died and left his throne to a younger son. The elder brother of this prince, rejected by his father, was kept in close confinement, and fed on the bread and water of affliction. The British Government would not *interfere* to procure his release, and would do nothing, but simply recommend the reigning prince to treat his captive with generosity. This advice was not followed, and in the beginning of last year, the prisoner, aided by some Daoudputras, effected his escape, erected his standard, assembled a considerable body of adherents, and, after a very short struggle, made himself master of his brother's person and of his father's throne. In a brief space the pretender had vindicated his rights: the captive had exchanged a prison for a camp: the friendless and the disinherited one saw a nation stretching forth a sceptre for his acceptance, and a brother suing on the Koran for life. Before this scene in the drama, the opinion of the highest local authorities had been that the British Government should interfere to support the reigning prince, to prevent disturbances on the frontier, and to put down rebellion in the palace. Brigades should be moved from Mooltan, the authority of the British Government should be manifested, and its determination to uphold legitimate power against upstart pretensions should be proclaimed to every native court in India. Without any knowledge of the rapid changes passing on the spot, with nothing to guide him to a decision beyond the bare fact of the escape of the prince, and his reception by a party of the Daoudputras, Lord Dalhousie at once wisely determined *to do nothing*. Against the advice of men on the spot, whose judgment, often tried, had been found correct, with the certainty that a heavy responsibility must rest on the head of a man who attempts to pull the strings from a distance, he at once proclaimed his conviction that the issue of the struggle would not long be left in doubt. Either the reigning Nawab, if he possessed the affection of his subjects and the confidence of his ministers, would make short work of his brother's attempt, or the fugitive, if called to the throne by the unanimous voice of the people, would soon be *de facto* and *de jure* king. The British power should not force an incapable or unpopular sovereign on a reluctant people, nor lend its bayonets to the support of a puppet. The doctrine of non-interference was well and boldly avowed. There was no objection whatever on the part of the paramount power to uphold the younger son in preference to the elder. If the Nawab had deprived the latter of his birthright, it was because he had thought him ill-qualified for sovereignty. If the nation thought

differently, after due experience, this was a matter with which the Government of India had no concern. Whichever prince could count on the support of the army and the good will of the people, would be acknowledged by the power which annexes kingdoms, pensions out-casts, and recognises just claims to the "umbrella" or the "cushion"—all the above was fore-shadowed by the Governor-General with accurate knowledge of the position of affairs, and every mail that arrived from the North-West served to prove the correctness and the sagacity of his views. The only interference exercised by the chief Commissioner, was in the shape of a recommendation to the successful adventurer to treat his brother leniently, and not, in the first flush of victory, to prepare for him the axe, the string, the hot iron, or the bowl! It is a gratifying tribute to the influence of the British rule to know, that although rumours were rife about a treatment in store for the ex-Nawab, like that which Hubert had not the heart to inflict on Prince Arthur, not a hair of his head was touched. The prisoner ascended the throne, and the ex-ruler became his brother's pensioner, residing in the British dominions. Not a shot was fired, not a soldier stirred from his post. Had Lord Dalhousie, acting against the advice of the Chief Commissioner, gone wide of the mark, had there been disturbances on the frontier, and had a rebellion in Bahawalpore proved a nucleus for the disaffected in the Punjab, there would have been no end to abuse of the Government of which he is the head and chief. But in what, if unsuccessful, would have been designated as rashness and obstinacy, in the same measure when successful, we see the clearest foresight, the soundest judgment the most undoubted statesmanship. To divine coming events, when they do *not* cast a shadow, to tell officers on the spot that they are so near to the subjects of which they are writing as to be dazzled by the glare or stunned by the noise, to point to them, like a good pilot, the true course which the ship should take—this is, surely the highest political talent, and the grandest capacity for directing the complicated affairs of kingdoms. It is not the less worthy of praise that such measures leave no trace. We never can tell, in India, what one false step may not bring forth. The move of a regiment, or of a troop of artillery, the deputation of a single officer, the transmission of a mere piece of paper, may involve consequences, the end of which several generations shall not see.

As the year wore on, the affairs of the Nizam began to demand the serious attention of the British Government. The dominions of this sovereign, though certainly not well governed, presented no material for charges such as are justly brought

against the king of Oude. The Nizam's army, as it is termed, was never ordered out to support the misrule of a wicked minister, to curb the spirit of an oppressed population, to exact the taxes imposed by a vindictive tyrant. The main evil of the Hyderabad state was, that it was bearded by fanatic Arabs, by adventurous Rohillas, by independent Chiefs, who collected a band of unruly followers, shut themselves up in some mountain, and levied cesses on every passer by. The services of the contingent were constantly put in requisition to chastise or coerce some adventurer of this kind who had defied the king. The proceedings on such occasions were generally as follows:—The prime minister would inform the Resident that in some particular district, the authority of the Nizam was entirely set at naught: that cattle were driven off by thousands, and *bunnees* imprisoned by scores: that women and children were being helpless; plundered, and that the very communication by post was in danger of being cut off. The Resident, having satisfied himself that the crisis had not been produced by the oppression or the misgovernment of the Nizam himself, and that the case was one to warrant British interference, would immediately order Brigadier Mayne to take a detachment complement of cavalry and infantry, with guns, and proceed to reduce the rebels. Brigadier Mayne, with the spirit of the "illustrious garrison" still strong in him, immediately makes his arrangements with all speed and secrecy, starts at noon one day, marches the whole of the night, and in the grey of the morning, finds himself before the fort. A summons to surrender to the representative of the British power, produces nothing but a valiant defiance, and an intimation that the garrison will die in defence of their position. The Brigadier inspects the fortifications, orders up a gun, fires a shot, which is responded to from the fort, and then proceeds to more active operations. After a slight cannonade, the gates are opened, the brave army are seen escaping at the back of the citadel, and over rugged ground, and the British commander, with no loss whatever, is in possession of the place. Many of the garrison get clear off: some are captured and sent for trial before the moonsiff, who in Hyderabad is a criminal as well as a civil judge, a host of captives are released, and have their property restored to them, the fort is dismantled, and the troops return to cantonments. We have known repeated examples of the above occur in the course of six months. The Nizam was not, however, always free from blame. It was a common practice with him to farm out a particular district to two people at the same time, taking a sum in advance, or a *bonus* from both par-

ties, and leaving them to fight for the collection of the revenues. The army was in arrears : the sum stipulated on account of the contingent was never punctually paid. The state was in debt to wealthy sahoocars. The administration of justice was venal or imperfect. The sums levied on goods in transit were, in excess of what was permitted by the commercial treaty. But the most objectionable feature in the Hyderabad Government, was the dilatoriness with which the men and officers of the contingent were paid. Nothing could be more harassing to the British Resident than to assume the attitude of an importunate creditor, and to have to dun the minister every week. Nothing could be more humiliating and undignified than the subterfuges and the excuses, the shifts and the shams, to which the Nizam was put. At the same time that potentate steadily refused to permit the contingent to be reduced by a company. It was his safeguard against rebellion : the pillar of his state, the mainstay of his government. At length the arrears of pay, which amounted to about fifty lakhs of rupees, added to the growing inability of the Nizam to supply the current expenses of the force, appeared to call for decided measures. Promises of financial reform, assurances of a replenished treasury, and a sound credit, had been made and broken, been given and retracted, for the hundredth time. The only measure that could satisfy both parties, was an entirely new arrangement. This had been threatened in 1851. Its fulfilment was reserved for the year 1853. The departure of the Resident, General Fraser, for England, enabled Lord Dalhousie to appoint to this important situation, Col. John Low, C. B., of the Madras army, an officer who had served under Sir J. Malcolm, had been at Lucknow, and at Hyderabad, had great knowledge of native courts, had done excellent service everywhere, and was possessed of remarkable self-command, peculiar suavity of temper, admirable firmness, and excellent judgment. Col. Low quitted Rajpootana, where he had been performing the duties of Agent for those states for the last four years, came to Calcutta, and went to Hyderabad in full possession of the views of the Governor-General. He was instructed to endeavour to prevail on the Nizam to follow the example of Scindia, and to make over, if not in perpetuity, at least for an indefinite time, certain districts adequate to the payment of the forces. It may easily be conceived that the Nizam was reluctant to acquiesce in this proposal. It proved as hard to persuade him that such a step was for his benefit, as it was for Margaret of Anjou, in Anne of Geierstein, to cajole the poor old king Renè to abdicate his rights. Of course the

Nizam's kingly ire blazed forth at the proposal—he would reform his exchequer—he would not cut off his right hand—he was still a Sovereign Prince—he would endure anything, rather than this unmerited degradation. His pride could not submit to this fall. It is not easy to conceive, or to describe, the immense amount of tact, diplomacy and forbearance which the Resident displayed during this trying negotiation. If great results have ever been due to personal exertions, if an important object has ever been secured by the address and firmness of a single person, this is the occasion, and Colonel Low is the man. The Nizam yielded to an officer whose temper was never ruffled, whom argument and the loud tones of the Nizam never betrayed into one single unguarded expression, who was firm without obstinacy, who reconciled diplomacy and candour, and joined perseverance to tact. A new treaty was drawn up, signed and sealed. It appeared that the force known as the contingent, was not mentioned in the old treaties concluded at the commencement of this century, and has never been formally recognised. The contingent had sprung up in 1816, when Sir H. Russell was Resident, and had gradually increased to an unwieldy size. It was, in fact, an addition to the force known as the “subsidiary force,” furnished by the Company for the general defence and protection of His Highness, which consisted of eight battalions of sepoys, two regiments of cavalry, and a proper complement of artillery. The contingent, in addition to the above, numbered about eight thousand men, with an undue proportion of officers, some of whom were the servants of the Company, while others had only local rank. The whole sum due from the Nizam annually, on account of the above forces, was forty lakhs of rupees. The provisions of the new treaty were then, as follows:—The subsidiary force was still maintained. It was still to execute important services for His Highness, to protect his person, to reduce rebels to obedience, but it was not to be employed in the collection of revenue. The Nizam's army or contingent was replaced by the Hyderabad contingent, to consist of six regiments or 5,000 infantry, four corps or 2,000 cavalry, and four field batteries, commanded by British officers, and under the Resident's control. The contingent, like the subsidiary force, will be at the disposal of the Nizam for emergent service. The subsidiary force may be employed in adjacent kingdoms, on the part of the Government of India, should occasion require it, or in time of war. To pay the above forces, and to satisfy other claims, districts yielding a gross revenue of fifty

lakhs of rupees have been made over to our management. They consist of the districts to the north of Hyderabad, known as the Berar Valley, comprising Amraouti, the great cotton mart: the western districts adjoining the principalities of Sholapore, and the Raichour Doab between the Toongabudra, and the Kistnah. The revenues of these tracts will go, first, to provide the regular monthly pay of the contingent, next, to the payment of the old Mahratta claim, known as Appah Desaye's *chout*, and of certain other allowances, and lastly to the clearance, with interest at six per cent., of the arrears due by the Nizam, which amount to fifty lakhs of rupees, or to about one year's gross revenue of the ceded territory. These districts are now administered by British officers, some of them officers of the contingent; they took possession of their charges without meeting any opposition. All last cold weather they have been engaged in surveying the condition of the inhabitants, the capabilities of the soil, and the varieties of the produce, and when we have a railroad running up the Great Berar Valley, we may hope that the darling wish of Manchester will be at length gratified. The opportunity of reducing the expenses of the contingent was not thrown away. There had been five Brigadiers. There are now only two. It was at first thought that the one might have commanded the cavalry, and the other the infantry. But to avoid the obvious inconvenience of a divided authority, where infantry and cavalry are stationed together, it was subsequently deemed advisable to make two divisions of the whole. The most inefficient of the officers attached to the corps, many of whom had mere local rank, were pensioned. The best, as we have said, were placed in charge of some of the ceded districts. The staff was reduced. The old rate of pay was continued to all incumbents, a new rate was fixed for new men entering the service. The effect of these changes is a present saving of six lakhs of rupees, and an eventual reduction of nearly ten. The contingent, under such officers as Major William Mayne and Capt. Colin Mackenzie, will be more efficient at less cost; a great cotton mart will be opened to British enterprise; a populous and productive country will be rescued from misrule; the Nizam will, in reality, be more independent, and be saved from all the anxieties of a debtor's existence! and be "every inch a king." The British Government will assume the bearing not of a troublesome creditor or a persecuting bailiff, but of a true ally, of a real protector, of a firm friend. This is another of the triumphs which place

Lord Dalhousie and Colonel Low in the same rank with the Wellesleys and the Clives of our early days.*

We come now to a subject which is of as much importance as either siege, conquest, treaty, or material improvements, but which is not so intimately associated with the idea of the Governor-General as others—that of legislation. We have preferred grouping all the improvements in our laws under one head and in two or three pages, to noticing them in detail according to the years in which they were passed. The influence of the Governor-General over the course of law-making is not always practical or direct. His time is too much occupied with administrative or executive measures—with the organization of irregular regiments, the commencement of great public works, the reports of Commissions, and the suggestions of Boards. The legislative department, moreover, is presided over, we may say, by an English lawyer, carefully selected and highly paid, whose especial business it is to peruse reports, to compare opinions, and to hammer out drafts of laws. In every department of the public service there are officers admirable qualified to explain what is wanting for the security of the public revenues, for the preservation of peace, for the punishment of crime. It is all we can expect if the Governor-General finds time to make himself acquainted with the general scope and tendency of every particular Act. He is not to cut and carve its several clauses, or to satisfy himself that it will be proof against the ingenuity of the English bar. Indeed, we think that the connection between the Governor-General and the legislative department might be made even more slender than it now

* We have inadvertently omitted, though we have not forgotten, the Electric Telegraph. The origin of this work, we all know lies with Dr. W. B. O'Shaughnessy, who, though he had never seen an Electric Telegraph in operation in his life, laid down a line from Calcutta to Kedgeree, which has been working for the last two years, invented a new alphabet, drilled a corps of Telegraphers, and triumphed over every difficulty of climate or locality. Lord Dalhousie at once perceived the immense political and social advantages of such a measure; handsomely rewarded its author; sent him to England to make arrangements for the erection of lines connecting all the important towns in the Empire, and has now the satisfaction of knowing that the wires are already "up" along hundreds of miles of road. It may be said of the author of this project as was said of Franklin—

"Eripuit fulmen cœlo, sceptrumque tyrannis,"—

That is, from native states, internal and external, of whose political movements the Telegraph will give us instantaneous notice, enabling us to curb disaffection everywhere at once. But we have not time or space for a detailed account of this great measure, nor for an examination of Lord Dalhousie's Grand Railway scheme, either of which, when fully carried out, would signalize the administration of any Proconsul. For the same reason, we are compelled to omit many other subjects—the annexation of Sattara, the confiscation of Ungool, the recognition of the independence of the Rajpoot state of Kerowlee. No man, in fact, can ever complain that Dalhousie has given us nothing to write about, and even with regard to Burma, we may hope that ere his departure, he may see *cuncta terrarum subacta*.

is, and that it would be quite sufficient, were he simply to give his assent to a proposed enactment, if consistent with the general policy of the Government, and with the spirit of the age. He ought to be spared the drudgery of comparing antagonistic theories, analysing doubts, and noting on sections. But, whatever be the precise amount of influence exercised by the Governor-General, a review of the most important legislative enactments passed within the last six years, may fitly find entrance in such a paper as this. Every one who ever looks into the *Gazette* must be well aware of the local and departmental character of many of our laws. Occasionally there will be seen drafts which can have no possible interest for any one except the inhabitants of a particular district, the traders in some one kind of produce, the officials entrusted with the charge of some special branch of the revenue. Our remarks then will apply to such acts as bear a catholic character. For the first three months of Lord Dalhousie's administration, the laws were forged by Mr. C. H. Cameron ; for rather more than three years by the late Mr. Bethune, for six months by the late Advocate General, now Sir Charles Jackson, and from the commencement of 1852 to the present time by Mr. Peacock. We shall advert to the laws of any general interest in each successive year. In the year 1848 was passed an Act, which has been usually coupled with Mr. Dampier's name, and which enables a magistrate to take penal recognizances from British subjects, not convicted of any specific offence, whenever he may have good reason to apprehend any breach of the peace. In default of such recognizances, parties may be committed to the civil jail. The object of this very proper enactment was, to enable men charged with the preservation of life, property, and the public peace, in a large district, to prevent those disgraceful outrages, by which, in Lower Bengal especially, men have long insulted the civil power. Of course there was the usual amount of clamour raised against the Act by Europeans, who hate subjection of all kinds, and who only begin to discover the inefficiency of the courts, when those courts are likely to check their turbulence and insubordination. But the working of the law has proved its own vindication. There is an appeal from decisions passed under this Act. No man has been unjustly confined under its operation. British subjects have been more circumspect and amenable to reason. Affrays have been more rare. No sensible man now makes this law his grievance. Act. VI. of this year equalized the duties on goods imported to, and exported from, India, on British and foreign bottoms, and abolished the duties on goods carried from one Indian port to

another, with exception to ports in the Straits, the Arracan, and the Tenasserim Provinces. By this law the whole of India has been made one port. Another law of this year reminds us that the small State of Mandree, in the Presidency of Bombay, had become an integral part of the British Empire. By successive enactments, the criminal courts were enabled to punish wandering gangs of thieves and robbers by imprisonment for seven years, without a Futwah from the law officer: the jurisdiction of the Court of Small Causes was clearly defined: the period of time within which suits might be brought to contest the award of the revenue authorities in the Bengal Presidency was limited, prospectively, to three years: the duty on salt entering the North-West Provinces from other provinces of this Presidency was repealed: and, finally, the officers in charge of the revenue survey were empowered to compel the attendance of proprietors or farmers, with their accounts and documents, and to punish recusancy by fine. With the exception of an Act for improving the discipline of the Indian Navy, no other remarkable law was passed in this year. And, in all the above laws, besides the "Dampier Act," those for the equalization of customs, for the abolition of salt duties on Bengal salt, and for strengthening the hands of the revenue surveyors, are the most important. It is an object to let the salt manufactured by the Bengal Government travel up the country without any additional impost; and the only duty levied at Allahabad is that on salt from Rajpootana, when it attempts to pass into Behar. As regards the survey, nothing could be done until Act XX. was passed. Zemindars and their agents stoutly refused to give the slightest assistance to one of the most useful and beneficial measures which the Government had ever devised, and from which it could derive no direct pecuniary advantage whatever. Public spirit is not often manifested in Bengal in the furtherance of public objects.

The next year commenced with a very useful enactment for the trial of offences committed by British subjects in foreign states. This law gives us one uniform course of procedure, in place of the diversity that had prevailed in the three Presidencies. It makes all subjects of the British Government, and all persons in the civil and military service of that Government, and for six months after leaving service, amenable to any Company's court, for felony, murder, and other aggravated offences committed by them in the territories of a foreign or independent Prince. A British subject committing a robbery in Oude, may, under this law, be tried by a judge in the North-West Provinces, or by a commissioner or other civil

officer, presiding over any competent court in the foreign territory. This Act has worked well hitherto. Although the number of Acts passed in this year was not great, yet several of them are not unimportant in character. We then saw laws passed, which, severally, abolished the useless practice of branding and exposing convicts, protected the unfortunate shareholders of the Union Bank, provided for the safe custody of lunatics, and appointed an Administrator-General for the care of intestate estates. We saw other Acts, which placed the excise system of Calcutta on a better footing, which checked smuggling of salt, and obviated a deficiency which was felt by the Government in dealing with mutiny and sedition in the Company's naval and military forces. This ends the catalogue of enactments for the year.

The year 1850 was prolific of enactments of various kinds. We made Aden a free port ; we liberated the coasting trade of India ; we saw courts established for the recovery of small debts in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, which deprive the law of its delay, the Supreme Court of a deal of business, and the honest tradesman of the metropolis of a great deal of annoyance. No more popular or efficient institution has been as yet established, as far as Calcutta is concerned. Without entailing great expense, without involving suitors in the mazes of the law, without accumulating records, it enables creditors to realize with cheapness and facility a host of minor dues. It is presided over by judges of ability, who possess the entire confidence of the community. Its business has been greatly on the increase. The cry is waxing loud for the establishment of such courts in the 24-Pergunnahs, and in the populous cities of Dacca, Patna, Moorshe-dabad, and others. If there is any complaint about the court, it is that its jurisdiction is limited to suits of 500 rupees in amount. It was one of the cherished projects of Mr. C. H. Cameron. Had that enlightened gentleman remained in India, he would have acknowledged that the success of the scheme has more than equalled his expectations. As the year rolled on, it was found necessary to amend the law with regard to the punishment of breaches of trust and misapplication of public moneys. The criminal courts of the Company were empowered to add fines to punishments inflicted on persons convicted of robbery and other offences against property, to levy such fines by distress, and to distribute the proceeds for the benefit of the injured party. Judges and magistrates were very properly protected against suits brought for acts done in the discharge of their duties, though without jurisdiction, provided they were done in good faith ; and the virulence of rich and

disappointed individuals was to a certain extent baffled. A law regarding apprentices was promulgated. Any law or usage inflicting forfeiture of rights, property, or inheritance, by reason of loss of caste or change of religion, was for ever abolished. This great Act is known as that of liberty of conscience. The outcry against it has not been *very* loud. Of course, some men are bound to contend for the sacred privileges of bigotry, for the luxury of revenge, for the infeasible rights of Hindus to check the freedom of a strong will, the movements of a reasonable conviction, the workings of an enlightened mind. Of course, too, some men would proclaim that the Christian convert shall not have fair play, that Hindu intolerance shall always be respected, that the British power is pledged to support persecution against the dictates of humanity and sound sense. But in a case like this, we are content to take part with Mr. Halliday in preference to Counsellor Leith, with Dr. Duff rather than Sir Erskine Perry, the sentiments of Christian statesmen, husbands, mothers and wives, against the effusions of an undisguised rancour, and the sallies of a spurious zeal. There is a cant which is even worse than that of the Chadbands and the Stigginses.

We resume our notice of the course of legislation. The land-revenue of the town of Calcutta was at length defined by law. An act for the conservancy of towns, other than Calcutta, was actually passed, in order to give the inhabitants of Bengal an opportunity of proving their supposed capacity for self-government. We believe that this Act has had a very beneficial effect, though not exactly that which its authors intended. It was vainly imagined that the heads of the native population would consort to tax themselves for the lighting of roads, the purifying of drains, the cleaning of tanks, and general purposes of conservancy. With very few exceptions, the Act has not been put in force, and nowhere has it obtained more than a partial success. We believe, too, that in most of the large towns, such as Dacca or Moorshedabad, any attempt of the kind would end in the most complete failure. Let one-half the population be swept away by some tremendous visitation, occurring from the want of the most obvious sanitary precautions, let bridges break down, roads become impassable, and heaps of filth block up the approach to the main bazar, we do not think that the inhabitants would come forward to tax themselves at four annas a head, or divest themselves of the least portion of their hereditary right to the enjoyment of impurities. After all the talk about self-government, and the Anglo-Saxon model, we think that in conservancy there is nothing like the powerful arm of the

executive. Laws were about the same time enacted to encourage merchant seamen, to protect sailors from crimps, and commanders from sailors. Other laws were made to enable the Government to confine State prisoners in Calcutta or any where else, so as to get rid of any danger of collision by means of a *habeas corpus* with the Supreme Court: to improve the mode by which public inquiries can be made into accusations brought against public servants, not removable from office without the sanction of the Government: to allow the use of counsel to all persons accused of any offence, in all courts whatsoever, of the East India Company: and to enable lands to be taken for our Railway from Howrah to the collieries. Two Acts wind up the important legislative proceedings of the year. The one is for the registration of joint-stock companies, or partnerships, whose joint-stock is transferable in shares without consent of all the parties; and the other carries out the arrangement, of which we have already made mention, for the consolidation of the old Board of Customs and the Sudder Board of Revenue. Forty-five laws were enacted in this busy year—during which year, be it observed, the Governor-General was not two months at the Presidency; and many of the Acts, as will be seen from the above selection, were highly important in their principles and their bearing on the requirements of the community.

In the next year operations were somewhat delayed, owing to the late Mr. Bethune's long and fatal illness. We saw, however, the boon of deputy magistrates extended to the Presidency of Bombay, *only eight* years after the plan had been tried and found to answer in Bengal; we saw officers of the Salt Department in Bengal empowered to search houses, on information given, that such houses contained more than one *maund* of salt; and we saw Government authorized to levy an elaborate scale of tolls on public roads and bridges, of which no use has been made as yet. With regard to the Lower Provinces, it was jocularly said, but with truth, that the Act would be a dead letter, because no roads had been opened, and no bridges had been built. Gambling in Bombay was put down: the land-revenue of Madras itself was attempted to be secured, but with what success we are unable to state. Various laws for the collection of the excise in the Straits' Settlements were consolidated by one comprehensive enactment; and, for the satisfaction of Manchester, endeavours were made to stop the deterioration of cotton at Bombay, by the confiscation of the article, and the fine or imprisonment of the offending party. There were only sixteen laws passed

in this year. The next year, however, swelled our code very considerably. We came in for the benefit of the time and toil given by Mr. Jackson to law-making during the latter part of the preceding year ; the Acts hammered out in that period, making their appearance, spick and span, and in rapid succession, after the commencement of the new year. The Act of Parliament for marriages in India was set agoing : marriage registrars were appointed, official and non-official, and no person can now have the least difficulty in being married according to the forms and rules of his persuasion in any part of India. The cost of a light-house on Pedra Bianca, a rock at the eastern entrance of the Straits of Singapore, to be named after the great hydrographer, Horsburgh, was provided for ; the jaghir of Bethow, in the district of Cawnpore, granted to the Ex-Peishwa, was placed under the jurisdiction of the ordinary civil and criminal courts, and we were thus reminded of the enormous amount of yearly pension which an ill-advised arrangement had conceded to this State idler. The unlucky Municipal Act of 1847, for the improvement of Calcutta, was set aside in favor of another, almost as ill-fated in one point of view. An Inam Commission, or court, was appointed for the decision of suits about lands claimed to be held, wholly or partially rent-free, in Candeish, the Deccan, and the Southern Mahratta country. The Presidency of Bombay is swamped by these and similar burdens, and it is hoped that no foolish leniency will be shown in the working of the Act. The municipal commissioners were furnished with another Act, framed for their especial benefit ; and if anything in the shape of varied legislation could improve our sanatory condition, Calcutta ought by this time to have become a model city. The police of the city was next amended : the hands of its magistrates were strengthened, and the provisions for the preservation of public peace and morality, scattered over no less than eleven kinds of rules and ordinances, were lucidly brought within the compass of a single law. Three Acts amended the law of evidence, and the procedure of the Supreme Court. By another, an attempt was made to purify the Mofussil courts, by enabling judges to dismiss fraudulent pleaders, and by exempting pleaders from humiliating fines ; and the excise revenue of the town of Madras was secured by a long and elaborate law. The same Presidency obtained its Act for the acquisition of land required for public purposes. In Bombay, deputy collectors were appointed, and patels or heads of villages in the same Presidency were empowered to try petty thefts and assaults, and to fine offenders in the sum of five rupees, or imprison them in the

stocks for forty-eight hours. Darogahs in Bengal were no longer allowed commission on the value of any stolen or plundered property which they might recover. The law for the prosecution of ministerial officers was amended ; the province of Arracan felt the benefit of legislation, in a law which abolished the poll-tax in the towns of Akyab and Kyouk Phyou, and substituted a tax on lands covered by dwelling-houses.

The first remarkable law of the year 1853 is one against which there would have been a tremendous outcry formerly, but which passed without even a muttered growl. It is in reality the first of the Black Acts. It makes British subjects liable to the same duties, and the same punishments as natives, in respect of public charges and duties in aid of the police. This is the introduction of the end of the wedge ; and we have no doubt, that in due time, planters and zemindars, native and European, will be placed on a much more equal footing in their respective dealings with the Mofussil courts. The third and twelfth Acts of this year remind us that we have a railway actually in operation in the Presidency of Bombay, and that offences which may endanger the persons of travellers, and frauds which may injure the Railway Company, require to be visited with penalties, while passengers on the other hand must submit to certain rules. The other laws are of no general interest ; but as we write, we see the issue of a draft of an Act for railways in this Presidency, which will protect the Company and passengers by the trains from annoyance and loss. We here conclude our notice of the legislative features of Lord Dalhousie's administration. The precise share taken by him, or by individuals in each particular law, it would be impossible to state ; but we are quite certain that the working of the legislative system is, in a general way, as creditable to him as other parts of his rule, in which his ascendancy has been more prominently felt.

We have hitherto omitted all direct mention of one of the most distressing events of the past year : we allude, of course, to the death of James Thomason, the honored ruler of the North-Western Provinces. This event, with the assassination of Colonel Mackeson, threw a gloom over the close of 1853. We have lately had occasion to present in this *Review* a notice of the late Lieut.-Governor's character and distinguished career, and the time is yet hardly come when those who loved his example in life, can talk of him with tongues that do not falter and eyes that do not fill. For his nomination to the Government of Agra, we hold that the country is under a debt to Lord Ellenborough, which may be a set-off to the song of

Somnath and to other eccentricities. The late Lieut.-Governor had been nearly ten years in office. He had done much there, though something still remains to be done : he died on the scene of his labours, amidst a people which he had benefited, with some beloved relatives not absent from his dying couch ; and happy is the man, we would say, with all the solemnity that such a subject demands, who crowns a life of such ability by such a Christian death.

The allusion to Mr. Thomason's death naturally leads us to mention his successor, Mr. John Russell Colvin. Of this gentleman we expect great things. His large experience, his acute mind, his great energy, his rapid decision, and his varied information, all seem to justify the choice of Lord Dalhousie. His nomination was celebrated by a public dinner at Calcutta, given by men who had nothing whatever to hope at his hands, and was favourably received by the unanimous Service of the North-Western Provinces, as that of a new ruler without prejudice and without partiality. Mr. Colvin may be promoted to a higher post at Madras ; but if he remains where he is, we are quite certain that he is just the man to take up the subjects to which Mr. Thomason did not entirely devote himself, especially the judicial system of the North-West, and to introduce other reforms, for which even the model Government had not found time. The selection of Mr. Colvin, we doubt not, will be remembered as creditable to the nobleman of whose administration we are treating.

Two subjects have contributed to make the past few years of some interest even to Englishmen in England. The first is the Great Exhibition of 1851, and the second is the agitation on the Renewal of the Charter, during six months of 1853. At the time of the great national show, India seemed really to have been brought nearer to England. Without the trouble of the overland route, without reference to a single work on the East, without the persual even of a Parliamentary Report, the public at home were enabled to contemplate, in one clear and comprehensive glance, the India of the Hindu, the India of the Mohammedan, and the India of the Company. We may remember how, when many of the articles destined for the Crystal Palace had arrived in our metropolis, we got up a minor exhibition on our own account, and owing to the admirable arrangements of the Central Committee, we were enabled, in a morning lounge, to see by what part of her resources India was to be represented in the World's Debate. We had no reason to be ashamed of the exertions of our local committees, or of the liberality of private individuals. We sent

home specimens of all the manufactures which had flourished under successive native dynasties, and of everything to which Anglo-Saxon enterprise had given birth. Accordingly, nothing excited more general attention than the Indian corner. Indeed, there was food there for the reflection of intellects of every calibre ; for those who viewed India as a fit land for the application of a larger capital, a better Government, a more complete agency ; for those who regarded the country as one where younger sons are sent to make their fortunes ; for those who had read of it as a land of untold wealth and inexhaustible romance ; for those who thoughtfully saw, in its connection with England, a series of noble triumphs, linked imperishably with the great Company and the British name. Nothing was wanting in that gorgeous spectacle, which could tell of its past history, or its present resources. Any partition might have been made the subject of a political treatise, of a commercial brochure, of a whole batch of reviews, of a long array of speeches, of a succession of memorials. There were dozens of subjects, the striking characteristics of which have since been skilfully alluded to by Mr. Campbell, or splendidly, but truthfully, drawn by Mr. Kaye. There were the products of the Indian mine and forest : of the flooded rice fields of Bengal, the loam of the Doab, the black soil of the Nerbudda valley : the evidence of wealth honorably acquired and securely held by natives in the Benares of the Hindu, or the Delhi of the Mohammedan : the returns of the English capital diffused, without let or hindrance, in spite of all demagogues may say, on the plains of Nuddea, or the banks of the Megna : shawls and canopies, indigo, gums and medicines, destructive weapons, rude implements of husbandry, matchlocks quaintly carved, armour splendidly chased, strange and uncouth instruments of discordant harmony, figures modelled to the life, showing the Rajah in his Durbar, the Anglo-Saxon with his factory in full play, and the official in his cutchery—all this presented a wide field for disquisition and thought. Untravelled Englishmen, and Englishwomen, by thousands, looked on the curious distinctions of Hindu caste, and the minute subdivisions of Eastern labour. Some of the best specimens of jewellery were perhaps almost coveted by the representatives of all the beauty and elegance of London. Political economists might look with indifference on dazzling or subtle fabrics, and argue that, if the labour to which they were owing was guided by exquisite skill, it was neither exerted with continuity, nor aided by the power of machinery. Manchester, with a contemptuous glance, saw there only the first fruit of

natural resources, of which the Company had failed to take advantage, and the last relics of a native industry which their rule had well nigh crushed. Philosophy pondered : curiosity admired : and pseudo-philanthropy might talk more than its average amount of nonsense. Retired Indians saw once more those familiar objects and names, which revived the recollections of thirty years of service, and told them, in plain language, that the great mass of the population, with their peculiarities, their employments, and their social habits, were still the same. The student of history gazed on arms, fabricated in the arsenals of Jeypore and Kotah, and was reminded of the chivalry and the independence of the Rajpoot. From the arms of the Mahratta horseman and his gay trappings, the thoughts reverted rapidly to Burke's tremendous description of the goading of spears, and the trampling of cavalry, when the Carnatic lay prostrate before the invader ; and occasionally, some careful reader might recall the times, when amidst a galaxy of nobles, and with an empire still unimpaired, Shah Jehan, or Aurungzebe, the Augustus of the East, displayed tapestries as gorgeous, riches more unbounded, and magnificence more regal, to the wondering eyes of two European travellers—Bernier, that lively and entertaining French Doctor, and Tavernier, that “rambling jeweller, who had read nothing but had seen so much and so well.”

The recollections of that summer will not soon be effaced, and as the arrangements under which India was worthily represented in England, were carried out by the officers of Lord Dalhousie's Government, acting with other independent gentlemen, the subject may fitly claim some little space in a paper which aims at giving a rapid view of his administration.

It will not soon be forgotten, that during Lord Dalhousie's tenure of office, the Company was summoned to give an account of its stewardship. That a great Government should periodically be called to the bar of public opinion, that its doings should be rigorously scrutinized, that its defects and its merits should be permanently brought to light, is what every lover of quiet constitutional reform desires. But was this the course pursued by the public on the occasion of what may be the last renewal of the Charter? A cry suddenly arose, waxed louder, and ended in a prolonged howl. Without any system of rational investigation, without recourse to the publications which threw light on Indian affairs, the press and the public at home settled down into the belief that the East India Company had done nothing for the people of India, had abandoned their sacred charge, slurred over their duties, and

betrayed their trust. It would take a whole Number of this *Review* to expose the fallacies uttered regarding the Indian administration, and to expose to deserved ridicule the quack medicines by which the oriental disease was to be cured.

Scarcely anything was too absurd, or too contradictory, for credence. The Company had done nothing: they had done too much: they should take less money from the land and spend more on it: they should not run into debt: they should begin to educate the natives: they should provide honorable employments for the many natives whom they had educated. Every monstrous theory found a supporter, and we were compelled to listen successively to the wild and dangerous remedies proposed by Mr. Phillimore, to the inept effusions of Mr. Seymour, and to the sincere, but mistaken, reasoning of Mr. Bright. The whole agitation proves clearly the entire unfitness of Parliament to legislate in detail for India, to deal with great Eastern questions, or do anything but give a better form of Indian Government at Home. With these grand and primary features, some clear-minded men at home will always be found competent to deal. An infusion of what is called the English element into Eastern discussions will always be a great gain. But it will be a fatal day for India, when the great sources of her revenue, the welfare of her hundred millions, and the authority of her Governors, are to be made the sport of men, who either aim at a cheap popularity, or are bound to satisfy a pledge. The crowning proof of the danger to India, from direct parliamentary meddling, is to be found in the attempted abolition of the salt monopoly. A revenue of a million, voted away by Sir John Maitland, to gratify his constituents at Dratwills, without one thought as to how the deficiency is to be made good. A few more mistakes of this sort, and we shall, indeed, in the cant phrase of the day, have taught India the art of self-government. Meanwhile, the new arrangements for India are so far connected with Lord Dalhousie, that it is to him we shall mainly owe the boon of a separate Lieut.-Governor for Bengal. This, one of the real wants of India, or at least of that part of it where agitators can shout the loudest, instead of being prominently put forward in the memorials of Associations and Committees, was inserted at the tail of a whole string of fancied wants, or nearly buried under a mountain of imaginary grievances. It might have passed unnoticed, or have been honoured with the merited contempt assigned to so many other representations. It is known, however, as we have remarked, that the Governor-General brought to the notice of leading men at home the paramount

necessity that existed for making Bengal Proper a separate executive charge. A recommendation, coming from his clear and practised judgment, and expressed in his lucid convincing language, derived additional force from the fact, that if ever we had a Governor-General competent to the double task of presiding in the Supreme Council, and wielding the executive power of the Government in the Lower Provinces, Lord Dalhousie was the man. But the best horse may be over-tasked, and every one is now fully persuaded that the best security for reform and progress in Bengal is to entrust it to the ablest civilian that can be found.

We cannot here pass over one measure, which, although not, during the life-time of its originator, connected with the Governor-General, has yet illustrated his administration. We allude to the attempt made to educate Hindu ladies of rank and position, by the late Mr. Drinkwater Bethune. Whether this gentleman's plan was characterized by sound judgment in all its minute details, may be questioned; but no one can deny that it was commenced with great earnestness, aided by princely liberality, and prosecuted with unwearied zeal. The debased condition of the Hindu female, it is allowed, had previously attracted the attention of other philanthropists. Missionaries have never lost sight of the object. There is a Society, established by the ladies of Calcutta, with corresponding members in the Mofussil, which pursues this one aim alone. Mrs. Wilson—a name which should be as widely known in India as that of Mrs. Fry in England—had been the first in the good work, nor did she lack the co-operation of such a divine as Heber, or the aid of such a gentle and noble nature as the late Lady William Bentinck. But India had not been standing still for the last eighteen years. The foundations now laid were broader, the crisis more favourable, the scene of the experiment was perhaps on a wider sphere. Of course, the plan met with opposition, with ridicule, with covert sneers, with open censure. We were not warned, indeed, as we often have been, that the British faith is pledged to maintain in their integrity the darkest superstitions, the most bloody sacrifices, the most debasing error, the foulest pollutions, the worst crimes. The arguments on this occasion employed against the measure were often contradictory. It was useless to deal with prejudices so deeply rooted as the non-education of women, for the Shastras had declared that they must neither read nor write, and centuries of experience had confirmed this decision. It was useless for a foreigner to dictate to wealthy Hindus regarding the economy of their household, or to teach, in a public institution, what all

enlightened natives were already teaching to the members of their families in safe and virtuous retirement. Education was a grand thing for men only. Education, for women, was a grand thing, but neither the hour nor the man had yet come. Of such kinds were the strictures on Mr. Bethune's favoured plan. We may, many of us, remember the richness of illustration, and the heart-burning eloquence, with which, on a fine evening, in the commencement of the cold season of 1850, he opened the institution; and we know, too, that Mr. Bethune died in the next year, and that Lord Dalhousie has since generously supported the institution out of his own pocket, until the Court of Directors can determine regarding it. But surely that native women should become educated, refined, capable of social intercourse, ornaments of the household, and not household slaves is not more unlikely now, than some years ago it was that Kulin Brahmins should become Christians, that high-caste Hindus should cross the ocean, that native princes should proscribe Suttee. We have had of late signal instances in which natives have risen superior to the prejudices of caste; and surely, it will be a happy day for India, when its wealthy and influential gentlemen shall appreciate that indefinable charm, which the presence of a well-educated woman sheds in every household; or when at least they shall combine to abjure that false and frail philosophy, which, while it proclaims by old saws and modern instances, in popular poetry and prose, the irredeemable vileness of one of God's noblest creatures, consigns a being thus designated to some vain frivolities which can never satisfy the intellect, and to a fancied seclusion which can never guard the heart.

We have attempted to describe in this paper the political events and the legislative reforms which have characterized the present administration. We shall now say a few words about the financial measures of the same period. During the past year, it has been duly notified by the Secretary in the Financial Department, that large loans, bearing interest at 5 per cent., would be paid off, if parties in possession of paper desired it, the option of converting their paper into the lower rate of 4 per cent., being tendered to them at the same time.

There now only remains one loan which pays the high rate of interest. All cash subscriptions to the 4 per cent loan have been discontinued, and a three and half per cent. loan has been opened. Thus, at a time, when men in England were denouncing the irretrievable confusion of the Company's finances, were predicting more debt from the spread of territory, and were talking about failing supplies and increasing

charges, the Government of India was quietly disproving such rash assertions by notifying its perfect readiness to pay off large loans. It is calculated that the saving to the State by the transfer of the papers, and the reduction in the rate of interest, will be about ten lakhs of rupees. Some foolish remarks have been made about this notification, as if there were any thing strange in the idea of a man's paying his just debt, or decreasing his liabilities, when he could afford to do so. But besides the above saving, we have had the falling in of the ex-Peishwa's huge pension of eight lakhs a year, and of another pension of seven lakhs a year, which had been assigned to the ex-Peishwa's opponent, for two generations. The former of these stipends had been enjoyed from 1818 to 1850. The latter from 1803 to 1853. The total amount drawn by these two royal idlers is no less than six millions sterling—sufficient to have paid off a considerable loan, or to have covered Bengal and Behar with bridges and roads. For the former pension, granted under the reprehensible extravagance of the Government of the day, we have to thank Sir John Malcolm, and for the latter burden we are indebted, we regret to say, to no less a person than the great Duke himself. Still we have here a reduction of one-quarter of a million, effected by the above savings, under three different heads, within three years. The Punjab surplus, for the next ten years, as we shewed in our Number for October last, will be nearly another quarter of a million, and if the Bombay Government only knew how to make the most of such lapses as Sattara, we might have had something thence to lessen the general burdens of the State. But the plan on which they recognise Inams and alienations of revenue in that Presidency, is something incomprehensible to us on this side of India. The Supreme Government should look to it. But it has been one of the evils of the Indian administration, that while under a refined centralization, much valuable time has been expended on masses of irrelevant and isolated facts, on detached references, which form no rule for future guidance, important points which required scrutiny, flaws which should have been repaired, and radical vices which prevailed in all departments, have managed to elude all enquiry and research. For the rest, our finances are, on the whole, in a hopeful condition. No new loan has been occasioned by the Burmese war, but on the contrary, as we have just remarked, the treasury was so full, that old loans were advertised for payment. The surplus from the Punjab will cover the expenses of this war, and Pegu may, eventually, pay. The land-revenues of Bengal and Agra are generally fixed on a firm basis, and will not fluctuate. The

returns from opium have not yet become less. The salt revenue may yet last, with a reduction of duty, if crude legislators at home are only checked in time. The public establishments are generally on a footing adequate to their various duties. The army may be reduced. If no new wars occur, we may be in a sound financial position within the next ten years. But we are well aware how many vain prophecies and hopes have been uttered on this deceptive subject.

Perhaps the best way of estimating our finances, generally, is to look at the point in our political condition, to which the statesmanship of Lord Ellenborough, the soldierly bearing of Lord Hardinge, and the comprehensive views of Lord Dalhousie, have now brought us. The chances against a rebellion in the Punjab are about twenty-five to one. Every year adds to our security, as the old Khalsa die off, as the agriculturists become attached to our rule, as the young and active become enrolled in our Irregulars. The wretched kingdom of Oude only awaits the man and the hour. The kingdom of Nagpore awaits, at the hand of Lord Dalhousie, a new ruler or the sentence of annexation. The kingdom of Nepal, as Lord Dalhousie remarked in his celebrated Minute on Railways can be no cause for apprehension while the minister Jung Behadoor lives : and even in the event of his demise, it is well known that the artillery of the Goorkhas is contemptible, and that they literally have not cavalry sufficient to face the Irregular regiment stationed at Segowlee. The Nepaulese Durbar could not find riders to mount the horses of the Poosa stud. It is only as infantry that the Goorkhas are valuable allies or formidable opponents. The kingdom of Gwalior shows us a small army, a young prince, who hitherto has promised well, and a wise minister, Denkur Rao Raghunath, who is doing all that his own sterling talents, remarkable integrity, and high sense of honour can do, against intriguers, who thwart his best measures and undermine his wise administration. The hundred petty states of Central India, under the care of agents and residents, are rescued from debt or saved from aggression. The best districts of the Nizam are in the hands of British officers. The high-spirited Rajpoots are managed by Sir Henry Lawrence, with the same tact and talent as they were by Colonel Low. There is no sound of disaffection in Mysore, no note of rebellion at Benares : even the Moplas are tolerably quiet, and the mountaineers of the North-West Frontier have not yet sacked Mooltan. We firmly believe that India has little to fear from the *jazails* of the Affghan, the swords of the Goorkha, the bows and arrows of the Nagas, or the wild cry of the Beloches.

The sea, our own prestige, and impassable mountains, may shield us from external invasion, unless some astounding combination of circumstances shall occur—and as regards the chances of internal warfare, we may well ask if there is anywhere a native Prince who would dare twice to meet, in open field, a British force, of 10,000 men, under the guidance of Sir John Cheape?

It would be affectation to suppress, in a paper such as this, all mention of the *personnel* of the present administration. And we may fairly conclude this paper by advertence to the peculiar characteristics of the man, and to his mode of doing business. The most prominent feature of the present Government, it will be universally admitted, is its extreme vigour. In the Government of the Punjab, in the various grand reforms of public departments, in the control and supervision of all public officers, from the Board and the Sudder, down to the humblest official in the Excise or the Preventive line, in the enforcement of a respect for law, in the wielding of the executive power, in the prosecution of material works, in necessary retrenchments, in judicious expenditure, there has been felt everywhere a firm and vigorous hand. No man ever accused Lord Dalhousie of doing anything weak. There has been no delay, beyond what was necessary to collect scattered facts, or to get at opinions which might be useful; the ground has not been gone over twice and thrice, a flaw amended here, an omission repaired there, a mistake corrected in a third place. Wherever the blow fell, on cherished abuses, or official insubordination, it fell with crushing and irresistible force. Every man has been conscious of working under the eye of a Governor, who was determined to enforce a respect for discipline, who would accept no vain excuses, and whom no sophistry could elude. Accordingly, in the two Governments which have come more directly under Lord Dalhousie's management, the Punjab and Bengal, the effects of this vigour have been conspicuous. We have heard enough of several cases in which the head of the Government has thought it incumbent on him to check an insubordinate or captious spirit by trenchant severity, and we know, too, that, in some instances, the bolt has fallen not on the humble dwelling, but on the loftiest palaces—the *ingens pinus* and the *montium culmina*. But in this we can see nothing but even justice and wise dealing. What should we think of a Governor who delivered philippics against some unlucky subaltern or some friendless deputy collector, and reserved for delinquents of high station the cautious admonition, the gentle remonstrance, and the mild rebuke? Lord Dalhousie

has spared no man who, in his opinion, failed to act up to his duty, or transgressed the bounds of official propriety, as will be acknowledged by grave Judges, ancient Brigadiers, and sedate Boards. It is rumoured that even higher personages have felt the weight of his anger, and have gladly retreated from an encounter where one party is sure to get the worst.

Si rixa est ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.

There may be a difference of opinion as to the necessity for the strong language actually employed on some of the occasions to which we are alluding, but no man can doubt the motives by which the Governor-General has been actuated at such times. They are none other than respect for law, jealousy for the interests of the State, a desire to uphold constituted authority, and a wish to see zeal and activity not idly spent in vain altercation, but carefully contributing their quotas for the furtherance of the public service.

The amount of labour which Lord Dalhousie has got through, has probably not been surpassed by any of his predecessors, though neither Lord Ellenborough, nor the amiable Lord Auckland, ever spared themselves in this respect. The Minutes of His Lordship, their rapid succession, their variety, their pith and pointedness, have long been celebrated, not merely in official circles, but in drawing-rooms and at dinner-tables. Two ponderous Blue Books attest his diligence, and allow every man to judge of his capacity. Several of his State papers, on matters connected with the Punjab, have found their way into the *Lahore Chronicle*, and have been copied by other papers: and we have had the perusal of several others in the Calcutta dailies during the past year. Of these, the paper on plantations in the five Doabs, is remarkable for its elegance and finish: that on the public works of the Bengal Presidency criticises the failings of the unlucky Military Board, and points out the remedy for our miserably neglected roads and bridges, with a force and conclusiveness positively irresistible: and just six months ago, we saw in the Minute on Railways for all India, a convincing proof of Lord Dalhousie's signal capacity for dealing with important social questions and for supplying the real wants of an extended empire. The style of his Minutes is singularly luminous, though not perhaps always free from marks of haste. The swelling periods, the apt illustrations, at times makes us think that the writer imagined himself engaged in an attempt to rouse, by narrative, the apathy of the Upper House, or was breaking a lance with some old opponent on a question of Eastern policy. The lucid statements of facts, and the complete mastery of the details exhibited in the Minutes, are not more

striking than the liberal sentiments, the comprehensive policy, and the enlarged statesmanship, which pervade and animate the whole composition. We shall hope that Lord Dalhousie's valuable papers, some of which are little Codes on Oriental topics, may not remain accessible only to a few persons immediately connected with Government, or be buried under the huge masses of rubbish which make up so much of our records : but that at some future day "the Dalhousie State papers," revised by their noble author, may vindicate his policy, disarm his opponents, and delight his friends.

We know no Governor, except Lord William Bentinck, who has gone so much into detail, as Lord Dalhousie. He has done this generally, without trenching on the province of subordinate officers, or attempting, except occasionally, to do work which such persons must know more about. It is not to be supposed that the Governor-General can lay down rules for the settlement of a large district, for the allowances of lumberdars, or the rights of the cultivators, as well as a Thomason or a Lawrence, or that he could lecture on the complicated procedure of civil courts in Bengal, and devise means for the amelioration thereof, with the legal acuteness and the luminous precision which mark all the writings of Mr. John Peter Grant. But he has shewn a wonderful aptitude for mastering so much of the multifarious details of Indian business, as was necessary to enable him to arrive at just conclusions on any one great question ; and his sagacity, sharpened by long practice, has enabled him to pierce through the obscurity caused by Indian nomenclature, official technicalities, and strange forms. Nor is this knowledge of detail confined to mere civil duties. Lord Dalhousie has made military subjects, such as the organization of troops, and their equipments, his peculiar study. We do not mean by this that he has been prone to meddle with subjects which only professional men can deal with—on the contrary, we are certain that he would be the very last man to lecture Hannibal on the art of making war, and no one ever thought of saying of him, pretty much what was said of Lord John Russell, that he would command the *Fox* or the *Feroze* to-morrow. But in every thing that touches on the clothing, transport and housing of troops, the raising and arming of irregular levies, in all that concerns the Ordnance or the Commissariat, the efficiency or the health of the sepoy and the soldier, the Governor-General has manifested a clearness of comprehension, and a soundness of judgment, which have commanded the admiration of distinguished military officers. Several of his suggestions were found very valuable at the time

when the Irregular regiments were organized for the Punjab, after its annexation ; and it has been truly said, that in the conduct of the Burmese campaign, he has acted as his own war minister.

We shall endeavour to close this imperfect sketch of a splendid and successful Administration, by summing up the merits of Lord Dalhousie as an administrator in the East. Great sagacity in foreseeing events, and great energy and vigour in dealing with them : inflexible determination in the cause of humanity, justice, or due subordination : a happy selection of instruments to carry out purposes happily devised : no undue shrinking from responsibility : hearty devotion of time and labour to the manifold duties of his position : a high sense of honor, a love of candour and truth—these are the qualities which have characterized his six year's rule. It may be thought, that placed in a position towering above other men, with success waiting on his plans, with a will to which that of Councillors and Directors has often yielded, he has not invariably remembered how thin a partition divides firmness from obstinacy, justice from harshness, and manly independence from pride.

The "adjacent vices," as they are termed, are often more dangerous than those most opposed to virtue. But however this may be, we are quite sure that Lord Dalhousie has tact enough to remember that the management of parties at home requires greater delicacy and lightness of touch than we are wont to see applied in the direction of the public service in this country. A Governor-General crushing Boards, and wiggling Generals without the chance of a reply, is in a different position from the member of a ministry at home. These are not the days when even what Junius termed the "imposing superiority" of Lord Chatham's talents would command the Cabinet and awe the House. But we have no fear that Lord Dalhousie will be declared "impracticable" by any party in England.

With one exception, which after all may have better results than what appears likely, complete success has hitherto attended every political or social measure originating with Lord Dalhousie. A great kingdom, on the shores of the five rivers, acknowledges him as the author of a splendid revolution, a brilliant metamorphose, a bloodless change. Vast and comprehensive reforms have been devised, prosecuted, and are now being carried out under his rule. To him the greatest state in the Deccan owes a change in its political relations with the British Government, which removes only the evil and leaves the good untouched. The wily ruler of Cashmere, to the astonishment of the Khalsa, the Bidee and the Mussulman fanatic, has

paid him personal homage. The son of the last great ruler of the Punjab has, under his very eyes as it were, renounced the religion of his fathers, for the one true faith. The productions of the Governor-General's pen have well nigh reminded some of their readers of the State papers of Caning. The clear tones of his voice have told exiles in India, that the race of English orators is not yet extinct. In the midst of war, he has quietly proclaimed to the world the solvency of the Company's Government, and he has been the first Governor who has really made a reduction in our debt. He has visited countries which other rulers had never even dreamt of visiting, and has analysed subjects which had dropped as too heavy from their hands. Annexation, postal reform, the acceleration of intercourse, the promotion of sound education, the reduction of expenditure by direct and indirect measures—he has tried his hand at most things, and has succeeded in all he has tried. The whole, too, has been accomplished before the meridian of life. It may yet be only an episode in his personal history that he was once Governor-General of India. He still wants five years of the time of life which Aristotle fixed as that of the maturity of the intellectual powers. In the period which must yet elapse before he retires from the Indian arena, he may accomplish ends, adequately to describe which, it will require more space than we have already filled. And at home it will not readily be imagined that he is to be *donatus rude*. No retirement at a country seat, no occasional appearance in the Upper House, no contentment with past triumphs, should be the lot of this perfect man of business, this experienced statesman, this successful viceroy. The knowledge which he has acquired is, moreover, of two different and opposite kinds, which may be brought to bear wonderfully on the same ends. He has known what it is to hold office in England, to receive deputations, to watch the working of factories, and to appreciate some of those hundred influences which regulate the course of public affairs at home. He has wielded the whole power of an Eastern Government, absolute but not despotic, where so much depends on the will of a single individual. Two extremes are to him equally familiar. He can tell on the one hand how, in England, great interests are to be won over, how privilege is to be reconciled with labour, how the tactics of party are to be judiciously arrayed, how the minister must seem to express the will of the nation, while acting out his own. And on the other, he can say where the State in the East should take the initiative: he knows the amount of evil which arises, both from the absence of respect

for law, and from laws perverted to mischief : he can well understand how ill-suited are representative institutions, chartered debating clubs, and Anglo-Saxon theories, to a people whose whole history is the usual dull record of rapid conquest, temporary vigour, eventual degeneracy and decay. He has acquired this double knowledge at a time when other rulers had only just begun to turn their faces to the East. In the prime of life he has been the first servant of the great Company. He may again, yet in his vigour, be amongst the foremost ministers of the crown. He may give a practical contradiction to the assertion, that exiles in the East have dropped behind the age, that English ideas and associations are opponent to their nature, that they come back amongst Englishmen of keen intellect and refined perceptions, like the mummies of Egypt, or like massive statues exhumed from the depth of some cave temple. His shining talents, his great and diversified experience, may yet find, in the bustle of English politics, or the stirring events which are agitating Europe, their appropriate employment and scope. Retaining a lively remembrance of that marvellous Indian Empire, to the growth of which scarce any historian has done justice, and adding thereto a just appreciation of the symmetry of the British constitution, which surpasses even the dreams of the wisest of Greek philosophers, Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of India, may gracefully descend from his vantage ground to a struggle with his compeers—and whether in the ranks of the opposition, he supports measures without undue subserviency, and denounces them without personal rancour, or whether he adds the weight of his influence, his name and his talent, to some high official conclave, he may contribute hereafter, for many a day, to maintain our England in her position as the Empress of every useful art and ennobling science, as the Herald of philanthropy, as the Messenger of Truth to the farthest regions of the earth, and as the Island Queen in the great congress of the world.

FOREFATHERS OF MAHOMET, AND HISTORY OF MECCA.

BY SIR W. MUIR.

1. *Essai sur L'Histoire des Arabes. Par A. P. Caussin de Perceval.* Paris, 1847. Vol. I.
2. *Life of Mohammed.* By A. Sprenger, M. D. Allahabad, 1851.
3. *Sirat Wackidi.* (Arab. MS.)
4. *Sirat Tabari.* (Arab. MS.)
5. *Sirat Hishâmi.* (Arab. MS.)

IN a previous article upon the Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia, we endeavoured to give a connected view of the progress of events at Mecca, from the most remote period to which our knowledge extends, down to the middle of the fifth century of our era; and about that period we left Cossai in the possession of all the important dignities of the city, both religious and political.

The social institutions of Mecca did not essentially differ from those of the wandering Bedouins. They were, to some extent, modified by the requirements of a settled habitation, and the peculiarities of the pilgrimage and local superstition; but the ultimate sanctions of society, and the springs of political movement, were in reality the same at Mecca then, (so wonderfully have they survived the corroding effects of time), as exist in the desert at the present day, and have been so graphically portrayed by the pen of Burkhardt.

It must be borne in mind that at Mecca there was not, before the establishment of Islam, any *Government* in the common sense of the term.* No authority existed whose mandate must be put into execution. Each tribe formed a republic of opinion, and the opinion of the aggregate tribes, who chanced to be acting together, was the sovereign law; but there was not any recognized exponent of the popular will; each tribe was free to hold back from that which was clearly decreed by the rest; and no individual was more bound than his collective tribe to a compulsory conformity with the desire of the public. Honor and revenge supplied the place of a more elaborate system: the former prompted the individual, by the desire of upholding the name and influence of his clan, to a compliance with its wishes; the latter provided for the respect of private right, by the prospect of an unrelenting pursuit of the injurer. In effect the will of

* See remarks by Sprenger (*Life of Mohammed*, pp. 20, 23.)



the majority did form the general rule of action for all,* although there was a continual risk that the minority might separate, and assume an independent, if not opposing, course. The law of revenge, too, though in such a society necessary, was then, even as now, the curse of the Arabs. Blood once shed was not easily effaced: its price might be rejected by the heir, and life for life demanded. Retaliation followed retribution: the friends, the family, the clan, the confederated tribes, one by one in a widening circle, took up the claims of the sufferer, and identified them as their own; and thus an insignificant quarrel or unpremeditated blow not unfrequently involved whole tracts of country in a protracted and bloody strife. Still, in a system which provided no magisterial power to interfere with decisive authority in personal disputes, it cannot be doubted that the law of retaliation afforded a check (however defective) upon the passions of the stronger; and that acts of violence and injustice were repressed by the fear of retribution from the friends or relatives of the injured party. The benefit of the custom was further increased by the practice of *patronage* or guardianship. The weak resorted to the strong for protection; and when the word of a chief or powerful man had once pledged him to grant it, the pledge was fulfilled with chivalrous scrupulosity.

At first sight it might appear that, under this system, the chiefs possessed no shadow of authority to execute either their own wishes or those of the people. But in reality their powers, though vague and undefined, were large and effective. Their position always secured for them an important share in forming and giving expression to the public opinion, so that, excepting in rare and unusual cases, they swayed the councils and the actions of their tribes. It was chiefly by the influence gained from the local offices of the Kaaba and the pilgrimage, that the Sheikhs of Mecca differed from their brethren of the desert, and exercised a more systematic and permanent rule. It is important, therefore, carefully to trace downwards the history of these offices, which Cossa, with the hope of establishing a stable government, concentrated, first in his own person, and then in that of his eldest son. The offices are commonly reckoned five in number: I. *Sicdya* and *Rifada*; the

* We meet with few instances of *punishments* inflicted by society upon offenders before Islam. In one case a robber's hands were cut off for the theft of treasure belonging to the Kaaba: another man was exiled for ten years on suspicion of connivance at the theft. (*Tabari*, p. 73.)

exclusive privilege of supplying water and food to the pilgrims. II. *Kiyāda*; the command of the troops in war. III. *Liwd*; the standard, or right of mounting the banner, and presenting it to the standard-bearer. IV. *Hijāba*; the charge of the Kaaba. V. *Dār al Nadwa*; the presidency in the Hall of Council.*

Cossai had four sons, the two most distinguished of whom are called ABD AL DAR, and ABD MENAF,† (the latter born about 430 A. D.) The narrative of the patriarch's last days is thus simply told by Wäckidi. In process of time Cossai became old and infirm. Abd al Dar was the oldest of his sons, but he lacked influence and power; and his brethren raised themselves up against him. Therefore Cossai made over all his offices to his first-born, saying—"Thus wilt thou retain thine authority over thy people, even though they raise themselves up against thee; let no one enter the Kaaba, unless thou hast opened it unto him; nor let any banner of the Coreish be mounted for war, but thou be the one who mountest it with thine own hands; let no man drink at Mecca, but from thy drawing; nor any pilgrim eat therein, except of thy food; and let not the Coreish resolve upon any business, but in thy Council Hall." So he gave him up the Hall of Council, and the custody of the Holy House, and the giving of drink and of food, that he might unite his brethren unto him. And Cossai died, and was buried in Al Hajûn.‡

* See *Sprenger's Life of Mohammed*, p. 6—*C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 237 et seq. Some make the *Liwd*, or Standardship, to imply the *Leadership* also; but we find these offices held separately by different persons. But supposing that they are reckoned as one, then the *Sicûya* and *Risâda* might be regarded as distinct, to make up the five offices.

It has been already stated that Cossai did not keep in his own hands the lesser ceremonial offices of the pilgrimage, as the *Ifâda* and *Ijâza*, or right of dismissal and heading the procession on the tour to Arafat; but this tour was conducted under his superintendence, as he then gave the pilgrims water and food; and we read that he used to kindle a great fire at Muzdalifa, to guide the pilgrims on the night of their return thither from Arafat—"a practice," says Wäckidi, "continued up to the present day." (*Wäckidi*, p. 124)

† Cossai called two of his sons after his gods, *Abd Menâf* and *Abd al Ozza*; one after his house, *Abd al Dâr*; and one, who died young, after himself, *Abd al Cossai*. *Abd Menâf* was named *Al Camr* from his beauty; but it is said that his proper name was *Al Mughîra*; his mother however dedicated him to *Menâf*, the greatest idol at Mecca; so that name prevailed over the other. (*Tabari*, pp. 25-26.) From *Abd al Ozza* descended *Khadîj*, Mahomet's first wife.

‡ This is from *Wäckidi*, p. 12.—See also *Tabari*, p. 35. *Al Hajûn* is a hill "near Mecca, which became henceforth the burial-ground of the Quorayshites, (if, indeed, it was not so before.)" (*Sprenger*, p. 26.)

Through the careful providence of his father, Abd al Dar contrived, notwithstanding his weakness, to retain at least a nominal supremacy. But he enjoyed little influence in comparison with his brother Abd Menâf, on whom the real management of public affairs devolved, and who laid out fresh quarters for the growing population of Mecca,* Upon the death of Abd al Dar, the whole of the offices of State and Religion passed into the hands of his sons; but they all died within a few years after, and his grandsons, who then inherited the dignities of the family, (500 A. D.) were of too tender years effectually to maintain their rights.

Meanwhile the sons of Abd Menâf had grown up, and continued in possession of their father's influence. The chief of them were Al Muttalib, Hâshim, Abd Shams, and Naufal.† These conspired to seize from the descendants of Abd al Dar the hereditary offices bequeathed by Cossai. Hâshim took the lead, and grounded his claim on the superior dignity of his branch of the family. But the descendants of Abd al Dar, headed by Amir, his grandson, refused to cede any of their rights; and an open rupture ensued. The society of Mecca was equally divided by the two factions, one portion of the Coreish siding with the claimants, and the other with the actual possessors of the dignities; while but few remained neutral. Both parties swore that they would prosecute their claim, and be faithful among themselves, so long as there remained water in the sea sufficient to wet a tuft of wool. To add stringency to their oath, Hâshim and his faction filled a dish with aromatic substances, and having brought it close to the Kaaba, they thrust their hands therein as they swore, and rubbed them upon the Holy House. The

* This seems to be the real state of the case, although the accounts differ. Thus Wâckidi says, that after Cossai's death, Abd Menâf succeeded to his position and to the Government of the Coreish; *ربا عا بعد الذي كان قصي قطع لقومه*;

و اختط بمكة A tradition is given by Azracki, that Cossai himself divided the offices between Abd al Dâr and Abd Menâf, and allotted to the latter the giving of drink and food, and the leadership. But had it been so, then the descendants of Abd Menâf would have had no necessity to fight for those offices.

† He had six sons and six daughters. The eldest of the sons was Al Muttalib. (Wâckidi, pp. 13-14.) The three first mentioned in the text above were by one mother, Atika, of the Bani Cays Aylân. Naufal was by a female of the Bani Sâsâa. Wâckidi mentions a third wife. C. de Perceval makes Abd Shams the eldest son. (See also *Tubari*, p. 22.)

opposite party similarly dipped their hands into a bowl of blood.*

The opponents now made ready for a bloody contest ; and the ranks were already marshalled in sight of each other, when by an unexpected turn of events, they mutually called for a truce, upon condition that Hâshim and his party should have the offices of providing food and water for the pilgrims, and that the descendants of Abd al Dar should as hitherto retain the custody of the Kaaba, the Hall of Council, and the Bannership. Peace was restored upon these terms. †

HASHIM, (born A. D. 464, †) thus installed in the office of entertaining the pilgrims, fulfilled it with a princely magnificence. He was himself possessed of great riches, and many others of the Coreish had also by trading acquired much wealth. He appealed to them as his grandfather Cossai had done :—“ *Ye are the neighbours of God, and the keepers of his house. The pilgrims who come honoring the sanctity of his temple are his guests, and it is meet that ye should entertain*

* Hence the former were called لمطيبين | the “sweet scented,” or “those who pledged themselves in perfumes ;”—the latter, لعقة الدم |—“the lickers of blood.” (*Wâkidi*, p. 13¼.)

Sprenger calls the former party the *Liberals*, the latter the *Conservatives*. But on the part of the latter there was no greater conservatism than the natural desire to retain the dignities and power they already possessed : on the part of the former there was no greater liberalism than the assertion of their pretensions to a portion of those dignities and power. The principles of both were the same. Neither had any intention of effecting a change in the religious or political system. Both recognized the patriarchal-oligarchical form of the constitution, and both would continue it, without any intention of adopting a more efficient and enlightened régime. It was a simple struggle for power on the part of two branches of the dominant family. But Sprenger's principle of a spirit of enquiry and advance towards the truth, before Mahomet's time, prepared him to recognize in the stock of Abd Menâf the seeds of liberalism, which (as it appears to us) were no more there than in the stock of Abd al Dar.

† The *Leadership* is not here specified, and the inference might thence be drawn that it followed the *Bannership*. But we know from subsequent history, that the leadership actually fell to the lot of Abd Shams, and from him was inherited in regular descent by Omeiya, Harb, and Abu Sofîân. (See *Sprenger*, p. 26, note i.) The three offices retained by the descendants of Abd al Dar remained in that line. The custody of the Kaaba was generously continued by Mahomet to the party in possession at the opening of Islam, though hitherto one of his opponents. The Hall of Council was sold by Ikrima, who had inherited it, to the Caliph Moâwîa, who made it the House of Government دارالمارءة |—“and so,” adds Wâkidi, “it continues in the hands of the Caliphs even unto this day” (p. 13¼.)

‡ This is according to C. de Perceval's calculations, which have our confidence as near approximations to fact. Sprenger places Hâshim's birth, A. D. 442. (Vide *Asiatic Journal*, No. CCXXI, p. 352.)

them above all other guests. God hath specially chosen and exalted you to this high dignity: wherefore honor his guests and refresh them: For, from distant cities, on their lean and jaded camels, they come unto you fatigued and harassed, with hair dishevelled, and bodies covered with the dust and filthiness of the long way. Invite them, then, with hospitality, and furnish them with water in abundance." Hâshim set the example by a munificent expenditure from his own resources, and the Coreish were forward to contribute, every man according to his ability. A fixed cess was also levied upon all.* Water sufficient for the prodigious assemblage of pilgrims was collected in cisterns by the Kaaba from the wells of Mecca; and in temporary reservoirs of leather at the stations on the route to Arafat. The feeding commenced upon the day before the pilgrims started for Minâ and Arafat, and continued until the assemblage dispersed.† During this period they were entertained with pottage of meat and bread, of butter and barley, variously prepared, and with the favorite national repast of dates.‡

Thus Hâshim supported the credit of Mecca. But his name is even more renowned for the splendid charity, by which he relieved the necessities of his follow-citizens, reduced by a long continued famine to extreme distress. § He proceeded to Syria, and purchased an immense store of bread, which he packed in panniers, and conveyed upon camels to Mecca. There the victuals were cooked for distribution; the camels were slaughtered and roasted; and the whole parted among the people. Destitution and mourning were suddenly turned

* *Wâkidi*, pp. 13-14. The fixed cess is noted at 100 Hæraclian Mithcals. Sprenger thinks that this may mean the *aureus* of Constantine, which Gibbon calculates at 11 shillings. The fixed contribution from each would thus exceed £50. The richer of the merchants may have given so much. It is certain that mercantile projects had begun to revive at Mecca, and especially among the Coreish. The profits of each expedition are stated to have generally doubled the capital stock employed. And as the ostentatious Arabs would generally expend all that they could on the occasion of the annual pilgrimage, the sum specified is not an unlikely one for the more extensive traders. But as a general and uniform cess on each person or head of a family, it appears excessive and improbable. The period alluded to, however, is early in the sixth century, and we cannot look for any great certainty of detail in such matters at that remote era.

† The day before starting is called يوم التروية and falls on the 8th of Dzul Hijj. The ceremonies concluded, and the multitude dispersed on the 12th of the same month.

‡ The foregoing account is chiefly from *Wâkidi*, p. 14.

§ On the liability of Mecca still to famine from long drought, see *Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia*, p. 240.

into mirth and plenty ; and it was, (the historian adds,) " as it were the beginning of new life after the year of scarcity." *

The foreign relations of the Coreish were managed solely by the sons of Abd Menâf. With the Roman authorities and the Ghassânide ruler, Hâshim himself concluded a treaty ; and he received from the Emperor a rescript, authorizing the Coreish to go to and fro in security.† He also gained the friendship of the inhabitants on the road, by promising to carry their goods without hire.‡ His brother Abd Shams made a treaty with the Najâshy, in pursuance of which they traded with the land of Abyssinia : his other brothers, Naufal and Al Muttalib, concluded alliances, the former with the King of Persia, who allowed them to traffic in Irâc and Fars, the latter with the Kings of Himyar, who encouraged their operations in Yemen. Thus the affairs of the Coreish prospered in every direction.§

To Hâshim is ascribed the credit of regulating the mercantile expeditions of his people, so that every winter a caravan set out regularly for Yemen and Abyssinia, while in the summer a second visited Ghazza, Ancyra, and the other Syrian marts.||

The success and the glory of Hâshim exposed him to the envy of Omeiya the son of his brother, Abd Shams. Omeiya was opulent, and he sought to expend his riches in a vain attempt to rival the splendour of his uncle's munificence.

* *Wâckidi*, p. 13—*Tabari*, p. 22 It is added by all the Mahometan historians, that this is the origin of the name *Hâshim*, i. e., he that broke up the victuals :—

هشام الثريد But the meaning of the word is more likely to be a mere coincidence, and not the origin of the name of Hâshim, which was already in existence. Thus the leading opponent of our Hâshim, in the struggle for the offices, was Amr, son of *Hâshim*, son Abd al Dar ; so that already there was a cousin styled by the same name. The Arab poets, however, delighted in the pun upon the name ; and we have fragments of poetry referring to it, handed down to us in the traditions. Hâshim's proper name is said to have been Amr.

† It is added that so often as he went to Ancyra (*Ancyra*.) he was admitted into the presence of the Emperor, who honored and esteemed him ; but the legend, no doubt, originated in the desire to glorify this ancestor of the prophet. (*Wâckidi*, pp. 13-14—*Tabari*, p. 23.) The former says, that both the Caysar and the Najâshy honored and loved him.

‡ وهو الذي اخذ الحلف لقريش من قيصر لان تخالف
 آمنة واما من على الطريق فالفهم غلي ان تحمل قريش بضائعهم
 ولا كرا علي اهل الطريق وكتب له قيصر كتابا

(*Wâckidi*, p. 14.) The meaning of this passage seems to be as we have given it in the text.

§ *Tabari*, p. 23.

|| *Wâckidi*, p. 13—*Tabari*, p. 22.

The Coreish perceived the endeavour, and turned it into ridicule. Omeiya was enraged. "*Who is Hâshim?*" said he, and he defied him to a trial of superiority.* Hâshim would willingly have avoided a contest with one so much his inferior both in years and in dignity; but the Coreish, who loved such exhibitions, would not excuse him; so he was forced to consent, with the stipulation, however, that the vanquished party should lose fifty black-eyed camels, and be ten years exiled from Mecca. A Khozâite soothsayer was appointed umpire; and having heard the pretensions of both, pronounced Hâshim to be the victor. Then Hâshim took the fifty camels, and slaughtered them in the vale of Mecca, and fed with them all that were present. But Omeiya set out for Syria, and remained there the full period of his exile.†

Hâshim was now advanced in years, when on a mercantile trip to the north, he visited Medîna with a party of Coreish. As he traded there in the *Nabathean market*,‡ he was attracted by the soft figure of a female, who from a lofty position was directing her people how to buy and sell for her. She was discreet, and withal comely; and she made a tender impression upon the heart of Hâshim. He enquired of the people whether she was married or single; and they answered that she had been married to Oheihâ, and had borne him two sons, but that he had then divorced her. The dignity of this lady, they added, was so great in her tribe, that she would not marry

* It is difficult to express in any language, but the Arabic, the idea conveyed by منافرة. It was a vain-glorious practice of the Arabs, in which one party challenged another, claiming to be more noble and renowned, brave and generous, than he. Each brought forward his ambitious pretensions, and the arbiter judged accordingly.

† Wâkidi, p. 134—*Tabari*, p. 14. The Mahometan historians add: "This was the beginning of the enmity between Hâshim and Omeiya," meaning between the Omeiyads and Abbassides. To give a mysterious and a sort of predestined appearance to this conclusion, it is pretended that Hâshim and Abd Shams (Omeiya's father) were twins; that the one first born came forth with his finger adhering to the forehead of his fellow; and that on being severed, blood flowed from the wound. The soothsayers were consulted, and declared that there would be bloodshed between them or their descendants. (*Tabari*, p. 23.) Wâkidi does not give this legend. It is an evident Abbasside fable. The envy of Omeiya, and the rivalry between the branches of Hâshim and Abd Shams, need no such recondite explanation. They were the natural result of the retention of power and office by one of two collateral lines. The Hâshimites had the chief dignities of giving food and drink to the pilgrims. The Omeiyads possessed only the leadership in battle. What more natural, than that the latter should envy the former?

‡ That one of the marts at Medîna should have been then currently called by this name, is proof that the Nabatheans long before had extensive mercantile dealings so far south as Medîna.

any one, unless it were stipulated that she should remain mistress of her own concerns, and have the power of divorce if she disliked her husband. This was Salma, the daughter of Amr, a Khazrajite of the Bani Najjār.*

So Hāshim demanded her in marriage; and she consented, for she was well aware of his nobility and renown. And he married her; and made a great feast to the Corcish, of whom forty were present with the caravan: he also invited some of the Khazrajites. After a few days' rest, the caravan proceeded onwards to Syria; and on its return, Hāshim carried his bride with him to Mecca. As the days of her pregnancy advanced, she retired to her father's house at Medina, and there (A. D. 497) brought forth a son, who, from the white hair which covered his infantile head, was called *Shēba* al Hamd. Not long after, Hāshim made another expedition to the north, and while at Gezza (*Gaza*), he sickened and died. The event occurred early in the sixth century of our era.†

* We have already made mention of Oheihā as one of the leaders of Medina, and also of Salma, in a former article on the "Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia."

† *Wāckidi*, p. 14—*Tabari*, p. 15. The account of the latter varies somewhat from *Wāckidi*. Tabary makes Hāshim, on his visit to Medina, to abide in the house of Amr, Salma's father, where he saw and fell in love with the comely widow. She made the stipulation that she was not to bring forth a child except in her father's house. Hāshim, after contracting the alliance, proceeded on his journey to Syria, and the marriage was not consummated till his return, when he carried Salma to Mecca. These facts, and the birth of *Shēba* at Medina, are not mentioned by *Wāckidi*.

Hāshim's death could not have occurred very immediately after the birth of *Shēba*, as he is said to have had another child by Salma, a daughter called *Ruckeya*, who died in infancy; but it is possible she may have been born before *Shēba*. Hāshim had also another daughter of the same name by another wife; he appears to have had in all five wives, by whom four sons and five daughters were born to him. (*Wāckiai ibidem*.) But the only child of any note was *Shēba* or *Abd al Muttalib*.

Hāshim was probably between fifty and sixty when he died. Sprenger has satisfactorily shown that the absurd tradition of his being at death only twenty or twenty-five years old, originated in a corrupt copy of a tradition in *Wāckidi*, where it is stated that *Abu Ruhm*, who carried back the property left by Hāshim at Gaza to his family at Mecca, was then only twenty years old.

Sprenger, however, seems to be wrong in attributing the name of *Shēba* to *Hāshim's* being grey-headed when Salma bore him a son. The view taken in the text is that of native authority, and is besides the most natural.

C. de Perceval considers that Hāshim died A. D. 510, and supposes *Shēba* to have been then thirteen years old (having been born A. D. 497.) But *Tabari* makes the lad only seven or eight years of age, when some time later, he quitted Median (p. 15.) Hāshim may therefore have died earlier.

We follow C. de Perceval in placing *Shēba's* (*Abd al Muttalib's*) birth in 497 A. D. He died aged eighty-two, in 579 A. D. Sprenger, by lunar years brings the calculation of his birth to 500 A. D., but we prefer the luni-solar system of C. de Perceval.

Hâshim left his dignities to his elder brother, Al Muttalib,* who conducted the entertainment of the pilgrims in so splendid a style, as to deserve the epithet *Al Faidh*, "the munificent." Meanwhile his little nephew, Shêba, was growing up, under the care of his widowed mother, at Medina. Several years after his brother's death, Al Muttalib chanced to meet a traveller from Medina, who described, in glowing terms, the noble bearing of the young Meccan. Al Muttalib's heart smote him, because he had so long left his brother's son in that distant locality, and he set out forthwith to bring him to Mecca. Arrived at Medina, he enquired for the lad, and found him practising archery among the boys of the city. He knew him at once from his likeness to his father: he embraced and wept over him and clothed him in a suit of Yemen raiment. His mother then sent to invite him to her house, but he refused to untie a knot of his camel's accoutrements, until he had carried off the lad to Mecca. Salma was taken by surprise at the proposal, and was passionate in her grief; but Al Muttalib reasoned with her, and explained the advantages which her son was losing by his absence from his father's house. Salma seeing him determined, at last relented; and thus, after Al Muttalib had sojourned with her three days, he set out for home with his nephew. He reached Mecca during the heat of the day; and as the inhabitants from their houses saw him return with a lad by his side, they concluded it was a slave he had purchased, and they exclaimed, *Abd Al Muttalib!*—"Lo, the servant of Al Muttalib!" "Out upon you," said he; "it is my nephew, Shêba, the son of Amr (Hashim.)" And as each scrutinized the features of the boy, they swore—"By my life! it is the very same."

In this incident is said to have originated the name of ABD AL MUTTALIB, by which the son of Hâshim was ever after called.†

* Al Muttalib and Hâshim, and their descendants, kept together on the one hand; as did Abd Shams and Naufal, and their descendants, on the other. Each body, Wâckidi adds, acted in all their proceedings "as one hand."

† Wâckidi, pp. 14-15—*Tabari*, pp. 15-17. The accounts vary considerably. The former makes Thâbit, father of the Poet Hassân, to give the tidings of his nephew to Al Muttalib: the latter, makes a Meccan of the Bani al Hârith to do so. *Tabari* also varies (p. 16) in representing Al Muttalib as carrying off his nephew clandestinely, and thus omits the interview with his mother; but at page 17 he gives another account more like Wâckidi's. He also makes Al Muttalib at first represent his nephew at Mecca to be *really* his slave, and then surprise the Coreish by leading him about the streets of Mecca well dressed, and proclaiming that he was Hashim's son. There seems some reason to doubt this origin, or Abd al Muttalib's name: however, as it is universally received by Mahometan

Al Muttalib proceeded in due time to instal his nephew in the possession of his father's property: but Naufal, another uncle, interposed, and violently deprived him of his paternal estate. Abd al Muttalib, (who would appear now to have reached the years of discretion,) appealed to his tribe to aid him in resisting these unjust pretensions; but they declined to interfere. He then wrote to his maternal relatives at Medina, who no sooner received the intelligence, than eighty mounted men of the Bâni Najjâr with Abu Asâd at their head, started for Mecca. Abd al Muttalib went forth to meet them, and invited them to his house, but Abu Asâd refused to alight until he had called Naufal to account. He proceeded straight to the yard of the Holy House, and found him seated there among the chiefs of the Corcish. Naufal arose and welcomed the stranger; but he refused his welcome, and drawing his sword, sternly declared that he would plunge it into him, unless he forthwith reinstated the orphan in his rights. The oppressor was daunted and agreed to the concession, which was ratified by oath before the assembled Corcish.*

Some years after, Al Muttalib died on a mercantile journey to Yemen; † and then Abd al Muttalib succeeded to the office of entertaining the pilgrims. But for a long time he was devoid of power and influence; and having but one son to assist him

writers, we have thought it as well to adopt it in the text. There is a good deal of fragmentary poetry on the subject. The following lines describe Al Muttalib's emotion when he recognized his nephew at Medina:—

عرفت شيبه والنجا ر قد † حلفت ابدا وها حوله بالنبيل تتفضل
 عرفت اجداده مناشيد—مته ففاض منى عليه و ابل س—ميل *

Wäckidi p. 140.

See *Tabari*, pp. 17—21. These incidents are not given by Wäckidi; and there is ground for suspecting at the least exaggeration in them, arising from the Abbasside desire of casting disrepute upon the Omeiad branch. Abd al Muttalib being represented as himself asserting his rights and sending a message to his Medina relatives (which is given by Tabari as a poetical fragment, p. 20.) we must regard him as now grown up. But we do not see any ground for holding the rights of which he was dispossessed to be those of entertaining the pilgrims, as Sprenger supposes. (*Life of Mohammed*, p. 30.) In that case we should have to consider his uncle, Al Muttalib, as dead, which from the narrative does not appear likely. The whole story, however, may be regarded, for the reason specified above, with some degree of doubt.

† Tradition states that Hâshim was the first of Abd Menâf's sons who died; then Abd Shams, at Mecca, where he was buried, at Ajyâd; then Al Muttalib as above; and lastly, Naufal at Salmân in Iâc. (See *Tabari*, p. 25)

* Var read. جلت

in the assertion of his claims, he found it difficult to cope with the opposing faction of the Coriesh. It was during this period that he discovered the ancient well of Zamzam. Finding it irksome to procure water from the scattered wells of Mecca, and store it in cisterns by the Kaaba, and perhaps aware by tradition of the existence of a well in the vicinity, he made diligent search, and at last came upon the circle of its venerable masonry.* It was a remnant of the palmy days of Mecca, when an unfailling stream of commerce flowed through it: centuries had elapsed since the trade had ceased, and with it followed the desertion of Mecca, and the neglect of the well. It became choked either by accident or design, and the remembrance of it was now so uncertain, that its very position was unknown. Mecca had again arisen to a comparatively prosperous state, and the discovery of the ancient well was an auspicious token of increasing advancement.

As Abd al Muttalib, aided by his son, Harīth, dug deeper and deeper, he came upon two golden gazelles, with some swords and suits of armour. The rest of the Coriesh envied these treasures, and demanded a share in them: they asserted also their right to the well itself, which they declared had been possessed by their common ancestor Ismael. Abd al Muttalib was not powerful enough to resist this oppressive claim: but he agreed to refer their several pretensions to the decision of the arrows of HOBAL, the god whose image was within the Kaaba.† Lots were therefore cast for the the Kaaba and for the respective claimants: the gazelles fell to the share of the Kaaba, and the swords and suits of armour to Abd al Muttalib, while the

* *Hishāmi*, p. 21—*Wāckidi*, p. 15. The event is encircled by a halo of miraculous associations. Abd al Muttalib receives in a vision the heavenly behest to dig for the well, couched in enigmatical phrases, which after being several times repeated, he at last apprehends. The Coriesh assemble to watch his labours; his pick-axe strikes upon the ancient masonry, and he utters a loud *Takbir* (Allāhu Akbar—*Great is the Lord!*) The Coriesh then insist on being associated with him in the possession of the well. Abd al Muttalib resists the claim, which they agree to refer to a female soothsayer in the highlands of Syria. On their journey thither, their water is expended in a wild desert where no springs are to be found. They prepare to dig graves for themselves and await death, when lo! the camel of Abd al Muttalib sinks her hoof on the ground, and a fountain straightway gushes forth. The Coriesh, with a flood of thanks giving, acknowledge that God has by this miracle shown that the well Zamzam belonged solely to Abd al Muttalib, and all return to Mecca. The dispute about the gazelles and other property is represented as following the above incident. After an absurd story of this sort, what reliance is to be placed on Wāckidi's judgment or common sense? Sprenger has rightly thrown the whole of these fables into his legendary chapter. (*Life of Mohammed*, p. 58.)

† The image of Hobal was over the well or sink within the Kaaba. In this sink were preserved the offerings and other treasures of the Temple. (*Tabari*, p. 6.)

arrows of the Coreish were blank.* The latter acquiesced in the divine decision, and relinquished their pretensions to the well. Abd al Muttalib beat out the gazelles into plates of gold, and fixed them by way of ornament to the door of the Kaaba.† He hung up the swords before the door as a protection to the treasures within; but at the same time added a more effectual guard in the shape of a lock and key, which (they say) were made of gold.

The plentiful flow of fresh water, soon apparent in the well Zamzam, was a great triumph to Abd al Muttalib. All other wells in Mecca were deserted for supplies to quench thirst, and this alone resorted to.‡ From it alone he carried water for the

* Wâckidi is the only authority who states the number of the weapons, *viz.*, *seven swords*, and *five suits of armour* (p. 15.) The story of their being cast here by Modhâd, the last Jorhomite king, has been related in a former Article—"Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia." In casting the lots on this occasion, six arrows were used; two yellow for the Kaaba; two black for Abd al Muttalib; and two white for the Coreish. (*Hiskâmî*, p. 23.) The mode of casting the arrows is described by Tabari (pp. 6-7) and by C. de Perceval (*Essai*, Vol. I., pp. 261-265.) There were fixed responses written upon the several arrows, from which some sort of oracle could be gathered in any matter, domestic, social, or political:—either in digging for water, circumcising a lad, fixing his paternity, taking a wife, going to war, concluding a treaty, &c., &c.

† These were soon after stolen by three Coreishites, but recovered. (*Wâckidi*, p. 154.) Tabari (p. 73) gives an account of a sacrilegious theft, which we understand to be this one. 'On account of it, the supposed offender had his hands cut off, and one of the Coreish was expatriated for ten years.

‡ See note at page 50 of the Article on the "Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia," in No. XXXIX. of this *Review*. Burkhardt is there quoted as stating that the water of Zamzam is "perfectly sweet, and differs very much from that of the brackish wells dispersed over the town." The names of some of these other wells, and their diggers, are mentioned by C. de Perceval (Vol. I., p. 262.) The statement of Ali Bey somewhat differs. He makes the water to be "a little brackish and heavy, but drinkable;" and he says that the wells in the city are of the same depth, and their "water of the same temperature, taste, and clearness, as that of Zamzam." He therefore believes them all to originate in "one sheet," supplied by the filtration of rain water. But his testimony is mingled with some degree of religious fervour. The city wells, he says, "spring from the same source as the water of Zamzam; they have the same virtue in drawing down the divine favour and blessing as the miraculous well. God be praised for it!" (Vol. II., p. 98.) We prefer the calm and impartial testimony of Burkhardt. In another part of his work, the latter repeats, that excepting Zamzam, the well-water throughout Mecca "is so brackish, that it is used only for culinary purposes;" and he adds, that even the fresh water of Zamzam "is heavy to the taste and impedes digestion." (*Travels*, p. 106.) Elsewhere he says:—"It seems probable that the town of Mecca owes its origin to this well; for many miles round, no sweet water is found, nor is there, in any part of the country, so copious a supply." (*Ibid.*, p. 145.) But as the whole of Mecca cannot be supplied from this well, a stream of good water is now brought by a conduit from the hills about Arafat. This, however, is often out of repair, and then 'during the pilgrimage sweet water becomes an absolute scarcity; a small skin of water (two of which a person may carry), being then often sold for one shilling—a very high price among Arabs." (*Ibid.*, p. 107.) This proves that all the other wells, but Zamzam, must be unfit for drinking.

pilgrims to Arafat and Minâ; and it soon acquired the renown of sacredness in connection with the rites of the Kaaba. The fame and influence of Abd al Muttalib now began to wax greater and greater; a large family of powerful sons added to his dignity; and at last he became, and continued to his death, the virtual chief of Mecca.*

But during his early troubles, while supported by his only son, Harith, he had experienced such weakness and inferiority in contending with the large and influential families of his opponents, as led him to vow, that if Providence should ever grant him ten sons, he would devote one of them to the Deity. Years rolled on, and the rash father at last found himself surrounded by the longed-for number, the sight of whom daily reminded him of his vow. He bade his sons accompany him to the Kaaba: each was made to write his name upon a lot, and the lots were made over to the intendant of the temple, who cast them in the usual mode. The fatal arrow fell upon ABDALLAH, the youngest and the best beloved of Abd al Muttalib's sons. The vow devoting him to the Deity must needs be kept, but how else shall it be fulfilled than by the use of the sacrificial knife? His daughters wept and clung around the fond father, who was willingly persuaded to cast lots between Abdallah and a ransom of ten camels, the current fine for the blood of a man. If the Deity should accept the ransom, what scruple need the father feel in sparing his son? But the lot a second time fell upon Abdallah: again, and with equal fortune, it was cast between him and twenty camels. At each successive cast, as Abd al Muttalib added ten camels to the stake, the Deity appeared inexorably to refuse the vicarious offering, and require the blood of the son. But at the tenth throw, when the ransom had now reached 100 camels, the lot fell upon them. The father joyfully released Abdallah from his impending fate; and taking the camels, he slaughtered them between Safa and Marwa. The inhabitants of Mecca feasted upon them; and the residue was left to the beasts and to the birds: for Abd al Muttalib's family refused to taste of them. It was this Abdallah who became the father of the prophet.†

* Sprenger, however, considers that the Omeiad family had the pre-eminence. "It is certain that Harb, and after him Abu Sofîân, surpassed the family of Hâshim in wealth and influence, and that they were the chiefs of Mecca" (p. 31.) Notwithstanding Sprenger's great authority, we believe Abd al Muttalib to have been the virtual chief of Mecca; after his death, there was a dead uniformity among the several families, and no real chief or first man.

† The above account is from *Wâkidi*, p. 16. See also a paper in the *Zeitschrift Morgen landische Gesellschaft*, VII. I, p. 34. Abd al Muttalib had six daughters, and it was one of them who made the proposal to cast lots for the camels.

The prosperity and fame of Abd al Muttalib attracted the envy of the rival branch of Omeya, whose son Harb challenged him to a trial of their respective merits. The Abyssinian king having declined to be the umpire, the judgment was committed to a Coreishite, who declared that Abd al Muttalib was in every respect the superior. Harb was deeply mortified, and

Wākidi, however, gives another account, which is that commonly received. (*Cnf. Hishāmi, p. 24—Tabari, pp. 6-11—C. de Perceval, vol. I. pp. 264-267—H'eil, p. 8.*) According to this version, the Coreish held back Abd al Muttalib just as he was about to plunge the knife into his son, and offered to give a ransom, but he would not listen; and they at last persuaded him to refer the matter to a divineress at Kheibar, who indicated the plan of ransom described in the text. Whatever may have been the facts of the case, they have been greatly over-coloured and distorted by tradition, so much so, that Sprenger has placed the entire incident in his legendary chapter (p. 56.) But we believe the story to be *founded* on real facts. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine an adequate motive for the entire invention of such a tale, because the Mahometans regard the vow as a sinful one, the illegality of which rendered it null and void. (*Tabari, p. 5.*) No doubt they afterwards dressed the incident in exaggerated and meretricious colors, and pretended a resemblance between it and Abraham's intended sacrifice of Ismael; and thus they make Mahomet to say that he was "the son of *two* sacrifices!"—

س ن بئسین | But (had there been *no* facts to found the story on) the desire to establish such an analogy would have led to a very different fiction; for Abraham was *commanded* to offer up his son, and the Mahometans believe he acted piously in obeying; whereas they hold Abd al Muttalib to be wrong both in the vow, and in his attempt to fulfil it.

We must doubt whether the vow was really to *immolate* a son, and whether there was ever any attempt to put a sacrifice of human life into execution. We believe that human sacrifices to the Deity were unknown in Mecca. The truth we suppose to be, that Abd al Muttalib vowed he would *devote* a son to Hobal

Nadsar, اند would probably be the word employed; and the idea of a son devoted to the service of God might have become known among the Arabs from its currency among the Jews. But the custom, however natural to the Judaical system, would not mould itself to the mongrel and idolatrous creed of the Kaaba. How was the devotion of a son to the service of God to be carried out at Mecca? The question was referred to the idol, who simply chose one of the sons. In this difficulty, recourse may have been had to a divineress. But the warm imagination of the traditionists has conjured up a theatrical appeal to the sacrificial knife, which we believe never existed.

The sacrifice of human beings in Arabia was only *incidental*, and in the case of violent and cruel tyrants, where it is alleged to have been done *uniformly and on principle*, the authority seems doubtful. Of the former class, are the immolation of a Ghassanide Prince to Venus by Mundzir, king of Hira (*C. de Perceval, Vol. II. p. 101—Article on the "Ante Mahometan History of Arabia," p. 28. note 4*); and the yearly sacrifice by the same prince on his "evil day," in expiation of the murder of two friends, (*Ibid, p. 104, et seq.—Pococke's Spec. History of Arabia, p. 73.*) Of the second description is the uncertain tale of one *Niaman* sacrificing, with his own hand, men to his deities (*Evagrius vi. 21—Pococke's Specimen, p. 87*); and the story of Porphyry that at Dumaetha (Dumat al Jandal?) *κατ' ἑτος καστον παῖδα εἶνον*. See two notes of Gibbon on this subject (Chap. L.) He appears to believe in the practice of human sacrifice in Arabia (as it seems to us, however, on insufficient grounds); but with philosophical discrimination he adds: "the danger and escape of Abdullah is a tradition rather than a fact."

abandoned the society of his rival, whose companion he had previously been *

Abd al Muttalib gained an important increase of stability to his party, by concluding a defensive league with the Khozâite inhabitants of Mecca. They came to him and represented, that as their quarters adjoined, the advantages of such a treaty would be great for both parties. These advantages Abd al Muttalib was not slow in perceiving. With ten of his adherents he repaired to the Kaaba, where they met the Khozâites and mutually pledged their faith. The league was then reduced to writing, and hung up in the Holy House. None of the descendants of Abd Shams or Naufal were present, or indeed knew anything of the transaction until it was thus published.† The combination was permanent, and, in after times, proved of essential service to Mahomet.

In the year 570 A. D., or about eight years before the death of Abd al Muttalib, occurred the memorable invasion of Mecca by Abraha, the Abyssinian viceroy of Yemen.‡ It has been already related how the despite done to the cathedral of Abraha made him resolve to attack Mecca and raze its temple to the ground. He set out with a considerable army—in its train was led an elephant, a circumstance so singular and remarkable, that the commander, his host, the invasion, and the year, are to this day denominated as those “of the Elephant.”§ A prince of the old Himyar stock, with

* *Wäckidi*, p. 16—*Tubari*, p. 25—*Sprenger*, p. 31. Nofail was of the stock of the Bani Adi, and an ancestor of Omar. The story much resembles that of Hâshim's contest with Omeiya, and one is half tempted to think it may be a spurious reproduction of it, the more strongly to illustrate the enmity of the two branches; but the suspicion is not sufficiently great to deprive the narrative of a place in our text. When Harb gave up the society of Abd al Muttalib, “he took to that of Abdallan ibn Jodâân of the branch of Taym, son of Murra.”

Another contest of a somewhat similar nature is related between Abd al Muttalib and a chief of Tâif, on account of a spring of water claimed by the former. An Odzarite soothsayer, in the south of Syria, decided in favor of Abd al Muttalib; but the story is accompanied by several marvellous and suspicious incidents. Thus, on the journey northwards, a fountain of water gushed from a spot struck by the heel of Abd al Muttalib's camel—an evident reproduction of the legend of Abd al Muttalib's similar journey to adjudicate the claims of the Coreish against him.

† *Wäckidi*, p. 15‡—*Sprenger*, p. 31. There were present seven of the immediate family of Abd al Muttalib, Arcam, and two other grandsons of Hâshim.

‡ The authorities are *Wäckidi*, pp. 16‡-17, and *Hishâmî*, pp. 15—19. C. de Perceval has given the circumstances of this expedition in more detail than the character of the traditions warrant. (Vol. I. pp. 268-279.)

§ *Wäckidi* gives a tradition (p. 19) that there were thirteen elephants with the army, besides this famous one called Mahmûd; and that the latter was the only one that escaped death from the shower of stones. But this would seem to oppose the drift of tradition generally on the subject. *Wäckidi* adds that Abraha sent expressly for the famous elephant Mahmûd to join his expedition.

an army of Arab adherents, was the first to oppose the advance of the Abyssinian. He was defeated, but his life was spared, and he followed the camp as a prisoner. Arrived at the northern limits of Yemen, Abraha was attacked by the Bani Khuthâm (descendants of Modhar), under the command of Nofail; but he too was discomfited, and escaped death on condition of guiding the Abyssinian army. Thence the conqueror proceeded to Tâif, three days' march from Mecca; but the Bani Thackîf, its inhabitants, deputed men to say that they had no concern with the Kaaba which he had come to destroy, and that so far from opposing the project of Abraha, they would furnish him with a guide.* For this purpose they sent him a man called Abu Rughâl, and the viceroy moved onwards. At Mughammis, between Tâif and Mecca, Abu Rughul died; and centuries afterwards, the Meccans marked their abhorrence of the traitor by casting stones at his tomb as they passed.

From Mughammis, Abraha sent forward an Abyssinian with a body of troops to scour the Tehâma, and carry off what cattle they could find. They were successful in the raid, and among the plunder, secured 200 camels belonging to Abd al Muttalib. An embassy was then despatched to the inhabitants of Mecca:—"Abraha" (such was the message) had no desire "to do them injury; his only object was to demolish the Kaaba: that performed, he would retire without shedding the blood of any one." The Meccans had already resolved, that it would be vain to oppose the invader by force of arms; but to the destruction of the Kaaba, they refused to give their assent. The embassy, therefore, prevailed on Abd al Muttalib and the chieftains of some of the other Meccan tribes† to return, repair to the Viceroy's camp, and there plead their cause. There Abd al Muttalib was treated with distinguished honor. To gain him over, Abraha restored his plundered camels, but obtained for him no satisfactory answer regarding the Kaaba‡

* They had a goddess, *Lât*, of their own, which they honored nearly in the same way as the Meccans did that at the Kaaba. (*Hishami*, p. 16)

† Of these the chiefs of the Bani Bakr and Hodzeil are mentioned. The Bani Bakr here mentioned are not the tribe collateral with the Taghlibites, but the stock descended from Bakr, son of Abd Monât, son of Kinana, and nearly allied to the Coreish.

‡ He is said to have descended from his masnad and seated himself by Abd al Muttalib. But many of these details were probably invented by the traditionist to glorify the grandfather of the prophet. Abraha is said to have asked him what favour he could do him: Abd al Muttalib replied, to restore to him his camels. The Viceroy was mortified. "I looked upon you," said he, "at first with admiration; but now you ask as a favour the return of your own property, and make no solicitation regarding the Holy House, which constitutes your glory, and is the pillar of your own religion and that of your forefathers." Abd al Muttalib answered:—"Of the camels I am myself the master, and therefore I asked for them: as for the Kaaba, another is its master, who will surely defend it, and to him I leave its defence." The speech of Abraha is convenient as affording

The chiefs who accompanied him, offered a third of the wealth of the Tehâma, if he would desist from his designs against their temple, but he refused. The negotiation was broken off, and the chieftains returned to Mecca. By Abd al Muttalib's advice, the people made preparations for retiring in a body to the hills and defiles in the vicinity, which they did the day before the expected attack. As Abd al Muttalib leant upon the ring of the door of the Kaaba, he is said to have prayed to God aloud, that he would defend his own house, and not suffer the cross to triumph over the Kaaba. This done, he relaxed his hold, and betaking himself to the neighbouring heights, watched what the end might be.*

Meanwhile a pestilential distemper had shewn itself in the Viceroy's camp. It broke out with deadly pustules and frightful blains, and was probably an aggravated form of small-pox. In confusion and dismay the army commenced its retreat. Their guides abandoned them, and it is pretended that the wrath of Heaven further manifested itself in a flood which swept off multitudes into the sea. But the pestilence alone is a cause quite adequate to the effect produced.† No one, they say, smitten by it, ever recovered; and

an occasion for Abd al Muttalib's prophetic defiance; but it is not the speech of a Prince who came to destroy the Kaaba and whose object would be to depreciate and not to extol it. We regard the conversation as fabricated. It is enough in this narrative to admit the main events, without holding to the details of every speech and conversation, as the effort throughout is patent to magnify Abd al Muttalib, Mecca, and the Kaaba.

Some accounts represent Abd al Muttalib as gaining admittance to Abraha through Dzû Nafas, the Himyar prisoner noticed above, whose friendship he had formed in his mercantile expeditions to Yemen. (See *C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 241.) It was on one of these expeditions that Abd al Muttalib is said to have learnt in Yemen to dye his hair black: the people of Mecca were delighted with his appearance, and the custom was thus introduced there. (*Wâkidi*, p. 153; *Sprenger*, p. 86.) Wâkidi represents Abd al Muttalib as withdrawing from Mecca, on Abraha's approach to Hira, (afterwards Mahomet's sacred retreat; and from thence letting loose his 200 recovered camels devoted to the Deity, in the hope that some one of the enemy might injure them in the Tehâma, and the Deity be thereby prompted to revenge the insult upon the enemy's army.

* No doubt these events, too, are highly colored by legendary growth, or traditional fiction, in order to cast a mysterious and supernatural air over the retreat of Abraha.

† No one appears to have pursued the retreating army. They sought Nofail to guide them back; but in the confusion he escaped to one of the surrounding heights, whence, it is pretended, he devided the fugitives in these words—

* **ابن المفر والا له الطالب * والاشرم المغلوب ليس العالب**

"Whither away, do ye flee, and no one pursuing! Al Ashram (Abraha) is the vanquished one, not the vanquisher." (*Hishâmî*, p. 18.)

A contemporary poet, a Coreishite, named Abdulla, son of Zibara, estimates the killed at 60,000, in these exaggerated verses.

سئون الفالم يو وبوا ارضهم * بل لم يعيش بعد الاياب سقيما

C. de Perceval, Vol. p. I. 280.

Abraha himself, a mass of malignant and putrid sores, died miserably on his return to Sanâ.*

The unexpected disappointment of the hostile designs and grand preparations of Abraha increased the reverence with

* His body was covered with pustules, and as they dropped off, matter flowed forth, followed by blood : " he became like an unfledged bird ; and did not die until his heart separated from his chest." (*Hishâmi*, p. 18.) This is no doubt overdrawn.

The accounts of Wâkidi and Hishâmi leave no room to question the nature of the disease as having been a pestilential form of small-pox. Wâkidi, after describing the calamity in the fanciful style of the Coran, adds—

فكان ذاك اول ما كان الجدرى والكصبه والاشجار المرة

" And that was the first beginning of the small-pox, and the pustular disease, and a kind of bitter trees" (p. 17.) Similarly Hishâmi, ان اول ما رايت الكصبه

والجدرى بارض العرب ذلك العام وان اول ما راى مرابر الشجر
 الحمرمل والكنظل والعثر The word الكصبه signifies likewise small stones,

and the name as applied to the small-pox is probably derived from the gravelly appearance and feeling of the hard pustules : (such a feeling is believed to be common at some stages of the disease, so much so that the patient on setting his foot to the ground, feels as if he were standing on gravel.) The name, coupled with this derivation, without doubt, gave rise to the poetical description of the event in the Coran :—

" Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the army of the Elephant ? Did he not cause their stratagem to miscarry ? And he sent against them flocks of little birds, which cast upon them small clay stones, and made them like unto the stubble of which the cattle have eaten." (*Sura CV.*—See No. XXXVII of this Review, p. 61. *Canon iii. B.*) This passage, as Gibbon well says, is " the seed " of the marvellous details given regarding Abraha's defeat.

Hishâmi describes the stones showered upon the enemy as being like grains of corn and pulse امثال الحمص والعدس (p. 18) ; and it is remarkable that the

latter expression signifies also a species of deadly pustule. It would seem that not all who were struck (or sickened) died ; for Ayesha says that she saw at Mecca the mahout and the driver of the elephant, وقائد الفيل وسائس both blind, and

sitting, begging food of the people. (*Hishâmi*, p. 19.) The story is the more likely : for blindness is a very common effect of small-pox.

The other miraculous part of the story is, that when the army was about to advance upon Mecca, Nofail, the Khuthamite guide, whispered in its ear : it forthwith sat down, and no persuasion or compulsion would induce it to stir a step towards Mecca, while it would readily proceed in every other direction. The germ of this story lies in a saying of Mahomet's at Hodeibia. His camel sat down there fatigued ; and as the place was at such a convenient distance from Mecca, as to prevent a collision between the Meccans and his army, Mahomet took advantage of the circumstance and said :—" Nay ! Al Cuswa (that was his camel's name) is not worn out ; but he that restrained the elephant from advancing upon Mecca, the same hath held her back also." (*Wâkidi*, p. 118½—*Hishâmi*, p. 321.) Hence the traditionists invented a variety of stories illustrative of the manner in which God was supposed to have " held back the elephant." Yet Mahomet's meaning seems to have been simply metaphorical :—" He who by his providence restrained the elephant, or the possessor of the elephant, from advancing upon Mecca, the same," &c. It is possible that the fable of the elephant's unwillingness to move against Mecca may have been current in Mahomet's time ; but it is incomparably more likely to have been the fiction of the traditionists, grounded on the saying of Mahomet alluded to.

which the Arab tribes regarded the Coreish and the other inhabitants of Mecca. These became vain-glorious, and sought to mark their superiority over all others by special duties and exemptions. "Let us," said they, "release ourselves from "some of the observances imposed upon the common mass ; "and forbid ourselves some of the things which to them are "lawful." Thus (say the Arab historians) they gave up the yearly pilgrimage to Arafat, and the ceremonial return therefrom, although they still acknowledged those acts to be an essential part of the religion of Abraham, and binding upon all others : they also denied themselves the use of cheese and butter, while in the pilgrim-state, and abandoning tents of camels' hair, restricted themselves to leather ones. Upon pilgrims who came from beyond the sacred limits (*haram*,) they imposed new rules for their own aggrandisement. Such visitors, whether they came for the great or the little pilgrimage, were to eat no food brought with them from without the sacred boundary ; and they were forbidden to perform the ceremonial circuits of the Kaaba, unless naked, or clothed in vestments provided by the Meccans alone, who formed the league.* This association, called the *Homs*, included the Coreish, a collateral branch, the Bani Kanâna, and the Khozâites. To them the privileges of the league were restricted. All others were subjected to the dependence on them, involved in the solicitation of food and raiment.†

There appears to be some doubt as to the period when these innovations were introduced ; ‡ but under any circumstance

* If persons of rank came as pilgrims, and no Meccan garments were available, they were permitted to go through the ceremony in their own vestments ; but they were to cast them off immediately after, and never again to use them.

The common pilgrims, who could not get clothes, made the circuits of the Kaaba entirely naked : the women with only a single loose shift.

† The word *Homs*, says Wâckidi, refers to something *new* added to a religion (p. 124.) Its etymological derivation seems to be the bringing 'into play a *fresh stringency* in the pilgrim ceremonial. Sprenger gives its meaning as the "alliance of certain tribes by religion" (p. 36.) This was no doubt an incidental feature of the imposition of the new practices, though it would not appear to be the main and original idea.

‡ Hishâmî says, "I know not whether the Coreish introduced the innovation before or after the attack of Abrahâ" (p. 43.) Wâckidi places his account of the *Homs* league, under the chapter of Cossai, but he does not say that it was introduced in his time : he mentions the practice *incidentally*, and rather in connection with the meaning of the word "Coreish," and as showing that they formed a portion of the league : hence no chronological deduction can be surely drawn from the position of the narrative, such parenthetical episodes being often introduced, thus irregularly in the Arab histories. Sprenger does not therefore go upon certain ground when he quotes Wâckidi, as assigning the beginning of the custom to the era of the Cossai (p. 36, note i.) He supposes that the *Homs* practices being then introduced, were again *revived* in the year of the Elephant ; but the supposition appears to us unnecessary.

they give proof that the Meccan superstition was active and vigorous, and that its directors possessed over the Arabs a prodigious influence.* The practices then begun were superseded only by Islam; and (adopting the latest date of their introduction) they must have continued in force above half a century. The reverence for the Meccan system, which suffered the imposition of such oppressive customs, must needs have been grossly superstitious, as well as universally prevalent. But the effect of the new practices themselves may perhaps have been adverse to the Meccan system. If the pilgrimage were really of divine appointment, what human authority could grant a dispensation to relax any part of its observances; and in a country where the decent morals of Christianity and Judaism were known and respected, what could be gained by the outrage of society in causing the female sex to perform a religious ceremony in an insufficient dress, and the men entirely naked? Here were fair points for the reformer to take exception at, and they would avail either for the denunciation of the entire superstition, or for insisting upon a return to the practices of a purer and more scrupulous age.†

Let us now glance for a moment at the state of parties in Mecca, towards the latter days of Abd al Muttalib.

We cannot understand on what principle Sprenger regards this league as a symptom of the declining power of the Meccan superstition, a vain effort which sought "a remedy in reforming the faith of the Haram," * * * "the last spark of the life of whose confederation seemed to be on the point of being extinguished" (p. 36). To us, the facts convey a conclusion totally the reverse.

† Mahomet was not slow in availing himself of the last of these arguments. He abolished all the restrictions, as well as the relaxations of the Homs league. These practices are indirectly reprobated in Sura II., vv. 199-200 (where he enforces the necessity of the pilgrimage to Arafat.) and in Sura VII., vv. 28 and 32, (where proper apparel is enjoined, and the free use of food and water). It is said that Mahomet himself, before he assumed the prophetic office, used to perform the pilgrimage to Arafat, thus disavowing the provisions of the association.

Besides the Homs, there were other Practices, some of them with less likelihood said to be modern innovations. Such were the arbitrary rules regarding the dedication of camels as hallowed and exempt from duty, when they had come up to a certain standard of fruitfulness; involving some curious rules as to their flesh being wholly illicit, or lawful to men only in certain circumstances, to women only in others. The dedicated mother camel was called *Sâiba*, (and in some cases *Wastla*, which included goats or ewes); the eleventh, or dedicated female young one, *Baktra*; *Hâmi*, the dedicated stallion. But Ibn Ishâc and Ibn Hishâm are not agreed on the details of these customs. It is pretended that Amr Ibn Lohay (in the third century A. D.) introduced the practice; but it, no doubt, grew up long before that time, and is founded, as C. de Perceval says, in the Arab affection for the camel, and reverence for such animals as greatly added to the breed (Vol. I, pp. 225-226.—*Salé, Prel. Disc.* pp. 151-153 —*Hishâmi*, pp. 29-30.)

Mahomet inveighed strongly against these arbitrary distinctions which God had not enjoined. (See *Sura V.*, v. 112; *Sura VI.*, v. 144; *Sura X.*, v. 59)

There had formerly been two leading factions, the descendants of Abd al Dar, and those of Abd Menâf, the two sons of Cossai. The former were originally possessed of all the public offices; but since the struggle with Hâshim, about seventy years before, when they were stripped of several important dignities, their influence had departed, and they had sunk into a subordinate and insignificant position. The offices retained by them were still undoubtedly valuable; but they were divided among separate members of the family; the benefit of combination was lost; and there was no steady and united effort to improve their advantages towards the acquisition of social influence and political power.*

The virtual chiefship of Mecca was thus in the hands of the descendants of Abd Menâf. But amongst these, two parties had arisen: the families, to wit, of the two brothers, Hâshim and Abd Shams. The grand offices of giving of food and water to the pilgrims secured to the Hâshimites a commanding and a permanent influence, vastly increased by the able management of Hâshim, of Al Muttalib, and now of Abd al Muttalib; and the latter, like his father Hâshim, appears to have been regarded as the chief of the Meccan Sheikhs. But the Abd Shams family, with their numerous and powerful connexions, were jealous of the power of the Hâshimites, and (as we have seen) repeatedly endeavoured to humble them, or to cast a slur upon their high position. One office, that of the leadership in war, was secured by this family, and contributed much to its splendour. It was, moreover, rich and successful in merchandise, and by some is thought to have exceeded in influence and power even the Hâshimite branch.†

But the "year of the Elephant" had already given birth to a personage, destined, within half a century, to eclipse all the distinctions either of Hâshimite or Omeiyad race. To the consideration of this momentous event, we hope in a future article to recur.

* The custody of the Holy House, the presidency in the Hall of Council, and privilege of binding the banner on the leader's spear, offices secured to the branch of Abd al Dar, might all have been turned to important account, if the advice of their ancestor Cossai had been followed. But division of authority, want of ability, and adverse fortune, appear all along to have depressed this family.

† *Sprenger's Life of Mohammed*, p. 31.

THE BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD OF MAHOMET.

BY SIR W. MUIR.

1. *Essai sur L'Histoire des Arabes. Par A. P. Caussin de Perceval.* Paris, 1847. Vol. I.
2. *Life of Mohammad.* By A. Sprenger, M.D., Allahabad, 1851.
3. *Sîrat Wâckidi, Arabic MS.*
4. *Sîrat Tabari, Ditto Ditto.*
5. *Sîrat Hishâmî, Ditto Ditto.*

IN previous papers we have traced the history of Mecca, and of the ancestors of Mahomet, from the earliest times of which we have any account, down to the famous *year of the elephant* (570 A. D.) which marks the deliverance of the sacred city from the invading army of Abraha, the Abyssinian Viceroy of Yemen. Before proceeding farther, we propose to take a survey of the valley of Mecca, and the country immediately surrounding it.

Within the great mountain range which skirts the Red Sea, and about equidistant, by the caravan track, from Yemen and the Gulf of Akaba, lies the holy valley. The traveller from the sea-shore, after a journey of fifty or sixty miles, reaches it by an almost imperceptible ascent, chiefly through sandy plains, and defiles hemmed in by low hills of gneiss and quartz, which rise in some places to the height of 400 or 500 feet.* Passing Mecca, and pursuing his eastward course, he would proceed, with the same gentle rise, and between hills partly composed of granite, through the valley of Minâ, and in five or six hours reach the sacred eminence of Arafat. From thence the mountains begin to ascend to a great height, till about eighty miles from the sea, the granite peaks of Jebel Kora crown the range, and Tâif comes in sight, thirty miles farther eastward. Between Jebel Kora and Tâif, the country is fertile and lovely. Rivulets every here and there descend from the hills, and the plains are clothed with verdure, and adorned by large shady trees. Tâif is famous for its fruits: the grapes are of a "very large size and delicious flavour;" and there is no want of variety to tempt the appetite; for figs, peaches and pomegranates, apricots, quinces, apples and almonds, grow in abundance and perfection. Far different is

* *Burkhardt's Arabia*, pp. 58—62. The journey was performed in nineteen hours on a camel. Burkhardt, however, rode it upon an ass in thirteen hours. He estimates the distance at sixteen or seventeen hours walk, or about fifty-five miles from Jeddâ. For the characters of the rocks, see *Burkhardt*, p. 62 and *Alt Bey*, Vol. II., p. 118.

it with the frowning rocks and barren valleys, which for many a mile surround Mecca. Stunted brushwood and thorny acacias occasionally relieve the eye, and furnish scanty repast to the hardy camel; but the general features are only rugged rocks and sandy or stony glens, from which the peasant in vain looks for the grateful returns of tillage. Even at the present day, when the riches of Asia have for twelve centuries poured into the city, and a regular supply of water is secured by a canal of masonry from the mountains East of Arafat, Mecca can hardly boast a garden or a cultivated field, and only here and there a tree.*

In the vicinity of Mecca the hills are formed of quartz and gneiss: but eastward strata of granite appear, and within one or two miles of the city, lofty and rugged peaks (as the *Jabal Nûr* or *Hîâ*),† begin to shoot upwards in grand and commanding masses. The valley of Mecca is a little more than a mile and a half in length: the general direction is from north to south;

* Burkhart (p. 127) noticed a few acres to the North of the town "irrigated by means of a well, and producing vegetables." Some trees also grow in the extreme southern quarter, where Burkhart first took up his abode:—"I had here," he says, "the advantage of several large trees growing before my windows, the verdure of which, among the barren and sun-burnt rocks of Mecca, was to me more exhilarating than the finest landscape could have been under different circumstances." (p. 101.) But of the town generally, he says:—"it is completely barren and destitute of trees." (p. 103;) and "no trees or gardens cheer the eye." (p. 104.) So Ali Bey;—"I never saw but one flower the whole of my stay at Mecca, which was upon the way to Arafat." (Vol. II., p. 99.) "It (Mecca) is situated at the bottom of a sandy valley surrounded on all sides by naked mountains, without brook, river, or any running water, without trees, plants, or any species of vegetation." (Vol. II., p. 112.) Again;—"the aridity of the country is such that there is hardly a plant to be seen near the city, or upon the neighbouring mountains. We may not expect to find at Mecca any thing like a meadow, or still less a garden. They do not sow any grain, for the too ungrateful soil would not produce any plant to the cultivator. The soil refuses to yield even spontaneous productions, of which it is so liberal elsewhere. In short, there are but three or four trees upon the spot, where formerly stood the house of Abu Taleb, the uncle of the prophet; and six or eight others scattered here and there. These trees are prickly, and produce a small fruit similar to the jujube, which is called nebbak by the Arabs." (Vol. II., p. 110.)

And of its environs, Burkhart writes;—"As soon as we pass these extreme precincts of Mecca, the desert presents itself, for neither gardens, trees, nor pleasure-houses, line the avenues to the town, which is surrounded on every side by barren sandy valleys, and equally barren hills. A stranger placed on the great road to Tâif, just beyond the turn of the hill in the immediate neighbourhood of the sheriff's garden house would think himself as far removed from human society, as if he were in the midst of the Nubian desert." (p. 131.) This, however, he ascribes to indolence and apathy, seeing that water "can be easily obtained at about thirty feet below the surface." But there must, nevertheless, be some natural defect in the gravelly and sandy soil of Mecca, else the munificence of the Moslem rulers, and the notorious avarice of its inhabitants, would long ere this have planted trees and gardens to produce a profit, or to beautify the town.

† Burkhart, p. 175, and note.

but at the upper or northern extremity, where the way leads to Arafat and Táif, it bends to the eastward; and the southern or lower end, where the roads branch off to Yemen, Jedda, and Syria,* there is a still more decided bend to the westward. At the latter curve the valley opens out to a breadth of about half a mile, and it is in the spacious amphitheatre thus shut in by rocks and mountains, that the kaaba, and the main portions of the city, both ancient and modern, were founded. The surrounding rocks rise precipitously two or three hundred feet above the valley, and on the eastern side they reach a height of five hundred feet. It is here that the craggy defiles of *Abu Cobeis*, the most lofty of all the hills encircling the valley, overhang the quarter of the town in which Abd al Muttalib and his family lived. About three furlongs to the north-east of the kaaba, the spot of Mahomet's birth is still pointed out to the pious pilgrim as the *Sheb Maulúd*; and hard by is the *Sheb Ali*, (or quarter in which Ali resided,) built, like the other, on the declivity of the rock.†

Though within the tropics, Mecca has not the usual tropical showers. The rainy season begins about December; the clouds do not discharge their precious freight with continuousness or regularity; but sometimes the rain descends with such excessive violence as to swamp the little valley with the floods from Arafat. Even in the summer, rain is not unfrequent. The seasons are thus very uncertain, and the horrors of a continued drought are occasionally experienced. The heat, especially in the months of autumn, is very oppressive.‡ The surrounding ridges intercept the zephyrs that would otherwise reach the close and sultry valley; the sun beats with violence on the bare and gravelly soil, and reflects an intense and distressing glare. The native of Mecca, acclimated to the narrow valley, may regard with complacency its inhospitable atmosphere,§

* The high road to Medina and Syria takes this southerly circuit. A direct road has been made through a dip in the mountain to the north-west of the city. This is facilitated by steps cut out of the rock:—a modern work, ascribed to one of the Barmecide family. (See *Burkhardt*, p. 129.)

† The above description is taken from *Burkhardt* and Ali Bey, chiefly from the former.

‡ *Burkhardt* says it is most severe from August to October. He mentions a suffocating hot wind in September. (p. 240.) Ali Bey says, "It may be imagined how great must be the heat in summer, when in the month of January, with the windows open, I could scarcely endure the sheet of the bed upon me, and the butter, at the same period, was always liquid like water." (Vol. II., p. 112.)

§ Some years after the Hegira, the refugees began to long for their native Mecca, and some touching verses are preserved, expressive of their fond affection for its sterile soil, and the springs in its vicinity.

but the traveller, even in the depth of winter, complains of a stifling closeness and suffocating warmth.

Such is the spot, barren and unpromising though it be, on which the Arabs look with a fond and superstitious reverence, as the cradle of their destiny, and the arena of the remote events which gave birth to their Faith. Here Hagar alighted with Ishmael, and paced with troubled steps the space between the little hill of Safâ, (a spur of Abu Cobeis,) and the eminence of Marwâ, which, on the opposite side of the valley, is an offshoot of the lower range of Keyckûân. Here the Jerhomites established themselves upon the falling fortunes of the ancestors of the Coreish; and from hence they were expelled by the Khozâa, the new invaders from the south. It was in this pent-up vale that Cossay nourished his ambitious plans, and in the granite defiles of the neighbouring Minâ, asserted them by a bloody encounter with the Bani Sâfa: and here he established the Corcish in supremacy. It was hard by the Kaaba that his descendents, the Bani Abd al Dâr, and Bani Abd Menâf, were drawn up in battle array to fight for the sovereign prerogative. It was here that Hâshim exhibited his glorious liberality, and on this spot that Abd al Muttalib toiled with his single son till he discovered the ancient well Zamzam. Thousands of such associations crowd upon the mind of the weary pilgrim, as the minarets of the Kaaba rise before his longing eyes; and in the long vista of ages, reaching even to Adam, his imagination pictures multitudes of pious devotees from all quarters and in every age, flocking to this little valley, to make their seven circuits of the holy house, to kiss the mysterious stone, and drink of the sacred water. Well, then, may the Arab regard the fane, and its surrounding rocks, with awe and admiration.

At the period of the retreat from Mecca of Abraha,* with his Abyssinian army, Abd al Muttalib (as we have seen in a previous article) now above seventy years of age, enjoyed the rank and consideration of the foremost chief of Mecca. Some little time previous to this event, he had taken his youngest son, ABDALLAH,† (born 545, A. D.) then about four and twenty years of age, to the house of Wuheib, a distant kinsman of

* By Caussin de Perceval's calculations, this event occurred in June 570 A. D.

† Abdallah *servant of God*. (corresponding with the Hebrew *Abdiel*.) was a name common among the ante-Mahometan Arabs. (*Conf. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I, p. 126, Vol. II., p. 286, 434 and 436.) Mahomet's nurse, Halîma, was the daughter of a person called Abdallah, and had a son of the same name: (Vide *Wâkidi*, p. 28½.)

the Coreishite stock, (being descended from Zohra, brother of the famous Cossay :) and there affianced him to AMINA, the daughter of Wahb, brother of Wuheib, under whose guardianship she lived. At the same time Abd al Muttalib, notwithstanding his advanced age, bethought him of a matrimonial alliance on his own account, and married Hâlah, daughter of Wuheib and cousin to Amina. The famous Hamza was the first fruit of this marriage.*

As was customary, when the marriage was consummated at the home of the bride, Abdallah remained with her there for three days.† Not long after, he set out, during the pregnancy of his wife, on a mercantile expedition to Ghazza (Gaza,) in the south of Syria. On his way back he sickened at Medina, and was there left behind by the caravan, with his father's maternal relatives of the Bani Najâr.‡ Abd al Muttalib, learning of Abdallah's sickness from his comrades, despatched his son Hârîth to take care of him: but on reaching Medina, he found that his brother had died about a month after the departure of the caravan, and was buried in the house of Nâbigha, in the quarter of the Bani Adi.§ And his father and brethren grieved sore for him. Abdallah was five and twenty years of age at his death, and Amina had not yet been delivered.|| He left behind him five camels fed on wild shrubs,¶ a flock of goats, and a slave girl called *Omm*

* Hamza is said to have been four years older than Mahomet. (*Vide Wâckidi*, p. 20, *margin*.) This would either imply that Abdallah was married at least four years to Amina before Mahomet's birth, which is not likely, and is opposed to the tradition of Amina's early conception; or that Abd al Muttalib married Hâlah at least four years before his son married Amina, which is also opposed to tradition.

† We reject the absurd story (of which there are many versions inconsistent with each other;) of a woman offering her embraces, without success, to Abdallah, while on his way to Wuheil's house, but declining his advances on his return thence, because the prophetic light had departed from his forehead. It falls under the Canon II. D. Some make this woman to be a sister of the Christian Waraca, who having heard from her brother tidings of the coming prophet, recognized in Abdallah the prophetic light, and coveted to be the mother of the prophet! This fable perhaps gave rise to the later legend that many Meccan damsels died of envy the night of Abdallah's marriage. (See *Calcutta Review*, No. XXXIV., p. 430.)

‡ It will be remembered that Abd al Muttalib's mother (Hâshim's wife,) belonged to Medina, and to this tribe.

§ The Bani Adi were the family to which Solmâ, Abd al Muttalib's mother, belonged.

|| This account is from Wâckidi, (p. 18); he mentions other accounts, such as that Abdallah went to Medina to purchase dates; that he died eighteen months (others say seven months,) after Mahomet's birth: but he gives the preference to the version transcribed in the text

¶ خمس اجمال اوارك فتنى تا كان اراك (*Wâckidi*, p. 18½); that is to say, camels not reared and fed at home, and therefore of an inferior kind.

Ayman (and also *Baraka*,) who tended the infant born by his widow. This little property, and the house in which he dwelt, were all the inheritance Mahomet received from his father; but, little as it was, the simple habits of the Arab required no more, and instead of being evidence of poverty, the possession of the female slave is rather an indication of prosperity and comfort.*

Passing over, as fabulous and unworthy of credit, the marvellous incidents related of the gestation of the prophet, and his first appearance in the world, † it suffices to state that the widowed *Amina* gave birth to her infant in the autumn of the year 570 A. D. It is a vain attempt to fix with certainty the precise date of the birth, for the materials we possess are too vague and discrepant to be subjected to so close and stringent a calculation. We may be content to know that the event occurred about fifty-five days after the attack of *Abraha*,‡ and may accept, as an approximation, the date of M. Caussin de Perceval (in whose calculations we have already expressed our general concurrence,) viz., the 20th of August, 570 A. D. §

* See *Sprenger*, p. 81. The house was sold by a son of Abu Tâlib, to one of the Coreish, for twenty dinars. (*Tabari*.)

† Specimens of these are given in No. XXXIV., Article VI. of this *Review*, p. 404 *et seq.* The stories there narrated are however modern; but the most ancient biographies likewise contain many absurd tales. They say that at the moment of the birth, a light proceeded from *Amina* which rendered visible the palaces and streets of *Bostra*, and the necks of the camels there. Wâkidi, p. 18½—*Hishâmi*, p. 30.) This evidently originated in the mistaken application of some metaphorical saying, such as, that, "light of Islam to proceed hereafter from the infant now born, has illuminated Syria and Persia." It is remarkable that the "honest," but credulous Wâkidi leaves *Hishâmi* far behind in his relation of these miracles. Thus his traditions make Mahomet as soon as born to support himself on his hands, seize a handful of earth, and raise up his head to heaven. He was born clean, and *circumcised*, whereat *Abd al Muttalib* greatly marvelled. So of *Amina*, it is said, that she felt no weight or inconvenience from the embryo: that heavenly messengers came to her, and saluted her as the mother elect of him who was to be the prophet and lord of his people: that she was desired by them to call the child *Ahmed*; that, alarmed by these visions, she, at the advice of her female acquaintance, hung pieces of iron as charms on her arms and neck, &c. (*Wâkidi*, p. 18) *Sprenger* infers from these traditions, that the mother had a weak and nervous temperament, which descended to her son. But we discard the traditions themselves as utterly untrustworthy, both on account of the period, and the subject matter of which they treat. (See *Canons I. A.*, and *II. D.*, in Article I., No. XXXVII. of this *Review*.)

One tradition makes *Amina* say, "I have had children, but never was the embryo of one heavier than that of Mahomet." Wâkidi (p. 18) rejects this tradition, because he says *Amina* never had any child except Mahomet; but its very existence is a good illustration of the recklessness of Mahometan traditionists.

‡ Vide *Wâkidi*, p. 18½.

§ We know accurately the date of Mahomet's death, but we cannot calculate backwards with certainty, even to the year of his birth, because his life is variously stated as extending from sixty-three to sixty-five years. and, besides this, there

No sooner had Amina given birth to the infant, than she sent to tell Abd al Muttalib. And the messenger carrying the good tidings of a grandson, reached the chief while he sat in the sacred enclosure of the kaaba, in the midst of his sons and the principal men of his tribe: and he was glad, and arose, and they that were with him. And he went to Amina, and she told him all that had come to pass. So he took the young child in his arms, and went to the kaaba. And as he stood beside the holy house, he gave thanks to God. Now the child was called MOHAMMAD.

is a doubt whether the year meant is a lunar, or a luni-solar one. See *note on p. 49. Calcutta Review, No. XLI.*

The Arab historians give various dates, as the fortieth year of Kesra's reign, or the 880th of the Seleucide Dynasty, which answered to 570 A. D.: others the forty-first, the forty-second or the forty-third of Kesra's reign, or the 881st, 882nd, and 883rd of Alexander. M. de Sacy fixes the date as the 20th of April A. D. 571; on the principle that the lunar year was always in force at Mecca. But he adds,—“En vain chercheroit-on à déterminer l'époque de la naissance de Mahomet d'une manière qui ne laissât subsister aucune incertitude.” (See the question discussed, *p. 43 et seq. Memoire des Arabes avant Mahomet, Tome XLVIII. Mem. Acad. Insc. et Belles Lettres.*)

Herr v. Hammer fixes the birth in 569 A. D.; and Sprenger notes two dates as possible, *viz.*, 13th April, 571, and 13th May, 567 A. D. (*Life, p. 74*.)

The common date given by Mahometan writers is the 12th of Rabi I; but other authorities give the 2nd, and others again the 10th of that month (*Wäckidi, p. 18½*). It is scarcely possible to believe that the date could, under ordinary circumstances, in Meccan society, as then constituted, have been remembered with scrupulous accuracy.

There are two circumstances affecting the traditions on this head which have not attracted sufficient notice. The first is that *Monday* was regarded as a remarkable day in Mahomet's history, on which all the great events of his life occurred. Thus an old tradition:—“the prophet was born on a *Monday*; he elevated the black stone on a *Monday*; he assumed his prophetic office on a *Monday*; he fled from Mecca on a *Monday*; he reached Medina on a *Monday*; he expired on a *Monday*.” (*Tabari, p. 214—Wäckidi p. 37—Hishâmi, p. 173. marg. gloss.*) Nay, Wäckidi makes him to have been *conceived* on a *Monday*! (*p. 18*.) This conceit no doubt originated in Mahomet's death, and one or two of the salient incidents of his mature life, really falling on a *Monday*; and hence the same day was superstitiously extended backwards to unknown dates. When *Monday* was once fixed upon as the day of his birth, it led to calculations thereon (see *Sprenger, p. 75., note*) and that to variety of date.

Secondly; something of the same spirit led to the assumption that the prophet was born in the same month and on the same day of the *month*, as well as of the week on which he died; and thus the popular tradition is that which assigns *Monday*, the 12th of *Rabi I.*, as his birth-day. But that such minutæ as the day either of the month or week, were likely to be remembered so long after, especially in the case of an orphan, is inconsistent with Cannon I. A. of the Article in No. XXXVII. of this *Review*, above quoted.

* The above account is given in the simple words of Wäckidi (*p. 19.*) Though some of the incidents are perhaps of late growth (as the visit to the kaaba), yet they are introduced because possible. In the original, however, are several palpable fabrications: as, that Amina told Abd al Muttalib of her visions, and the command of the angel that the child should be called *Ahmad*. The prayer of Abd al Muttalib at the kaaba is also apocryphal, being evidently composed in a Mahometan strain.

This name was rare among the Arabs, but not unknown. It is derived from the root *Hamd* [حمد] and signifies "The Praised." Another form of it is AHMAD, which having been erroneously employed as the translation of *The Prælate* in some Arabic version of the New Testament, became a favorite term with Mahometans, especially in addressing Jews and Christians: for it was (they said,) the title under which their Prophet had been predicted.* Following the established usage of Christendom, we speak of Mohammad as МАХОМЕТ.

It was not the custom for the higher class of women at Mecca to nurse their own children. They procured nurses for them, or gave them out to nurse among the neighbouring Bedouin tribes, where was gained the double advantage of a

* It may be of some importance to show to the Mahometans, that the name was known and used in Arabia before Mahomet's birth. We have seen that his grandfather was called Sheba al *Hamd* which is the same word. The precise form of Ahmad was very rare, but we find it in use among the Bani Bakr ibn Wail, about thirty or forty years before Mahomet. (Vide C. de Perceval, Vol II., p. 378.) We have a *Mohammad*, son of Sofian, of the Tamim tribe, born before 500 A. D. (*Idem*, p. 297) We meet also with a Mohammad, of the tribe of Aws, born about 530 A. D. (*Idem* Table VII.) and among the followers of the prophet killed at Kheibar, we find a *Mahmud* ibn Maslama (elsewhere called *Mohammad* ibn Maslama,) whose name could not have had any connexion with that of Mahomet; he was also an Awsite. (*Hishâmî*, p. 341, — *Wâkidi*, p. 121) *Wâkidi*, in a chapter devoted to the subject, mentions *five* of the name before the Prophet; 1. Mohammad ibn Khoâzzya, of the Bani Drakwan, who went to Abrahâ, and remained with him in the profession of Christianity: a verse by the brother of this man is quoted, in which the name occurs; 2. Mohammad ibn Saffin, of the Bani Tamim; 3. Mohammad ibn Joshâf, of the Bani Suwâat; 4. Mohammad al Asiyâf; 5. Mohammad al Fockimî. But with the usual Mahometan credulity, and desire to exhibit anticipations of the prophet, *Wâkidi* adds, that these names were given by such Arabs as had learnt from Jews, Christians, or soothsayers, that a prophet was about to arise in Arabia so called, and the parent in the fond hope that his child would turn out to be the expected one, called him by that name! In the second instance, this intelligence is said to have been imparted by a Christian Bishop.

The word Ahmad, it appears, occurred by mistake in an Arabic translation of John's Gospel for "the Comforter," *περικλυτος* for *παρακλητος* or was forged as such by some ignorant or designing monk in Mahomet's time. Hence the partiality for this name, which was regarded as the fulfilment of a promise or prophecy.

Wâkidi has a chapter devoted to the titles of the prophet. Among these are

ماهي, عاقبر حاشر خانم the last of these means "obliviator," or

حي قان الا محابه سات من اتبعه "blotter out:" and is thus interpreted

واما الب "because God blots out through him the sins of his followers:" or

as farther explained, "blot out through him unbelief." (*Wâkidi*, p. 7½.)

robust frame, and the pure speech and free manners of the desert.*

The infant Mahomet, shortly after his birth, was made over to Thueiba, a slave woman of his uncle Abu Lahab, who had lately nursed Hamza. † Though he was suckled by her only for a few days, he retained in after life a lively sense of the connection thus formed. Both Mahomet and Khadija used to express their respect for her, and the former continued to make her presents and gifts of clothes, until the seventh year of the Hegira, when, upon his return from Kheibar, he had tidings of her death; and he asked after her son Masrûh, his foster-brother, but he, too, was dead, and she had left no relatives. ‡

After Thueiba had suckled the child for probably not more than a few days, § a party of the Bani Saâd (descended from the Hawazin stock, ||) arrived at Mecca with ten women of their tribe, who offered themselves as nurses for the Meccan infants. They were all soon provided with children, excepting Halîma, who at last consented to take the orphan Mahomet; for it was to the father the nurses chiefly looked for a liberal reward, and the charge of the fatherless child had been before declined by

* Burkhardt states that this practice is common still among the Shereefs of Mecca. At eight days old, the infant is sent away, and excepting a visit at the sixth month, does not return to his parents till eight or ten years of age. The Hodheil, 'Thakif, Coreish, and Harb, are mentioned as tribes to which the infants are thus sent; and (which is a singular evidence of the stability of Arab tribes and customs,) to these is added the *Bani Sudd*, the very tribe to which the infant Mahomet was made over. (*Burkhardt's Travels*, pp. 229—231.) Weil assigns another reason for this practice, *viz.*, the anxiety of the Meccan mothers to have large families, and to preserve their constitutions. (*Life of Mahomet*, p. 24, note 7.)

† Foster-relationship was regarded by the Arabs as a very near tie, and therefore all those are carefully noted by the biographers who had been nursed *with* Mahomet, (or as Sprenger puts it, "with the same milk.") Ali, when at Medina, proposed to Mahomet that he should marry Hamza's daughter, and praised her beauty to him: but Mahomet refrained, saying that a daughter of his foster-brother was not lawful for him. (*Wâckidi*, p. 20.)

‡ These pleasing traits of Mahomet's character will be found at page 20 of Wâckidi. It is added that Khadija sought to purchase her, that she might give her liberty, but Abu Lahab refused. After Mahomet, however, had fled from Mecca, he set her free. The credulous traditionists relate that on this account Abu Lahab experienced a minute remission of his torments in hell.

§ So Wâckidi (p. 20. Weil, p. 25, note 8) adduces traditions, but apparently not good ones, for a longer period. If the nurses used (as is said,) to come to Mecca twice a year, in spring and in harvest, they must have arrived in autumn, not long after the date which we have adopted as that of Mahomet's birth.

|| Descended from Khasafa, Gays Aylân, Modhar, and Maâdd, and therefore of the same origin as the Coreish.

the party. The legends of after days have encircled Halima's journey homewards, with a halo of miraculous prosperity, but this it does not lie within the object of our story to relate.*

The infancy, and part of the childhood of Mahomet, were spent with Halima and her husband,† among the Bani Saád. At two years of age she weaned him, and took him to his mother, who was so delighted with the healthy and robust appearance of her infant, (for he looked like a child of double the age,) that she said, "take him with thee back again to the desert, for I fear the unhealthy air of Mecca." So she returned with him. When another two years were ended, some strange event occurred to the boy which greatly alarmed Halima. It was probably a fit of epilepsy; but the Mahometan legends have invested it with so many marvellous features, that it is difficult to discover the real facts.‡ It seems clear, however, that Halima and her husband were uneasy, and the former desiring to get rid of a charge which Arab superstition regarded as under the influence of an evil spirit, carried the child back to its mother. With some difficulty, Amina obtained from her an account of what had happened, calmed her fears, and entreated her to resume the care of her boy. Halima

* Thus Amina said to the nurse that for three nights she had been told in a vision, that one of the family of Abu Dzeib was destined to nurse her infant; when, to her astonishment, Halima said, *that is my husband's name!* Neither Halima nor her camel had any milk for her own child on their journey to Mecca, but no sooner had she received the infant Mahomet, than she had abundance for both, and so had the camel. Her white donkey could hardly move along to Mecca for weakness, but on their way home it outstripped all the others, so that their fellow travellers marvelled exceedingly. It was a year of famine, yet the Lord so blessed Halima for the little Mahomet's sake, that her cattle always returned fat and with plenty of milk, while those of every other were lean and dry:—and many such other stories. See the legend as given by *Sprenger*, p. 143; *Wäckidi*, p. 20½; and *Hushdmi* (who here indulges more in the marvellous than Wäckidi,) p. 31.

† Wäckidi makes the husband's name Abu Dzeib, (p. 20½); but some call him Hârith, and name Halima's father Abu Dzeib.

‡ The following is the account of Wäckidi, who is more concise than the other biographers on the subject.

"When he had reached four years of age, he was one morning playing with his (foster) brother and sister among the cattle, close by the encampment. And there came to him two angels, who cut open his body and drew forth from thence the black drop, and cast it from them, and washed his inside with water of snow, which they had in a gold platter. Then they weighed him against a thousand of his people, and he out-weighed them all together: and the one of them said unto the other, "let him go, for verily if thou wert to weigh him against the whole of his people, he would out-weigh them all." His (foster) brother seeing this, ran screaming to his mother, who with her husband hastened to the spot and found the lad pale and affrighted (*Wäckidi*, p. 20½.)

loved her foster-child, and was not unwillingly persuaded to take him once more to her encampment. There she kept him for about a year longer, and never suffered him to go far out of her sight. But her apprehensions were renewed by fresh symptoms of an unusual nature, and she set out to restore the boy to his mother, when he was about five years of age.* As she reached the upper quarter of Mecca, the little Mahomet strayed from her, and she could not find him. Abd al Mutta-lib, to whom in this difficulty she repaired, sent one of his

Hishāmi, and other later writers add that her husband concluded he had "had a fit," (اصيب) and advised her to take him home to his mother. Arrived at Mecca, she confessed after some hesitation what had occurred. "Ah !" exclaimed Amina, "didst thou fear that a devil had possessed him?" — عالية الشيطان — she proceeded to say that such could never be the case with a child whose birth had been preceded and followed by so many prodigies, recounting them in detail. Then she added, "leave him with me, and depart in peace, and heaven direct thee!" From this Sprenger rightly concludes (p. 78,) that according to Hishāmi the child did not return with Halima: but Wäckidi explicitly states the reverse.

This legend is closely connected with Sura XCIV. v. I. "Have we not opened thy breast?"—i. e., given thee relief. These words were afterwards construed literally, into an actual opening, or splitting up of his chest; and, coupled with other sayings of Mahomet as to his being cleansed from the taint of sin, were wrought up into the story given above.

It is possible, also, that Mahomet may have himself given a more developed nucleus for the legend, desiring thereby to enhance the superstitious attachment of his people, and conveniently referring the occasion of the cleansing and its romantic accompaniments to this early fit. But we can not, with any approach to certainty, determine whether any, and if so, what part of the legend, owes its paternity to Mahomet directly; or whether it has been entirely fabricated upon the verse of the Coran referred to, and other metaphorical assertions of cleansing construed literally.

* When Halima took back the child to Mecca after its first attack, she told Amina that nothing but the sheerest necessity would make her part with it:—

انا لا ترة الا عاي جله ع انفا (Wäckidi, p. 203). She then took him

back with her, and kept him close in sight. She was, however, again startled (as the legend goes,) by observing a cloud attendant upon the child, sheltering him from the sun, moving as he moved, and stopping when he stopped. This alarmed her:—

فا فزعها ذ لك ايضا من امره If there be any thing in the tradition,

it probably implies a renewal of symptoms of the former nature.

It appears extremely probable that these legends originated in some species of fact. One can hardly conceive their fabrication out of nothing, even admitting that the 94th Sura, and other metaphorical expressions may have led to the marvellous additions.

We have given in the text what appears to us the probable narrative, but it must be confessed that the ground on which we here stand is vague and uncertain.

family to the search, who discovered him wandering in Upper Mecca, and restored him to his mother.*

If we are right in regarding the attacks which alarmed Halîma as fits of a nervous or epileptic nature, they exhibit in the constitution of Mahomet the normal marks of those excited states, and ecstatic swoons, which perhaps suggested to his own mind the idea of inspiration, as by his followers they undoubtedly were taken to be evidence of it. It is probable that in other respects, the constitution of Mahomet was rendered more robust, and his character more free and independent, by his five years' residence among the Bani Saád. At any rate his speech was thus formed upon one of the purest models of the beautiful language of the peninsula; and it was his pride in after days to say, "Verily, I am the most perfect Arab amongst you; for I come of the Coreish, and my tongue is that of the Bani Saád."† When his success came to depend in great measure upon his eloquence, a pure language, and an elegant dialect, were advantages of essential moment.

Mahomet ever retained a grateful impression of the kindness he had experienced as a child among the Bani Saád. Halîma visited him at Mecca after his marriage with Khadíja; "and it was" (the tradition runs) "a year of drought, in which much cattle perished; and Mahomet spake to Khadíja, and she gave to Halîma a camel accustomed to carry a litter, and forty sheep; so she returned to her people." Upon another occasion he spread out his mantle (a token of special respect,) for her to sit upon, and placed his hand upon her in a familiar and affectionate manner.‡ Many years after, when, on

* *Wâckidi*, p. 203 and 21. Hishâmi makes the person who found him to be the famous Waraca: but *Wâckidi* represents Abd al Muttalib as sending one of his grandsons to the search. The latter also gives some verses purporting to be Abd al Muttalib's prayer to the deity at the Kaaba to restore the child; but they are apocryphal.

إنا عربكم أنا من قریش ولسانی لسان بني سعد ابن بكر†

Wâckidi, p. 21.—See *Hishâmi*, p. 34. Sprenger translates the opening verb: "I speak best Arabic," (p. 77); but it has probably a more extensive signification.

ادخل يرة في ثيابها وضعها علي صدرها وقضي حاجتها‡

† *Wâckidi*, p. 21. It is added that Abu Bakr and Omar treated

her with equal honor, omitting, however, the actions of familiar affection referred to in the extract just quoted. But to what period this refers is not apparent; she could hardly have survived to their caliphate: indeed, we understand her to have been dead before the taking of Mecca and siege of Táif.

the expedition against Tâif, he attacked the Bani Hâwazin, and took a multitude of them captive, they found a ready access to his heart by reminding him of the days when he was nursed among them.* About the same time a woman called Shîma (by others Judâma) was brought in with some other prisoners to the camp, and when they threatened her with their swords, she declared that she was the prophet's foster sister. Mahomet enquired how he should know the truth of this, and she replied:—Thou gavest me this bite upon my back, once upon a time, when I carried thee on my hip." The prophet recognized the mark, spread his mantle over her, and made her to sit down by him. He gave her the option of remaining in honor and dignity with him, or of returning with a present to her people, and she preferred the latter.†

The sixth year of his life (575-6 A. D.) Mahomet spent at Mecca under the care of his mother. When it was nearly at an end, she planned a visit to Medîna, where she longed to show her boy to the maternal relatives of his father. So she departed with her slave girl Omm Aymân (Baraka,) who tended her child; and they rode upon two camels.‡ Arrived at Medîna, she alighted at the house of Nâbigha, where her husband had died and was buried. The visit was of sufficient duration to imprint the scene and the society upon the memory of the juvenile Mahomet. He used often to call to recollection things that had happened on this occasion; and seven and forty years afterwards, when he entered Medîna as a refugee, he recognized the lofty quarters of the Bani Adî:—"In this house," said he, "I used to sport with Aynasa, a little girl of Medîna; and with my cousins, I used to put to flight the birds that "alighted upon its roof." And as he gazed upon the house, he added;—"here it was my mother lodged with me; and in

* *Wâckidi*, pp. 21 and 131—*Hishâmî*, p. 379. The deputation from the Hawâzin contained Mahomet's foster uncle Abu Burkan. Pointing to the enclosure in which the captives of their tribe were pent up, they said:—"there are three (foster) fathers and (foster) mothers of thine, and those who have fondled thee in their bosom, and we have suckled thee from our breasts. Verily we have seen thee a suckling, and never a better suckling than thou, and a weaned child, and never a better weaned child than thou; and we have seen thee a youth," &c., &c. *Wâckidi*, p. 21.

† *Wâckidi*, p. 20½—*Hishâmî*, p. 379. It is added, "the Bani Saâd say, he also gave her a male and a female slave; and that she united them in marriage, but they left no issue."

‡ The number of the party is not stated; but there would be one, if not two camel drivers, and perhaps a guide besides.

"this very house is the tomb of my father; and it was there in
"that well (or pond,) of the Bani Adî, that I learnt to swim,"

After the sojourn of about a month, Amina bethought her of returning to Mecca, and set out in the same manner as she had come. But when she had reached about half way, a spot called Abwâ, she sickened and died, and there she was buried. The little orphan was carried upon the camels to Mecca, by his nurse Baraka Omm Ayman,) who, although then quite a girl, seems to have been a faithful nurse, and continued to be the child's constant attendant.

The early loss of his mother, around whom his constant heart and impressible affections had entwined themselves, no doubt imparted to the youthful Mahomet something of that pensive and meditative character, by which he was afterwards distinguished. In his seventh year he could appreciate the bereavement, and feel the desolation of his orphan state. In the Coran he has alluded touchingly to the subject. While re-assuring his heart of the divine favour, he recounts the mercies of the Almighty; and amongst them, this is the first;—"*Did he not find thee an orphan, and furnished thee with a refuge?*" (Sura XCIII., 6.) On his pilgrimage from Medina to Hodeibia, he visited his mother's tomb, and he lifted up his voice and wept, and his followers likewise wept around him; and when he was asked regarding it, he said;—"the tender memory of my mother came over me, and I wept."*

The charge of the orphan was now undertaken (576 A. D.) by his grandfather Abd al Muttalib, who had by this time reached the patriarchal age of four-score years; and by whom he was treated with a singular fondness. A rug used to be spread under the shadow of the kaaba, where the aged chief reclined in shelter from the heat of the sun; and around his

* The whole of this account is from *Wäckidi* (p. 21½); where is added the following tradition:—"After the conquest of Mecca, Mahomet sat down by his mother's tomb, and the people sat around him, and he had the appearance of one holding a conversation with another. Then he got up, weeping; and Omar said, "*Oh thou to whom I could sacrifice both my father and my mother! Why dost thou weep!*" He replied, "*This is the tomb of my mother: The Lord hath permitted me to visit it, and I asked leave to implore pardon for her, and it was not granted: so I called her to remembrance; and the tender recollection of her overcame me, and I wept.*" And he was never seen to weep more bitterly than he did then. But *Wäckidi's* Secretary says this tradition is a mistake; for it supposes the tomb of Mahomet's mother to be in Mecca, whereas it is at Abwâ. The prohibition, however, against praying for his mother's salvation, is given in other traditions, and it forms a singular instance of the sternness and exclusive severity of the dogmas of Mahomet's faith.

carpet, but at a respectful distance, sat his sons. The little Mahomet used to run up close to the patriarch, and unceremoniously take possession of his rug, and when his sons would drive him off, Abd al Muttalib would say, "Let my little son alone," and stroke him on the back, and delight to watch his childish prattle.*

He was still under the care of his nurse Baraka; but he would ever and anon quit her, and run into the apartment of his grandfather, even when he was alone or asleep.

The guardianship of Abd al Muttalib lasted but two years, for he died eight years after the attack of Abraha, at the age of fore-score years and two: (578 A. D.) The orphan child bitterly felt the loss of his indulgent grandfather; as he followed the bier to the cemetery of Hajûn, he was observed to be weeping; and when he grew up, he retained a distinct remembrance of his death.† The gentle, warm, and confiding heart of Mahomet was thus again rudely wounded, and the fresh bereavement would be rendered the more poignant by the dependent position in which it left him. The nobility of his grandfather's descent, the deference with which his voice was listened to throughout the little vale of Mecca, and the splendid liberality displayed by him in discharging the annual offices of feeding the pilgrims and giving them drink, while they were witnessed with satisfaction by the thoughtful child, left, after they had passed away, a proud remembrance, and formed the seed perhaps of many an ambitious thought, and many a day-dream of power and domination.

The death of Abd al Muttalib left his family (*i. e.*, the progeny of Abd Menâf,) without any powerful head, and enabled the

* *Hishâmî*, p. 35 — *Wâckidi*, p. 22. Many incidents are added to the narrative taken evidently from the point of view of later years. Thus Abd al Muttalib says "Let him alone for he has a great destiny, and will be the inheritor of a kingdom":—

لَا تَدْرُسْهُ | *Wâckidi* adds the injunction the nurse Baraka used to receive from him, *not to let him fall into the hands of the Jews and Christians, who were looking out for him, and would injure him!*

† *Wâckidi*, p. 22, where it is said that Mahomet was eight years of age, when his grandfather died aged eighty-eight years. Others make Abd al Muttalib to have been 110, and some even 120 years old at his death. Caussin de Perceval has shown the futility of these traditions, which would make the patriarch to have begotten Hamza when above 100 years old. (*Vol. I.*, p. 290, note 4.)

other branch, descended by Omeya from Abd Shams (*i. e.*, the Omeiad stem,) to gain an ascendancy. Of the latter family the chief at this time was Harb, the father of Abu Sofîân, to whom belonged the "leadership" in war, and who possessed a numerous and powerful body of relations.

Of Abd al Muttalib's sons, Harith the eldest was now dead, and the chief of those who survived were Zobeir* and Abu Tâlib (both by the same mother as Abdal!ah the father of Mahomet,) Abu Lahab, Abbâs, and Hainza. The two last were very young. Zobeir was the oldest, and to him Abd al Muttalib bequeathed his dignity and offices.† Zobeir, again, left them to Abu Tâlib, who finding himself too poor to discharge the expensive and onerous task of providing for the pilgrims, waived the honor in favor of his younger brother Abbas. But the family of Hâshim had fallen from its high estate; for we find that Abbâs was able to retain only the *Sickaya* (or giving of drink, while the *Rifâda*, (or furnishing of food,) passed into the rival branch, descended from Noufal, son of Abd Menâf.‡ Abbâs was rich, and his influential post, involving the constant charge of the well Zamzam, was retained by him till the introduction of Islam, and then confirmed to his family by the prophet; but he was not a man of strong character, and never attained to any commanding position at Mecca. Abu Tâlib, on the other hand, possessed many noble qualities, and enforced a greater respect; but whether from his poverty, or other cause, he, too, remained in the back ground. It was thus that in the oscillations of phylarchal government, the prestige of the house of Hâshim waned and disappeared; while a rival branch had risen into importance. This phase of the political state of Mecca began with the death of Abd al Muttalib, and continued until the conquest of Mecca by Mahomet himself.

* *Wâckidi*, p. 17.

† *Wâckidi ibid. m.*, and p. 15½. Zobeir evidently held a high rank at Mecca, but how long he survived is not apparent. *Wâckidi* says of him;

وكان شاعرا وشريفا والته ارمي عبدالمطب

‡ *Ilishâmi* (p. 35,) specifies that Abbâs inherited the *Sickaya*; and the subsequent history gives proof that he held nothing more. The authority for stating that the branch of Noufal possessed the *Rifâda*, is given by M. C. de Perceval as derived from D' Ohsson. We have not traced it to any early Arabic writer. Abbâs, no doubt, did not inherit the *Sickaya* till Zobeir's death, when he would be old enough to manage it. M. C. de Perceval, makes him succeed to it immediately after Abd al Muttalib's death; but this is opposed to tradition as well as probability, for he was then only twelve years of age.

To Abu Tâlib, the dying Abd al Muttalib consigned the guardianship of his orphan grandchild; and faithfully and kindly did he discharge the trust.* His fondness for the lad equalled that of Abd al Muttalib himself: he made him sleep by his bed, eat by his side, and go with him when he walked abroad: and this tender treatment was continued until Mahomet emerged from the helplessness of childhood.†

It was during this period that Abu Tâlib, accompanied by Mahomet, undertook a mercantile journey to Syria. At first he intended to leave the lad behind him, for he had reached twelve years of age, and was able to take care of himself. But when the caravan was now ready, and Abu Tâlib prepared to mount his camel, his nephew was overcome by the prospect of so long a separation, and clung by his protector. Abu Tâlib was moved, and carried the boy along with him. The expedition extended to Bostra and perhaps farther. The journey lasted for several months, and afforded to the young Mahomet opportunities of observation, which were not lost upon him. He passed near to Petra, Jerash, Ammon, and other ruinous sites of former mercantile grandeur; and their sight, no doubt, deeply imprinted upon his reflective mind the instability of earthly greatness. The legends of the valley of Hejer, with its lonely deserted habitations hewn out of the rock, and the tale of divine vengeance against the cities of the plain, over which now rolled the billows of the Dead Sea, would excite apprehension and awe, while their strange and startling details would win and charm the childish heart ever yearning after the marvellous. On this visit, too, he came into contact with the national profession of Christianity in Syria, and passed through several

* *Wâkidi*, p. 22. The disposition, however, to magnify the prophet is manifest here, as in the case of Abd al Muttalib: and there is added this marvellous incident connected with Abu Tâlib's scanty means, that the family always rose from their frugal meal hungry and unsatisfied if Mahomet were not present, but if he were there, they were not only satisfied, but had victuals to spare. So, too, the other children used to run about with foul eyes and dishevelled hair, whereas the little Mahomet's head was always sleek and his eyes clean. There thus appears so continuous a tendency to glorify the nascent prophet, that it becomes hard to decide what, amidst these statements, to accept as facts, and what to reject. Vide *Canons I. C. and II. D.* in No. XXXVII. above quoted.)

† The reason given for Mahomet being entrusted to Abu Tâlib, is, that his father Abdallah was brother to Abu Tâlib by the same mother, (*Tabari*, p. 59; but so was Zobeir also.

Jewish settlements. The former he never before had witnessed, for he could as yet have been acquainted only with occasional and isolated specimens of the Christian faith. Now he saw its rites in full performance by the whole people of the land. The national and the social customs founded upon Christianity, the churches with their crosses, images or pictures, and other symbols of the faith; the ringing of bells; the frequent assemblages for worship, the accounts (and, possibly, the glimpse by himself,) of the continually repeated ceremonial, must have effected a deep impression upon him, which would be made all the more practical and lasting by the sight of whole tribes, Arab like himself, converted to the same faith and practising the same observances. However fallen and materialized was the Christianity of that day in Syria, it cannot be doubted that it would strike the thoughtful observer in favourable and wonderful contrast with the gross and unspiritual idolatry of Mecca. Once again, in mature life, Mahomet visited Syria, and whatever reflections of this nature were then excited, would receive an intenser force, and a deeper color, from the bright scenes and charming images which childhood had pictured upon the same ground.*

* The account of this journey is given by all the biographers with the many ridiculous details antipathetic of Mahomet's prophetic dignity. The following is the gist of them:—

The youthful Mahomet, along with the rest of the caravan, alighted at a monastery or hermitage on the road, occupied by a monk called Bahira. The monk perceived by a cloud which hovered over the company, the bending of boughs to shelter one of their number, &c., that it contained the prophet expected shortly to arise. He therefore invited the party to an entertainment; but when they had assembled, he perceived that the object of his search was not amongst them; he enquired where the wanting guest was, and they sent for the lad Mahomet, who, on account of his youth, had been left to watch the encampment. Bahira questioned him and examined his body for the seal of prophecy, which he found upon his back; he then referred to his sacred books, found all the marks to correspond, and declared the boy to be the expected prophet. He proceeded to warn Abu Tâlib against the Jews, who would at once recognize the child as the coming prophet, and moved by jealousy, seek to slay him. Abu Tâlib was alarmed, and forthwith set out for Mecca with his nephew.

The fable is so absurd, that a feeling of contempt and mistrust is excited with respect to the entire traditional collections, when, every here and there, give place to such tales. A clue to the religious principle which engendered these stories is attempted in the Article of No. XXXVII. of this *Review*, *Canon II. G.*

Dr. Sprenger thinks that Abu Tâlib sent back Mahomet under charge of Bahira to Mecca; (*Life*, p. 79) and grounds his deduction on the phrase *طاب له*

ابو — at p. 22½ of Wâckidi. But this expression may equally signify, "Abu Tâlib took him back *with himself*" to Mecca; and this meaning is undoubtedly the one intended.

The subject has been discussed in the *Zeit schrift der deutschen morgen landische gesellschaft*, Vol. III., p. 454; IV. p. 188, and IV. p. 457; where professors Fleischer

No farther incident of a special nature is related of Mahomet, until he had advanced from childhood into youth.*

and Wustensfeld oppose Dr. Sprenger's view. Dr. Sprenger has written a further paper on the subject in the *Asiatic Society's Journal* for 1853, where he has given the various authorities in original, bearing upon the point. I. *Tirmidzi* says that Abu Tâlib sent Mahomet back from Syria by Abu Bakr and Bilâl: which (as Sprenger shows,) is absurd, seeing that the former was two years younger than Mahomet, and the latter then not born. II. *Hishâmî* makes Abu Tâlib himself return with Mahomet, after concluding his business at Bosra. III. *Wâckidi* gives several traditions; one in which the monk immediately after warning Abu Tâlib to make Mahomet return without loss of time to Mecca, expires: (*Wâckidi*, p. 22½) and a second, that, viz., quoted above, upon which Dr. Sprenger so much relies (*Ibid*). But he has omitted a third detailed account of the journey which is given in the same volume, on the authority of Muhammad ibn Omar (i. e., Wâckidi himself:) it is full of marvellous statements, and ends with distinctly saying that Abu Tâlib returned to Mecca with Mahomet. روجع به أبو تالب This may have escaped Dr. Sprenger's notice, as it occurs under another chapter in Wâckidi, i. e., the "marks of prophetic rank in Mahomet." (p. 28½.) So also (*Tabari*, p. 60.) فخرج به عمه سريعاً

Dr. Sprenger goes further. He suspects that the monk not only accompanied Mahomet to Mecca, but remained there with him: and as he finds the name *Bahira* in the list of a deputation from the Abyssinian King to Mahomet at Medina, forty years later, he concludes the two to have been one and the same person; and he thinks that the early Mahometan writers endeavoured to conceal the fact, as one discreditable to their prophet. The conjecture is ingenious, but the basis on which it rests is wholly insufficient. It is besides quite inconsistent with our theory of the rise of traditions, in which *design* is not apparent. Omissions, no doubt, occurred, and stories died out, but on different grounds. (See Canon II. L in the article on the Sources for the Biography of Mahomet *ab e quolet*.)

Some Arabs will have it that this monk was called Jeigî (*Georgius*), Christian apologists call him Sergius.

* Weil (p. 29) states that in his sixteenth year Mahomet journeyed to Yemen with his uncle Zobeir on a mercantile trip. Dr. Sprenger (p. 79, note 3.) says that there is no good authority for this statement, nor can we find any original authority for it at all. The expression with respect to Abu Tâlib (وكان لا)

(تسافر سقرا إلا كان معه) "that he never undertook a journey, unless

Mahomet were with him," might possibly imply that he undertook several; but in the absence of any express instance, it can hardly be pressed to prove that he did. So (*Wâckidi*, p. 29) it is said that Abu Tâlib never took him again on a journey after this Syrian expedition, fearing lest injury should befall him

(و رجع به أبو طالب فما خرج به سفرا بعد ذلك خوفا عليه)

—but the sentence is mere pendant to the absurd story of the Jews recognizing in Mahomet the coming prophet, and seeking to lie in wait for his life, and is therefore equally futile with it.

The chief reason which leads us to suppose that this was Mahomet's only mercantile journey (besides that taken for Khadija,) is that, had he undertaken any other, we should indubitably have had special notice of it in Wâckidi, Hishâmî, or Tabari.

SELECTIONS
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"No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

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WARREN HASTINGS IN SLIPPERS.

BY DR. J. GRANT.

Unpublished Letters of Warren Hastings.

WE are about to contribute a few stones to the cairn of Warren Hastings. Not that we propose to write his life, to describe his public career, to examine his administrative schemes, or even to analyze his character as statesman or as hero. That task has been performed by a mightier hand. The writer who follows where Macaulay has reaped, must be content to glean the few ears abandoned in the carelessness of boundless wealth. The story of Warren Hastings, of his early pride, and early failures, his struggles in the Council and his triumph at Benares, his services to England, and the black ingratitude with which they were requited, is now a household word. The character of the calm, sagacious statesman, whom no opposition could weary, and no insult annoy, who never hated, but never spared, is as familiar to us all as the character of Wellington. But there is a side in Warren Hastings' character not yet so thoroughly appreciated. There ran through that strong nature a vein of genial natural humour, such as we believe to underlie almost all great characters. In one it produces the exquisite grace which was the household characteristic of Napoleon. In another it elicits the dry satire which gave salt to the conversation of the Iron Duke. In a third it is the kindly appreciation of art which made Sir Robert Peel the first of amateur connoisseurs. And lastly, in too many it produces the ineffectual striving after poetic excellence, which enables Macaulay to style Hastings and Frederick the Great half statesmen and half Trissotins. The sarcasm is unjustifiably severe. The men of the day who are not addicted to out-door amusement find relaxation in the newspaper and the novel. Frederick and Hastings both found it in small attempts at literature, in little poems, and in those carefully written letters which have embalmed for us so much of the spirit and flavour of that age. In the present case these letters are singularly valuable. They shew us the sunny side of a mind which, on the other half, is dark with a weight of care which would have destroyed a heart less brave or a temper less serene.

In regard to the original letters of Warren Hastings and several by his friends, that have been kindly placed at our disposal, it suffices to state that their present possessor obtained them after the death of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed *the second*, and nephew of Hastings' friend. He inherited a good deal of his uncle's intellectual ability. He was a very distinguished member of the Bengal civil service, and considered in his day a great authority on all questions of revenue. He was an admirable oriental linguist, and as was stated in a former article of the

Calcutta Review,* he could pass for a native, sit down and smoke a pipe with any group he fancied, and never be recognized as an European,—the court language or the *patois* of the peasantry being equally facile to him. Those who may expect that these letters will throw any light but of a faint or oblique kind on the Indian career of Hastings, will be disappointed. They are nevertheless not without high interest as admitting us to a fire-side familiarity with men who were remarkable in their day for commanding force of character, or rare intellectual powers. In the correspondence before us we see the great Indian Dictator as it were in his night gown and slippers; and the reader can scarcely fail to compare the oriental ogre-like portrait of Burke and Sheridan, with the retired statesman, in his green old age, settled down as a genial, scholarly, urbane, and neighbourly country gentleman.

The materials before us may be stated as being generally of a social and literary nature, with an occasional sprinkling of light political speculation in prose and verse. Of Warren Hastings it were superfluous here to intrude more upon the reader than what we have already ventured to premise. It is different as respects his correspondent and friend, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, the author of a treatise on Hindu law, and of the first English Hind-dee grammar. Of him, much less is known now in the republic of letters, than his eminent talents and splendid acquirements deserve. "Honour to him who first through the impassable paves a road."† The man who furnishes a grammar for a language, unknown save in the far region where it is vernacular, cannot fail to be acknowledged as a public benefactor. He paves a way through the impassable. This will be the more readily acknowledged if we bear in mind the difficulties that stand in his way, and the disproportion between his opportunities and their results. Gratefully admitting our obligations to such an agent, we are further free to confess, that he who was not only the contemporary, but the friend of a Warren Hastings, a Sir William Jones, and a Brinsley Sheridan, could be no ordinary man, even if we knew nothing more concerning him than the simple fact of his being their friend. His mind, indeed, was one of a quick and versatile turn, as well as of a large capacity for usefulness, had circumstances been more propitious than they proved. He resembled his friend the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and its first President, in forming an exception to the remark, that a great facility for acquiring languages is not always joined to high intellectual ascendancy, or a fine imagina-

* Article vi. vol. 7.

† Mr. T. Carlyle on Goethe.

tion. These, however, Halhed happily united, for whatever passed through his mind was sure to acquire, in that transit, those beautiful hues which a fertile fancy well versed in various learning can alone supply. As we never had the advantage of being personally acquainted with that extraordinary man, we presume that our readers will not be sorry to be now introduced to him; by one who knew and loved him well. We mean the late Elijah Barwell Impey. Alas! that we should have to say the *late*, but so it is—"after life's fitful fever he sleeps well—nothing can touch him further." How much touched he was by revived slanders upon his father's memory, we knew by personal communication with himself, for we had the good fortune to be acquainted with that estimable, amiable and accomplished gentleman. Though of gentle and retiring disposition, yet had he a resolute will to do bravely what he deemed his sacred duty. His mission was to clear a father's reputation from grievous obloquy, and to brush from his ermine those spots which the arts of that chartered libeller, Philip Francis, had endeavoured to stain it with.

"Contemporary, and of like continuance in Parliament with my father"—says Mr. E. B. Impey—"was Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, a name never to be mentioned by me but with reverence and affection. Our family friendship, and, subsequently, my own personal intimacy with that extraordinary man, enable me to confirm all that has been recorded of the versatility of his talents.* In my long walk through life, I have seldom met the man who knew so much of so many things, or who had so ready a command of all he knew. In him the brightest of intellects was accompanied by the kindest of hearts. His principles were as sound as his erudition, and his friendship not less steady and enduring than his conversation was attractive and admired. Halhed's acquaintance with Mr. Hastings and my father began in India, where he held very important employments, and where his ability and zeal were of incalculable service to the Governor-General and to the Company. To Hastings he always professed personal obligations, but it was not singly by the tie of gratitude that he was bound, for life, to that great and good man: he revered Mr. Hastings as an eminent statesman who had saved and enlarged an empire;—and none knew better than Mr. Halhed the difficulties with which he had to contend;—also he loved him as the friend of letters, the patron of every elevating pursuit, the pleasantest of companions, the kindest and the easiest man to live with that might be found in the wide world."

If the stern utilitarian should object that much of our materials comes under the head of literature, and criticism of so light a nature as to be even sportive or trivial, it ought at the same

* See *Life of Sir W. Jones*, by Lord Teignmouth, and *Memoirs of R. B. Sheridan*, by Mr. Moore.

time to be borne in recollection that it served to soothe care, and to alleviate the pressure of painful circumstances. It was the lenitive of many a dark hour. It thus innocently promoted a beneficial end. It may do so still ; for what amused the great Hastings, may also entertain us, albeit we be a more fastidious if not less mirthful generation. We are perhaps too much of the temperament ascribed to "the lean and hungry Cassius"—scorning ourselves that we should be brought to laugh at any thing. We are in all things not so easily pleased as those who have gone before us. We are made of sterner stuff, and look more for a *quid pro quo* in every thing. We do not like to throw a laugh away even : we must have the laugh's worth first. Our ancestors looked not at the grassy meadow, and the corn-field, with a mere cold, calculating glance, as to their probable outturn. They gazed with a consideration quite beside the agricultural or, politico-economical one. They had also a feeling for by-ways and green lanes, and hedge nests and flowers ; where a meditative rambler might take his quiet stroll and enjoy himself, either in pleasant solitude, or in the society of some congenial friend.

"From my earliest years"—writes one of our kind informants,* "I have loved the name of Halhed. The late Robert W. Halhed of Birchfield Priory, Berks, a dear friend of my father and mother, and scarcely less of myself, was my original informant on the points of the family genealogy, and my passport to the intercourse I afterwards enjoyed with his gifted and eccentric brother." From this source we learn that Nathaniel Halhed, the grandfather, had been a broker in Exchange Alley, where he acquired a considerable estate, and died 17th January 1730-1, at the age of 66. He had married twice : first, (who died 30th March 1717, aged 43), Elizabeth, daughter of William Houghton, of Reading, Berks, by whom he had eight children. One of these was Captain of a man-of-war, and was lost at sea. He married secondly, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of George Mason, of Noke Herefordshire, who died 16th October 1729, aged 44. By her he had William Halhed of the Noke, and of great George's Street, Westminster, &c. He was a bank director, and died 30th September 1786, aged 64. He was also twice married ; first to Frances Caswall, by whom he had, 1st *Nathaniel Brassey*, 2nd Robert William, 3rd John (both of whom married their cousins of the name of Caswall) and Ellen Frances, the wife of Edwin Atkins of Kingston—Lisle, Berks. Of the early career of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed our reverend informant could know little, as he was at the time unborn. He then adds—"I distinctly remember to have heard that he proposed to himself three principles of action, from all

* The Rev. Thomas Streatfield—Chartsedge Westerham, Kent.

of which he deviated I recollect one only, his determination not to marry in India, whereas he married Helena Louisa Ribaut, the daughter of the Governor of Chinsurah. From this lady, I gathered a beautiful anecdote of Warren Hastings. On his return from India an old friend treated him cavalierly, to his great mortification : this treatment arose from his having given a son, whom he sent to India, a letter of recommendation to the Governor-General, and resenting his imagined neglect of the young man. In fact Mr. Hastings had done all he could for him, but found him utterly unprincipled and incapable of advancement. Mrs. Hastings, who did not like the desertion of an old friend to be added to the other cruel persecutions her husband suffered, was one day urging his making known this *cause* of the check to the young man's promotion, when Mr. H. replied,—“Nay, it matters little what he may think of me ; but let us not make a father think ill of his own child.”

“Halhed was in later life *exceedingly* deaf, almost precluding the intercourse of conversation. Impossible as it was to converse with him in company, I had many delightful opportunities of glean- ing his opinions when we were together domiciled at Beech Hill Priory, and his companion in a rural ramble. I cannot help thinking that he perceived in myself a simplicity and sincerity, which propitiated him, where professional pedantry would have induced him to stand aloof. I need not say to you that his religious opinions were rather wild. Some doubted whether he had any religion at all. In fact, however, I found that though he had deviated from all the beaten tracks, his principles were deeply religious, and his reverence for revelation profound. Though not acquiescing in every old woman's superstitious tale, no child was more docile, where he could reasonably consider the authority Divine.”

To the above we have only to add, that on the mother's side Mr. Halhed was lineally descended from Lenthal, the speaker of the House of Commons at the time when the bluff Protector, Oliver Cromwell, ordered a certain *bauble* to be removed. Mr. Halhed received the principles of a sound classical education at Harrow, under the celebrated Dr. Summer, whence, after an assiduous application of ten years, he removed to Oxford, and entered himself of Christ Church College. He remained at Oxford from 1768 to 1770, and was, as we learned, neither conspicuous for extraordinary exertions nor remarked for deficiency of talent. He and Sheridan, as Mr. E. B. Impey informs us, had sate on the same form at Harrow school, and after their schoolboy days the closest intimacy had subsisted between them. Moore mentions Halhed in his life of Sheridan, but as is pettishly observed in the communication of the Rev. Mr. Streatfield, he (Moore)

"manifestly knew nothing." We may therefore *cum grano*, admit his statement that they were afterwards engaged together in various literary speculations. He gives no dates, but we learn from the friend of all others whom, next to Mr. Hastings, he most valued, and whom he from his boyhood appeared to love like a son—*viz.*, Mr. R. B. Impey—that after a separation of many years, which had been spent by Halhed in the east, "they met again in England at the moment when Sheridan, with an entire ignorance of the subject, was preparing his oration on the Benares charge, and acting with the foremost of the enemies of the two men whom Mr. Halhed most loved and venerated, Mr. Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey." It appears that Halhed in his conscientious simplicity deemed that he could save his friend of the "*School for Scandal*" from the commission and propagation of falsehood and defamation. He fondly imagined that if he could demonstrate to Sheridan from his own knowledge,* that the charge he had undertaken to maintain against Hastings was founded upon false grounds, the companion of his youth would thank him and throw up the charge. At the interview that took place the result turned out otherwise. "Halhed, (we quote Mr. Impey) than whom no one was capable of conveying surer information, entered at that meeting into full particulars relative to the Benares charge. He opened the discussion with a heart overflowing with candour and conciliation. He was met with an artificial reserve, and an evasive arrogance which at once closed the door to all negotiation. *From that moment Halhed and Sheridan never met nor spoke with each other upon amicable terms.*" Alas! it was not truth, or correct information, that Sheridan was hunting after, for "into the porches of his ears," and those of his party, Philip Francis had been "pouring his leprous distillment, whose effect holds such an enmity with blood of man!" According to Mr. Moore, Halhed was also a suitor of the fair Miss Linley, who afterwards became Mrs. Sheridan. It was, however, he testifies, a generous rivalry, but the circumstances arising out of Mr. Matthews' duel with the young dramatist, demonstrated the hopelessness of any competitor standing a chance with him.

The learning of the east having formed a considerable part of Mr. Halhed's studies, and an opportunity offering of a writership in the service of the India Company, he went in the beginning of 1771 to Bengal. Here he soon recommended himself to the great patron of literary, as well as official merit, Mr. Hastings, then at Madras, but about to become second in Council at Calcutta. Of the various extracts from literary speculations referred to by

* See the Impey Memoirs.

Mr. Moore, as having been carried on between Sheridan and Halhed, we have reason to believe that the greater portion was from the pen of the latter. Under all these circumstances, supposing them to be correctly stated, the destination of the young Halhed for the far East may be looked upon as a sort of lover's leap, calculated entirely to cure him of his passion for a lovely object, now entirely beyond his reach. When such a disappointment does not unhinge moral energy, or blight with despair the green vigour of youth, it becomes a question whether on the whole it may not prove beneficial ; serving as an instrument of discipline, and preparing the heart, in the fulness of time, for a more lasting attachment. He remained in India upwards of six years.

As already stated, he married in this country Miss Helena Louisa Ribaut, daughter of the Governor of the Dutch settlement of Chinsurah. For some time, it would appear that the union was not a very happy one. There might not perhaps have been on the lady's part "all that young poets dream of whom they love." Admirable in other respects, there might have been some coldness on the lady's part towards the ideal *Mis* keen relish too, of the subtle, the humorous, or the occult, might possibly not have met a corresponding accordance in a mind amiably anxious to conform in all things to his, but sometimes at a loss to comprehend all it might desire. The game of ambition played eagerly in the hey-day of youth, strength and prosperity, as well as absorbing literary pursuits, sometimes may incapacitate men of more than ordinary intellectual powers and acquirements, from fulfilling all the expectations of a young girl's loving and devoted heart. Be that as it may, the persevering fondness of the lady, not untinctured with jealousy, (perhaps with reason,) triumphed, at length, over all his foibles and won his unalterable affection and esteem. Mrs. Halhed, indeed, from all we have heard on the part of those who knew her well, no less than from the internal evidence of the correspondence in our possession, appears to have been a very estimable woman, as well as a most amiable and excellent wife. In the dark days of her husband's adversity her good qualities shone forth in their full yet modest and benignant lustre, and her cheerful conformity to altered fortunes, no less than her unobtrusive strength of character, proved his chief solace and support.

It was easier in the days of Mr. Halhed's sojourn in India to acquire an independence than it is now. For this there were obvious reasons, sufficiently familiar to those conversant with the history of our Indian empire. It is sufficient here to note that though the nominal salary of a civil servant was far less than in our own days, various avenues to the acquisition of wealth were

then available that have since been closed up. Certain privileges were allowed in the way of trade, while a greater latitude in regard to accepting presents was permitted. The amount of available talent too, was then less, or it may perhaps be more correct to say, that there was less competition in a wide field than now obtains, so that all men might stand more upon their pretensions, and self-estimation, in a market comparatively limited, than they could now, when India is well known, and the means of supply exceed the demand in a service rendered still more honourable by the many distinguished men who have flourished in it since Halhed's day. In a printed memoir of Mr. Halhed that appeared in 1795, we find it stated with reference to his six years' sojourn in the East—"As the busy tongue of detraction has never dared utter a syllable to his disadvantage, during this time, we feel no hesitation in saying that his conduct was such as to entitle him to the full approbation of his superiors abroad, and every degree of indulgence from the Directors at home." His application to business did not wean his mind from his studies; and it was during this interval that he produced his grammar, and work on Hindoo law.

In 1778 Mr. Halhed returned to England, and employed some of his succeeding years in travelling for health and amusement. Though his constitution had suffered very materially from the climate of Bengal and his intense application, after a short stay in England, he returned to India in 1784, to resume his official functions, but was obliged soon after his arrival to abandon what then proved to him an ungenial and inhospitable shore. He reached England in 1785, at which time, the state of his health was such, as to excite the serious fears of his friends. From this to the year 1790, little trace is to be found of him except in his literary effusions. The pursuit of a convalescent after the most invaluable of blessings, would, even if we had the details, afford little entertainment to the reader. His pursuits, however, were such as did credit to his philanthropy and taste. He wrote verses, studied chronology, collected pictures and books, and led the easy life of the independent gentleman. At the general election in 1790, he started as candidate for the town of Leicester. He and Mr. Samuel Smith were candidates in the ministerial interest, against two in that of the opposition. The contest was severe, and conducted with spirit for several days, when after the most vigorous exertions, Mr. Halhed, not desiring to enter into boundless expense, agreed with Mr. Montolieu, one of the opposition candidates, to withdraw their efforts on a compromise. He was afterwards more successful in another quarter, being returned for Lymington, Hants.

From Mr. E. Barwell Impey himself we learned that his first

recollection of him was about 1790, when he was living in an expensive style in Harley-street. About the same period, a mistaken confidence in the financial resources of M. Necker, then at the head of affairs in France, induced him as it did many others, (his friend Sir Elijah Impey included) to invest his property in the French funds. The result proved most unfortunate. From certain data we believe that his loss could scarcely be under thirty thousand pounds. He was thus reduced to the dismal prospect of passing the remainder of his days almost on the verge of positive privation. Mr. Halhed sat in two parliaments for Ly-mington. His chief display in the house, or at least that which created the greatest sensation, was his speech on behalf of Mr. Brothers, who had been an officer in the navy, but who made himself remarkable by setting up for a prophet. The following extract from Mr. Impey's memoirs of Sir Elijah will prove not uninteresting to those of our readers who have not the work at hand to refer to.

"The attachment between my father and Halhed was mutual, and lasted till dissolved by death; nor was it for a moment interrupted by a strong divergency of opinion on some important subjects. On one point, and only on that one, Halhed's imagination was too strong for his judgment. I would speak with the utmost delicacy of this foible of my highly gifted and long lamented friend: nor would I speak of it at all, were it not already a matter of public notoriety. Among other abstruse questions, Mr. Halhed had devoted much time to the study of prophecy, and the awful mysteries of the Apocalypse. The amount of European as well as Asiatic lore which he brought to bear upon these subjects, was immense; nor in a less degree was the ingenuity with which he applied it all. But his head was heated by this one absorbing and inexplicable subject. At this juncture another very inoffensive enthusiast—Richard Brothers, commonly called "Brothers the Prophet," began to utter his wild predictions. Halhed listened, examined, and became more than half a believer in them. This was during the early part of the French Revolution, when the British Government and people took alarm at every suspicious circumstance. Brothers was constantly announcing the fast approaching subversion of all states and kingdoms; but in a far different sense from that maintained by the republicans of France. Government, however, chose to couple his religious insanity with their political madness; and Richard Brothers, for some supposed seditious words, was apprehended and committed to Newgate, as one guilty of high treason. Halhed, who rightly thought that he had been committed on a very irregular and foolish warrant, resolved to stand forward as his champion in the House of Commons, and gave notice of a motion for his discharge."

Mr. Halhed was both a profound and extensive scholar. We

have the conclusive evidence of Parr* as to his qualifications in Greek and Latin, nor was his progress in Hebrew and Sanscrit behind them. His oriental acquirements, indeed, are those most generally known to the world. To these he added a colloquial knowledge of modern languages, and there is ample evidence in his manuscripts of his being well versed in mathematics. His defects arose in a great measure from excellencies not sufficiently disciplined. The mind which, with mirror-like fidelity, is capable of reflecting the beauties that present themselves to a fertile imagination, may also exhibit blemishes. There is a daguerreotype faculty, so to say, of genius, to represent both combined, nor is it always an easy task for self-love to separate the truly beautiful from the meretricious. Perfection in regard to taste, no less than conception and execution, is very rare. The subject of these remarks was no exception to this truth. That he had his own doubts in regard to the standard of his literary labours, is most probable, had we nothing more conclusive to judge from than his aversion to publication in his more advanced years. This aversion might originally have its source partly in the want of means to meet the expenses of publication, which at one, and that the darkest phase of his life, he laboured under. In the prime of life, he looked to literature, not merely as a recreation, but as an available means of income. In maturer years, he appears altogether to have abandoned such an idea. Whatever in the literary path he contemplated latterly, was only in the way of pastime, or bagatelle. As he grew older, his deafness, we imagine, added to that indifference to publicity which became positive repugnance. Whatever he now composed, was confined to the admiration of a small circle of friends. It is our duty to exhibit him as he really was, nothing extenuating, and nothing withholding that is due to biographical truth. Then shall we have simply to tell of a man of undoubted genius, of rare gifts somewhat misapplied and wasted, of unstained integrity of character, and of warm and kindly feelings and aspirations. His penetrating and expansive mind went perhaps too far upon the wing of imagination into the dim and shadowy regions of the speculative and the mythic. From these, again, he could at a bound revert to the genial realms of humour and burlesque. As respects the former, such recondite subjects have for many minds an overpowering fascination, drawing it with potent spells into an enchanted land of syrens, and spirits of air and flood.

In the remote tracks of home tradition and Ethnic speculation, his flights were as vigorous as they were frequent, but even in the

* Moore's Life of Sheridan.

darkest portion of his course, there was a track of light such as genius only leaves. He might not always convince, but he could not fail to charm, by his originality, his learning, and his eloquence. The love of speculation became with him a passion, in some sort, but not an obtrusive one. Far inferior to him in erudition and reading, it is not to be wondered at, that his conclusions might appear startling to near relations and connexions. Such are not always the best judges of character, or even the most lenient. In his case, we have the evidence of the Rev. Mr. Streatfield that some members of his family did him grave injustice. This may account for an estrangement of some years duration between himself and his brothers, who though truly worthy men, nevertheless held very different pursuits from his ; and being more practical men, most likely held in sovereign contempt the ideal and the mythic. Unaware of the steps by which he arrived at his induction, we can easily conceive what *caviare* the whole affair must have been to their sense, and how to their honest and more *brawny* impressions, it must have appeared insanity as well as impiety, to hint that Adam was Pan, Eve Pandora, and Vishnu in the Varaha Avatar, the Redeemer of the world ! To speak phrenologically, his organ of veneration was so largely developed, that he was liable to be carried away by the impulsive liveliness of his imagination, and the ductility of his feelings, beyond the bounds of prudence if not of decorum itself. The brilliancy of his own fancy cast a glare round the most eccentric speculations, which were sure to be illustrated by vivid antithesis, and classic felicity of erudition. It is minds thus toned that are liable to be warped by the mirage of intellectual speculation. The besetting fault of minds so constituted, is a proneness, not to scepticism, but its very opposite, a tendency to the belief of more than is warranted. We shall not be surprised then on finding that an intellect of his calibre should for a moment have been puzzled by the voluble and plausible fanaticism of a man like Richard Brothers, appealing to scripture itself for curious coincidences which seemed to harmonise with contingencies of the time. We have an apt illustration of this tendency to extension of belief in the marvellous in another remarkable man, also associated with Indian recollections,—John Zephaniah Holwell, the historian of the said catastrophe of the so-called, "Black Hole of Calcutta." Mr. Holwell was no less distinguished for his administrative talents and his ability for business, than for certain psychological eccentricities, such as a belief in genii, and that human souls are fallen angels permitted to do penance in the form of humanity. This sort of hobby may be ridden by more than may be dreamed of in the bills of mortality ; for

who is without some oddity of belief, or motive, would he but have Halhed's candour to avow it? Developments of this kind no more infer general unsoundness of mind than the retention of extraordinary opinions, though existing in the mind, predicates their non-existence. It is thus that the mirthful hoyden may be more truly virtuous than the sedate but sly prude. Were all who entertain opinions that their duller or more phlegmatic neighbours may deem odd, to be therefore considered as of unsound understanding, who would be pronounced the reverse? The day has been, nay, now is, that suggests the prudence of a man abstaining from riding his hobby too much *coram populo*. A question of abstract nicety might thus place a man in a false position, though in all that affects his dealings with society he may be practically right. Had George III. but whispered a belief in transubstantiation, it would have excited "admired disorder"—and might have shaken allegiance. On matters of practical government, on the other hand, his obstinacy even to the severing of fourteen colonies from the empire, came within the line of sane prerogative.

It would seem to be a difficult point for many to judge wisely between the physician and the quack, but at this hour we believe quackeries as absurd as Brothers' revelations. To suppose Mr. Richard Brothers to be an honest man even, much less a true exponent of prophecy, if not himself a prophet, was, it seems, in days when metallic tractors, earth baths, tar water, and mesmerism attracted a large affluence of implicit faith, deemed a kind of solecism of rationality. The belief itself, or a leaning towards it, in any of these oddities of the day, as in the Brothers' oddity, might have passed with other follies of the hour, but the assertion of one or other of them in so conspicuous a place as the House of Commons was for the million too astounding. Were all who verge on the line of nonsense in Parliament liable to be brought to question in regard to the *mens sana*, on account of what they utter there, it might make a fearful reduction in the votes of the House. As respects Brothers himself, he was by rank and station a gentleman, and as far as we can understand, an amiable and sincere enthusiast. His vaticinations, however, were in one sense inexpedient; they were not seasonable, and had an agitative tendency, at a time when agitation was felt by all to be dangerous. It appears that he not only claimed to be a prophet like unto Moses, but assumed also the character of a Jew, and to be the leader of the Jews, who according to his prediction, were soon to be restored to the Holy Land. Having at length promulgated prophecies regarding the French revolution, the destruction of London, and so forth, sprinkled with apocalyptic illustrations, Govern-

ment took the alarm, and he was on the morning of the 4th March 1796, arrested at his house, by two king's messengers and their assistants, on a charge of high treason. He received the messengers with a complaisance and mildness that were habitual to him, and even expressed his knowledge of the purpose they were come for. After they had shewn their authority for intruding upon him, he submitted without opposition to have all his papers examined. A crowd gathered, who appeared furious at his being arrested. He was taken in the first instance to the house of Mr. Ross, the messenger in Crown Court Westminster. There were grounds, or there were supposed to be, for deeming that he had become the tool of faction to delude the people and to excite sedition. The warrant on which he was apprehended was grounded on the XV. of Elizabeth, in which he stood charged with "unlawfully, maliciously, and wickedly writing, publishing, and printing various fanatical prophecies, with intent to cause dissensions, and other disturbances within the realm, and other of the king's dominions contrary to the statute."

Mr. Halhed now made a motion in the House of Commons for the release of Mr. Brothers. His friends were naturally anxious that he should not thus make, what they not unjustly considered, an exposé of himself. Sir Elijah Impey, with the warm earnestness of genuine friendship, wrote to Mr. Halhed the night before his motion was to come on, urging that he should not make such a display. It was all in vain. He replied that he *must* make his motion—and that he should not be at home to Sir Elijah next morning. He had, in fact, made up his mind to what he conceived an act of imperative duty. "On Wednesday, March 31, 1795."—(testifies Mr. E. B. Impey,) "Halhed made his motion in the House, and delivered his extraordinary oration. Extraordinary, indeed, and startling and extravagant in its premises was the greater part of the speech; yet so ingeniously and systematically was it constructed, and so eloquently was it delivered, that it was listened to in profound silence for three long hours. My father often described that silence, by saying, "you might have heard a pin drop in the House." Another writer, whose remarks were printed at the time, thus delivers his opinion of Mr. Halhed's performance. "The speech he delivered pursuant to his notice on the 31st March, is one of the finest flowers of parliamentary elocution; for closeness of reasoning, and persuasive candour, it is almost unparalleled. Though the scholar and man of brilliant talents are discernible in every part, yet nowhere is the accuracy of the logician sacrificed to the graces of the orator. We might suppose our own judgment bribed by the occasion of the speech, for assuredly the character of the British senator never

shines more, than when his abilities are employed to rescue from persecution, a man whose only imputed crime is an effort to warn his countrymen against dangers he fancies he sees prepared for them ; but when we recollect the manner in which the speech was received, on its delivery—what deep attention pervaded the House—what solemn expectation it excited—with what eagerness every sentence was heard—that wit was, by the importance and elegance of it, disarmed of its profligate sneer, and sophistry of its quirking reply, our judgment becomes unalterably confirmed, and we feel no sentiment but astonishment, that an instant discussion was not provoked, by some candid and spirited member seconding Mr. Halhed's motion." *

The discussion which the writer of the above wished for, did not take place, as there was no seconder, and for some time afterwards there was no end of ridicule in all its phases of squib, epigram and pamphlet—of which the prophet had his ample share. David Levi, the author of "*Lingua Sacra*," and other works, addressed a series of printed letters to Mr. Halhed, of a controversial character of course. He pointed out the weakness of the pillars against which Mr. Halhed had rested his evidence for Brothers—especially in regard to the apochryphal book of Esdras, which Mr. Levi called an arrant piece of plagiarism, probably written by some Hellenistic Jew, taken into the service of the Christians of the second or third century. He treated with contempt Brothers' pretension to be a prophet like unto Moses, and Mr. Halhed's testimony in support of this pretension. "I cannot conceive," he wrote, "how he (Brothers) can be accounted a Jew, (and which he certainly must before he can lay claim to be their prince), while he is deficient in the most essential qualification of a Jew, namely, God's covenant in his flesh : circumcision is an indispensable rite, and no one can be incorporated into their society till he has undergone the operation. How the prophet came to overlook this, which is so essential to his mission, I know not : but it is plain to me that he has not learned his business." †

Perhaps an extract from Mr. Halhed's speech may be not unacceptable to our readers, as it keeps close to the argument of liberty of conscience, and personal liberty.

"Christianity, we all know, is subdivided into an innumerable multiplicity of sects, who differ from each other in more or fewer subordinate articles ; but they must all necessarily admit the interference, in some shape or other, of God in the government of the world, and the authenticity of the Scriptures, in which all Christianity depends.

* "Register of the Times," April 1795.

† Letters to N. B. Halhed, M.P. in answer to his testimony, &c. &c.

Now, though I do not say it is altogether orthodox, yet it certainly is not inadmissible in this free country, where a translation of the whole Bible is published in the vernacular tongue, by royal authority, for any man to build upon those scriptures a theory of his own, in conformity to that which he may conceive to be their true and recondite meaning; always, however, I most implicitly allow, in perfect submission to the laws and police of the country. As a matter most in point, I shall beg leave to instance the very numerous and very discordant commentaries which have been written, more in this kingdom than in any other, on the prophecies contained in the Old and New Testaments. I shall be bold to say, that by the very canons of the Anglican church, the authenticity of the prophecies themselves is put out of all doubt; all the difference that can exist in opinion must necessarily be on the score of interpretation.

“One man finds the whole of their mysterious and hidden allusions to bear exclusively on Rome, and another on Turkey. France is by some deemed the grand theatre of their denunciations; by others, perhaps, Germany or Poland; but if one solitary individual happen to pitch on Great Britain as the destined spot for the elucidation of these enigmatical predictions, surely it is not unreasonable that he should request cool and dispassionate investigation of the grounds of his assertion, before you condemn him to fire and faggot. We have all heard and thought that persecutions for religious opinions were annihilated in England, and that toleration was everywhere making a rapid progress. This toleration is what I now solicit; not immediately on Mr. Brothers’ account, but on my own.”

It never rains, but it pours. A perfect crowd of witnesses came to the rescue of the sorely beleagured prophet—but some also testified against him. Amongst the latter was one who in her letter addressed to Mr. Halhed, designated herself simply as “An old woman.” As the reviewer of her letter (1795) remarked, she was a sensible good sort of old woman, who had read her Bible to very good purpose, and minded the apostolic precept, not to give heed to old wives’ fables. She pronounced Mr. Brothers mad—and produced what appeared stubborn facts in confirmation of her assertion. She then proceeded to shew the absurdity of applying the prophecies of the 18th of Revelations exclusively to London, as Mr. Halhed had done, and to rally him pretty handsomely on his making Brothers a second Moses, and on his eloquent harangue upon the subject in the House of Commons. Mr. Halhed, however, was not convinced at all, and held out stoutly for his own convictions. The members of his family, and some of his staunchest friends viewed all with infinite pain. His brothers remonstrated to a degree that he considered unwarranted, and estrangement ensued that lasted for some years. It preyed deeply on his sensitive mind, and the effect of this, as well as of his pecuniary losses

in France, and his inability to live in that easy and liberal style he had been accustomed to, was to make him withdraw altogether from general society for a period of some fourteen years, ranging from 1796 to 1808. During this season of suffering, self-denial, and seclusion, his course cannot be very clearly traced—since he entirely gave up writing, even to Mr. Hastings, or the Impey family, with the exception perhaps of Elijah. This state of things could not fail to cause sincere concern to his friends, who nevertheless scarcely knew how to deal with the poor, but proud man, shrinking from all approach to obligation, save such as might be acknowledged by a *gentleman* without a wound to his *amour propre*. He persisted, therefore, in standing entirely aloof from society, with a philosophical determination of remaining in that state of self exile until he could enter his circle again, upon more equal terms than were then within his reach. However justified to themselves they might have felt in intention, his brothers at length made the requisite advances to a reconciliation, and admitted frankly that they had been in the wrong, expressing regret that their zeal for his own welfare, and that of his family, had carried them too far. This simple admission was all their warm-hearted relative sought for. It re-established perfect and affectionate union between them, to be interrupted no more, but by death. There is evidence in the correspondence, not only of this cordial re-adjustment of difference, but of acts of substantial kindness and service on their part, springing from this restored confidence. During the whole time of his seclusion, there is every reason to believe that he was any thing but idle. He had always some speculative field of his own to range, or some attractive intellectual object in view. He certainly wrote a great deal, at the same time that he had an undefined horror of publishing. Repeatedly we find Mr. Hastings expressing regret that some of his ingenious friend's beautiful compositions would never be seen beyond a circle of three or four. The family of his Mæcenæ, as he loved to call Mr. Hastings, that of the Impeys, and one or two relatives, came at length to form his little public, beyond which he had no desire that his fugitive compositions should be known.

In the days of their prosperity Mrs. Halhed was a good deal about the Court, and on terms of easy intimacy with the late Princess Elizabeth, who presented her with many valuable marks of regard. Of her Royal Highness' goodness and their grateful appreciation of it, many traces exist in the correspondence. At last Mr. Halhed emerged from his state of voluntary exile, although his increasing deafness, there is reason to infer, enhanced his reluctance to quit it. There is, however, a radiation of kindness centering from several points, that like the magnet

island of the Arabian tale, loosens the iron rivets of the sternest resolution. Halhed's heart was not a stern one, and could not remain inflexible to the love of so many true friends. It is impossible to contemplate this man of true genius during his isolation of so many years, under the pressure of adverse fortune without a feeling of deep sympathy and respect. How many, under circumstances of a similar nature, have, to "drown care," as the phrase is, sought relief in intemperance! How mournfully frequent have been the instances, when owing to that Circean refuge, the wreck of fortune has been embittered by the wreck of reputation! It is in no ungenerous spirit that we would here compare the two school fellows, each so gifted, but each coming so differently out of the fiery ordeal—Sheridan and Halhed. *Requiescant in pace.* The latter came out of the vale of tribulation without stain on his integrity of purpose or conduct, under the guidance of uncompromising conscientiousness. Among the scraps of his composition, we find the following lines, never meant for any eye but his own, and which may be accepted as a true transcript of his state of mind. They are dated 3rd July 1806, and are simply entitled in his own handwriting

N. B. H.'S PRAYER.

"I ask not life, I ask not fame,
I ask not gold's deceitful store;
The charms of grandeur's wealth and name
Thank heaven, are charms to me no more.
To do Thy will, oh God, I ask,
By faith o'er life's rough sea to swim,
With patience to work out my task,
And leave the deep result to him."

During the eclipse of his fortunes there were no vain complaints, no murmuring, no unmanly querulousness. He bore all with the dignity of quiet Christian fortitude—the truest and best of all philosophy. He was no grievance monger, that most intolerable of *boreds*, laying hold of the button of all he meets, like that unhappy "Ancient Mariner" whom Coleridge has immortalised. At this time, too, which may well be called his passage through the "slough of despond," he had to bear with the irritating impertinences (for such they must not unfrequently have been,) of a number of uneducated admirers, or followers of the pseudo prophet, who clung tenaciously to the skirts "of one of us"—and be a member of Parliament.

It is high time, however, that we proceed to lay before our readers portions of the correspondence in our possession. In the letters to Mr. Hastings, there is ever a deferential, not to say

filial tone, the honest tribute of a grateful and highly cultivated mind ; while on the part of the Dayslsford family, we recognize an earnest desire to anticipate little wants in a delicate spirit of genuine neighbourly kindness.

The following letter to Mr. Hastings was written with reference to a political mission to the Court of the Nabob Vizier of Oude. He asks for instructions and terminates with an effusion in verse, allusive to Mr. Hastings' departure for England.

"Muzafferpoore, 9th November 1784.

"HONOURABLE SIR,—It is usual for ambassadors, *chancres d'affaires*, and public agents of all kinds to forward to the Court whither they are bound, copies of those credentials and authoritative instructions which entitle them to a confidential reception at the said Court, and of which they are bound to present the originals in person. In conformity to established precedent, therefore, I take the liberty to enclose copies of two letters which came to hand this day from the Nabob Walajah and Sir Edward Hughes. I may perhaps venture on the strength of this circumstance to intreat the favour of you to permit me to be the channel of any communications you may be pleased to make to His Highness ; and to solicit the honour of your instructions for an answer to the Nabob from myself, so far as may relate to the style which it is proper for me to hold under the connection which His Highness' letter so flattering supposes. I shall not acknowledge the receipt of this august epistle till your commands reach me.

"I have waited hitherto for a farther answer from Major Palmer respecting the *terms* which I plainly told him were the necessary preliminary to my engagements with the Vizier. His answer might have reached me to-day and has not. But as I would lose no time in accomplishing the object of my wishes, should the result be favourable, I mean to leave this place to-morrow, (where we have been for a few days on a visit to Grand) and proceed immediately to Benares. Wilkins has discovered three very ancient Hindoo inscriptions at Chunar, which he is to have copied, and of which we will take the first opportunity to forward you the explication, should they not be inexplicable. I would now, honourable Sir, take the liberty to request a few words of advice and information from you as to the tenor of the several documents, with which it will be proper I should be furnished by the Vizier, whether I should have a public and authoritative letter to the Company—whether to the king—whether to Mr. Pitt? In what strain they should run? Whether indicative of already established independence, or applicatory for unconditional resignation of all hitherto exercised influence and control? I doubt if we shall ever be able to discriminate all these minutiae properly at the Court of Oude, unless you will condescend to enlighten Major P—and myself,—with a set of joint instructions. I would also submit to your judgment whether it would be decent, or advisable, or salutary to the *general cause*, or consistent with my probable en-

gements in Oude, (which however I am sanguine enough in consequence of Mr. Palmer's letter to imagine almost beyond the reach of interested malice to circumvent or overthrow), that I should offer to become also agent for the Nabob Walajah in England. It is now the only service I have to offer, and I mean it merely in the event of no such designation having been thought of for or by Major Grattan.

"I am rendered exceedingly happy in the observation that each successive packet from England brings an addition of strength, or at least a presumption of such addition to your arm and to your cause. The prospect of daily invigorating influence will at all events throw a brighter lustre on the remaining products of your labours, and cast a rich tint of sunshine on your final arrangements.

"But ah! when from the parting vessel's stern,
A nation's woes shall in your bosom burn;
While, as Calcutta fades beneath your eye,
That breast shall heave the last parental sigh,
To think that o'er this strife-devoted plain,
So long reposing in your cares—in vain,
Up rais'd by mammon, and by faction nurs'd,
So soon the storms of anarchy must burst.
Say, can a frail exotic's tender frame
Repel the torrent, or defy the flame?
Your gardener hand, dear Sir, first gave it root,
Your kindly influence bade its buds to shoot;
Can it but wither, when those beams are gone,
In air ungenial, and a foreign sun?

"Mrs. Halled begs leave to present her best respects, and I have the honour to remain, with the sincerest gratitude and esteem,

Hon^{ble} Sir,

Your most faithful and devoted, humble servant,

N. B. HALLED."

Benares, 12th November 1784,

"HONOURABLE SIR,—I have hit upon a source of perpetual amusement on an inexhaustible subject: "The abuse of language in modern poetry, by introducing the idioms and expressions of the poetic language of the ancients into modern verses." I have taken the liberty to subjoin a few stanzas by way of specimen: and I hope I am not presumptuous in requesting your assistance, when you feel a necessity of relaxing a little from the toils of empire, in adding to my humble effort, which has only the merit of being so lax and disjointed, that it will admit a stanza on any subject in any part where you may be pleased to put it. And I will venture to say you have only to open any book whatever of modern rhymes, to find in the first ten lines twenty expressions or thoughts that your taste will feel fully worthy of being exposed in my new pillory for poets, as the matter is infinite. You will not be surprised that my essay has no close, and as it is particularly calculated for being filled up by fits and starts, as the maggot bites, the want of connexion is no blot—so here goes—

"On the false taste of the moderns in poetry—
Of all the rusts and crusts and fusts
Which spoil and strifle genuine taste
Of fiddles, paintings, medals, busts,
In jasper, giall, antique, or paste
Nought like your modern poets' idiom
For staff, bombast, and nonsense all—
While in poetic Icarian flights that giddy'em
They labour only for a fall.—

Versè should be common sense refin'd,
The thoughts all pure, compact and new .
A well-wrought picture of the mind
Its colours warm, its outline true.

Epic.	{	While *.....sips his matin news
		——Suppose the rhyming fit comes on.
		——Turns <i>this</i> his laundress to a muse,
		His tea-pot to a helicon?
		What magic whips him from his chamber
		A thousand miles an end at least,
		Up a steep two-fork'd rock to clamber
		Where nothing grows for man or beast?
		——"The God of verse dwelt there."—I know it,
		And just as much each schoolboy knows :
Tragic.	{	But trust me, Sir, your modern poet
		Should fly his brains, and not his tees.—
		In <i>Greece</i> , Parnassus was just by—
		And Pegasus might waft them soon—
		But, would your <i>English</i> songster fly,
		It must be on an air-balloon.
		What more impertinent by nauseous
		Than talking of the <i>buskin'd</i> muse?
		While we should hiss the each modern Roscius
		For only wearing high-heel'd shoes.
Comic.	{	If to the comic stage I run
		Need verse with lies my reader mock?
		——all know, I went to see the pen,
Lyric.	{	And not the actor's dirty sock.†
		When Whitehead by a sea-coal fire
		Eke's out his annual tax of rhyme,
Pastoral.	{	Think you, he "sweeps the sounding lyre
		"In heav'n-born raptures" all the time?
		When Lubin in the month of May
		Beholds his Delia's auburn locks—
		His pipe allowably may play,—
	{	But why apostrophize his <i>flocks</i> ?
		What poet now has flocks to drive,
		Or cottage with a sheep-walk to it—

* Any name you chuse of two syllables.

† I'll to the comic stage anon,
If learned Johnson's *sock* be on.—MILTON.

Give him but one whole sheep alive,
You'd pose him mightily to stow it.
Theocritus perhaps *had* sheep—
His Idylls fact and nature speak :
Our bards should other measures keep,
Who buy their mutton by the steak.

"I stumbled upon this as I jogged in my palanquin hither from Patna, and have scribbled it down the instant of my arrival. Here I must wait (and I shall wait with much impatience) till I hear from you and from Palmer. I trust in your goodness not to let the matter die away : and if you will condescend to broach the hint I before mentioned to the minister, it cannot but succeed. Wilkins presents his antediluvian respects, and I have the honour to remain, with the most inviolable attachment,

Hon'ble Sir,
Your most faithful
and devoted, humble servant,
N. B. HALHED.

"13th November. Addenda.—My letter having been too late for yesterday's dawd.

"To spout alternate rhymes, is common
In Italy, as sloth or Eunuchs.
But when did sturdy British yeomen
Alternate ought save ale and blue knocks ? *
Who *really* "tunes a vocal shell ?"
Can it be tun'd ?—set once about it
You'll find a post's horn sound as well.—
Yet who can write a song without it ?
In verse no heathen god can 'scape us :
All *these* are idol-worship-holders.
From Jove to honest old Priapus
In they must come by head and shoulders.
Still Saturn sweeps his reckless scythe on,
Lucina *still* protrudes each Fœtus :
Aurora quits the bed of Tithon,
And Sol descends to that of Thetis.
Full twenty thousand odes per annum
In strains devout on Venus call.
More yet has Cupid than his Grannum,
——— and Cloacina most of all.

"Manibus Sacris " on a tomb
Writes the whole Elegiac herd :
This was plain sense in pagan Rome,
Tho' in a Christian church absurd.
A pundit in Bengal, or Molavee
May daily see a carcass burn :
But you can't furnish, for the soul of ye
A dirge sans *ashes* and an *urn*."

* *Vide* Pope's and Gray's Pastorals.

"*Cawnpore, 18th November 1784.*

"HON'BLE SIR,—I arrived here at 1 P. M. at Mr. Magrath's bungalow, and scribble a copy of the enclosed while dinner is getting ready. In excuse for it I can only say, that I really intended to speak of the learning, the integrity, the virtue, the philosophy and the disinterestedness of Brahmins. But that when I came to "*sweep the sounding lyre,*" the devil of one of them could I find—and Mrs. Melpomene or whoever is the proper officer on these occasions, obliged me to say what I have said. As a poet I might plead the privilege of fiction. But, alas! it is all sober fact, and therefore I cannot possibly have hit the sublime. I believe there might have been more of it, but the accursed dawk bearers have obliged me to walk so much (not being able even to drag the palanquin after me in some places,) that I was tempted to bestow all my imbibes upon them. I have the honor to remain with the most undeviating respect,

Hon'ble Sir,

Your very faithful
and devoted, humble servant,

N. B. HALHED.

Shall not stop to visit Col. Ironside.

"*Bath, 17th December 1804.*

"MY DEAR HALHED,—Have you any objection to the publication of your lines written in the form of an epitaph on a common prostitute? I ask the question merely, but do not desire your answer to it as an assent to a request; nor if returned in the affirmative, shall I convey it as a favor. In truth, I wish it was printed in capitals, and affixed to every church-porch and market-place in the kingdom. I must add to the former, another question: should you object to your name being put to it, or to its only being known that you were the author of the poem? In truth, any man not absolutely torpid to the world's good will, which I will not believe, nor like to believe, that you are, might be proud to own it. It has been once already published, but carried by the vehicle to which it was committed into oblivion. A stray copy, therefore, may yet fall into worse hands than mine, or rather those to which I should transfer it.

"I am here on a transient visit, and shall return home the day after to-morrow.

"Pray, present my respects, and add my affectionate regards to Mrs. Halhed; and receive from me the assurance of my warmest and most sincere attachment.

"I left Mrs. Hastings well. Adieu, my friend.

Yours ever,

WARREN HASTINGS."

"*Pall Mall, 20th December 1804.*

"HONOURED SIR,—As Mr. Halhed's thumb is still too bad to hold a pen, he has made me his amanuensis to convey his best thanks for your kind letter this moment received, and as he cannot say nay to you, he is only particularly desirous that the poem alluded to

when printed, should appear nowhere but upon the church-doors according to your proposal, as it is then not likely to disturb the trade or tranquillity of the survivors of the lady in question, whose ill will, as he does not chose to encounter, he had rather not his name should be held up in reprobation amongst them. Seriously speaking, while he knows your partiality for the author, he cannot but accuse you of over-rating the merit of the piece, or at least of an exaggerated opinion of its probable effects. So if you really wish it published, he will certainly submit with pleasure to your inclination on the subject, and in return he hopes you will gratify him by suppressing the five particular letters which form the word HALHED, leaving to your option the entire remain of the alphabet, to arrange into any sounds that may be most agreeable.

"And now, my dear Sir, I will resume the pen for myself, and only say, that his *thumb* is as sound as mine, but he says as the rage is for intercepting letters, and publishing private correspondences, he is determined not to give the chance of any of his falling into such hands, and as long as he will but employ mine, to obey your wishes, I shall endeavour to be as correct a transcriber of his words as my liabilities will allow. The sentiments of his heart are so in union with mine, that I never need apply to him to assure you of the grateful attachment with which it glows; and with what ardour we not only at this season, but at all times, offer up our prayers to the Almighty to pour his choicest blessings on you. And we beg you will present our affectionate respects, and good wishes to Mrs. Hastings, whom we are happy to find you left in good health; and hope you will not have suffered from travelling in this piercing cold, but that you are both as well as we wish you, and that ere long we may have the satisfaction to assure you in person of the respect and attachment with which I subscribe myself,

Honored Sir,

Your grateful and affectionate

LOUISE HALHED."

"Should you not have an original copy of the poem, command me to transcribe one for you out of my book, which contains all the verses of my good man I could save from the flames, to which he has committed a great number, and excuse this sad scrawl, for I can hardly hold my pen the cold pinches me so."

From Mr. Halhed to Mrs. Hastings on receiving a Christmas Ham.

"MY DEAREST MADAM.—Your very acceptable ham brought me a charming letter, and your very acceptable letter brought me a charming ham, like every thing else at Daylesford. I knew that all the delightful beings of the groves inhabited that blissful spot; that nymphs of every description were to be found there in all there elysian perfection, and of course the sweetest Hamadryads; and where would be there merits, if they had no hams to dry? When I read those two beautiful lines the other day—

‘My next is a villa where grumblers reside,
‘And gluttons and cowards in slovenly pride.’

God forgive me, I immediately thought of the party at Stow (which led me to sty) and very little expected so soon to see so astonishing a specimen of one of those celebrated gentry. Now my head is so full of that admirable couplet, that I really wish to be fully certified this thrice-christian ham is not a morsel of the said pasty, before I venture to plunge a knife into it. Its intended companion I should have supposed might once have been a general officer, and a cordon blew, if you had not obligingly informed me that it was originally a hen, perhaps one of Monsieur’s chickens, as his elder brother does not deal in the article. Certainly Daylesford must be that very country of which Rabelais somewhere speaks with so much panegyric, where he says, the very hogs, God bless us, feed on nothing but myrobalons, and it seems even the Ham quitted it with great reluctance, for while Miss Turkey danced hither on her two fair legs a week ago for our Christmas dinner, my lord, ham hoped in leisurely upon his one stump only last Saturday, consequently a day after the fare; a pair of them might perhaps have travelled much quicker. I suppose when alive it must have been an admirable performer on the organ, for as a very old proverb has long attributed peculiar excellence to the pigs of Chipping Norton upon that fine instrument, no doubt so very accomplished a gentleman would not fail to profit by the neighbourhood of that suillian academy. The delicious collar of Brawn was to be sure a vocal member of the same body corporate, and sang perhaps as divinely as any dying swan at the closing period of its existence; but whatever might be its melody, nothing could exceed the excellence of its taste. If this were to continue, I must think myself transplanted into Africa, and prepare to swear fealty to Isis and Osiris, the first great monarchs of the land of Ham. Now, my dearest benefactress, have the compassion to send us up a stomach or two, at some favourable opportunity. Admit we have swallowed the collar of Brawn whole, and the turkey ditto, cheese ditto; there are 21 yards of—ham, equal to 336 ounces, at four ounces a day adequate to the consumption of twelve weeks;—but we will cut off a week for the bone, and there remain eleven? Why, it will carry us through the winter, and we may sing, “A fig for the butcher.” O if your hogs had but come to years of discretion when we saw company! Mr. H. says that we two sitting down to table with that mountain of ham between us, puts him in mind of the epigram in Martial which he bids me to copy with a translation annexed.

‘Non cœnat nisi apro noster, Line, Coecilianus :
‘Bellum Convivam Coecilianus habet !’

There tête à tête we dine the winter through—
And tis a monstrous bore betwixt us two.

“So if you will kill us with kindness, who is to pay the apothecary for our dying? for you know very well, we cannot die for nothing in London.

“You see I write in excellent spirits, but it is because in stripping

the ham of its inexpressibles, we were made happy by your kind note, mentioning, dear Mr. Hastings being "perfectly well," and you gave us no reason to fear but that you are the same, which is meat, drink, and every thing else to us; and we daily implore the Giver of all good, to add to the 75th anniversary of our dearest friend's existence as many more years of health and happiness as human nature, in this sublunary state, is capable of furnishing strength for; may all the best compliments, usually confined to this complimentary season, attend you both the whole year through, and every day be a Xmas in its festivity, though not in its shortness, or its cold. We live in an age of fearful events; and though, with you, we most fervently wish the calamities of the times may be averted from us, and from all those we esteem, yet we dare not flatter ourselves that the storm is blown over from this country: may it pass unfelt and innoxious over the hospitable roof of our beloved friends and patrons is the heart-felt prayer of, my dearest Madam,

Your obliged and affectionate friend,

LOUISE HALHED."

"Daylesford House, 8th January 1808.

"MY DEAR MRS. HALHED,—Mrs. Hastings was so delighted with your letter, that she not only gave it to me to read, and to read it to her; but has insisted upon my taking it, and answering it for her. For the first I have thanked her, as I ought, for I was as much delighted with it as she was: but for the injunction which followed, I have prayed to be excused, conscious of my inability to obey it; for upon holding it up to the light, I saw, or thought I saw, a figure behind, busily employed in illuminating all the characters; and as I feel an humiliating consciousness of a total want of the same illuminative faculty, I have no other way to avoid the disgrace of discomfiture than by declining all attempts to equal or imitate it. But I am commanded to thank you for the oysters which you sent us, and to that I find my talents pretty equal, as the oysters have almost wholly fallen to my share; and I offer you, Mrs. Hastings' thanks, and with her's my own, gratefully; assuring you, that they were, and still are (I believe) the best oysters that I have tasted since the year 1767, when from daily practice I was a gourmet in oysters. I am not sure that the praises which you bestow on our piggery were serious. I hope so, because it is my exclusive department, having devoted all that I possess of invention, since my superiors have pronounced me unfit for the higher occupations of life, to the improvement of that article of the agricultural system; with what success it does not become me to pronounce. I do not know the family, or progenitors of the ham. Mr. Halhed's conjectures concerning both may be right: but he is mistaken in the affinity of the brawn, which (I beg your pardon for not apprising you of it) derives its ancestry from Ajaccio in Corsica, the birthplace of the great conqueror and monarch of the western world; and the contiguous sties are shewn to this hour, in which the first squeaks were uttered, the prognostics of their future fortunes.

"I thank Mr. Halhed for his couplet; and own that it is ingenious; but I am better pleased with the transcription than the composition of it. Will you have the goodness to shew him the followings lines, which I met with lately at the end of an old thesaurus, and desire him to translate, or explain it. I cannot, for the life of me, guess what it alludes to.

'Qualiscunque fluit variæ per viscera terræ,
'Quicquid habet puri fons, Arethusa facit.'

"I cannot describe to you with what a transition from mirth to the most awful and grateful feelings of affection we both read your kind wishes to us both, nor am I sure that, though more immediately concerned, I felt them more than my dear Mrs. Hastings. You were not forgotten by us, my dear friends, on the 1st of the month, when by custom we pronounced those fervent wishes which we feel, as for you we do most ardently, all the year through. You have not many friends, if any, that love you better than we do. Adieu, and heaven bless you!

WARREN HASTINGS."

"P. S.—Mrs. Hastings desires me to add, that she received a letter from Lady Imhoff this morning, conveying the most welcome intelligence, that both her son and daughter were in perfect health."

10th January 1808.

"HONOURED SIR,—Between your excellent ham and Mr. Halhed's Latin, I have been doubly gratified by the honour and happiness of a most kind entertaining letter from yourself, in addition to that I had the pleasure of receiving from Mrs. Hastings. I must confess I did not myself quite stomach the application of Martial's epigram hashed up with Mr. Halhed's sauce; he says he was aware of the ambiguity you seem to hint at, and, indeed, was afraid you might turn the tables upon him, and retort by a different application of the same epigram.

One ham through winter feeds you tête à tête!

Trust me the bore is not upon the plate.

But this I myself could have borne; for I look'd at him when I read it as if I thought my own neck had escap'd the collar, and he felt the innuendo. No, says he, I will be a match for you and your sneering look, in coupling me with the ham; for now Mr. Hastings shall imitate it another way, and you shall not save your bacon.

On a sole ham while fed the winter through,

Where you see but one boar, said ham sees two.

When his laugh was over, he said he had anticipated a worse drubbing than this, which he has humbly suggested for you in behalf of so exquisite a joint; as he was afraid you might have exclaimed in auger still more archilochian.

'Quid te,——*juvat, veteri miscere Falerno
In Vaticanis condita musta cadis?'

Quid tantum fecere boni tibi pessima vina,
Aut quid fecerunt optima vina mali?
Convivæ meruere tui for tasse perire——
Amphora non meruit tam pretiosa mori.'

Hence with your ounce, your scruple and your drachm,
Nor weigh by snippets so superb a ham!
What harm, at full t' enjoy the wholesome fare?
What good, to starve in the sanctorian chair?
Off with these guests, who stint the sav'ry store,
Then call such admirable pork a bore.

"While he bows in due humility to your just indignation, he is at least comforted in the success of his discernment in having discovered a twang of royalty through all the salt, and pickling, and smoking, and soaking, and stewing, and other processes to which the ham and the brawn had been subjected, before they reached the tip of his tongue; his mistake between Versailles and Corsica was at most but geographical, and that is nothing extraordinary in the present blurred and blotted state of the map of Europe. Still he cannot think there could ever be much harmony in the tones of a collar issuing from the sties that you mention.

'Twere well for earth's wide regions, sea and shore—
Ajaccio's music—were it but a bore—
Alas! no melody those organs speak—
Napoleon only grunts—while monarchs squeak.

"A man who has but one species of merit is hardly worth a button, because his peculiar talent may happen never to be called into exertion; and yet I must honestly confess, that when I knew you in the full exercise of a hazardous sovereignty over an extensive empire, I thought it the only employment to which you could turn your hand; but the excellence of your pork has undeceived me; and I find you equally expert and unrivalled in the management of a colony, into which to have introduced even cleanliness, attests more experimental skill than to have civilized all the Rajmahl districts: but, however, you have this advantage in your settlement, that you can confer a favour on one among fifty competitors, sans vous faire quarante neuf ennemis et un ingrat. O that we could but drive the Cabinet and Privy Council into your piggery! but at the end of all your labours you would be forced to confess that hogs were less incorrigible than Yahoos. It is lucky, however, in these times of discontent to have a manageable tribe to deal with, and I hope the doctrine of the *rights* of *swine* has not yet been broached in your *dynasty*—but I beg pardon for the misapplication of the word, as you are determined your pigs shall not die nasty. In this vile town we can only imitate the manners of your quadrupedal government in the subordinate qualifications of grunting and grumbling; but to be clean and well-fed is a luxury not compatible with the actual principles of taxation. The happiness of your hogs will, I doubt not, become proverbial, like that of the slaves of a former planter in St. Domingo, where it was customary to say in

describing a happy man, that he was heureux comme un Negre de Galet.

"I have obey'd your commands in showing Mr. Halhed the Latin couplet. He bids me reply, his name is Davus not Œdipus; and that like the cocket-writer who when called upon to interpret his own scribble, indignantly answered he was not paid to be cocket-reader. He can construe it, and he can imitate it, but for the soul of him he cannot understand it; and Alpheus happens not to live in this parish, to ferret out the *Arethusa* in question. The lines however are very pretty, and have a delicate meaning, perhaps not unlike the following—

"Glide as it may life's stream—or slow or fleet,
"Tis Marian gives whate'er it owns of sweet."

"If we rejoiced in the contents of your obliging letter, we encored at the news contained in your welcome postscript, and are very happy to hear of the welfare of Sir Charles and Lady Imhoff.

"Your conclusion, my dear Sir, is much too kind not to excite in us the warmest sentiments of gratitude and affection. We are perfectly sure of your friendship, and that of our dear Mrs. Hastings; but if we were not, it is impossible that we should love you as we do, without kindling in your breasts a sympathy bordering upon esteem. Professions are the paper currency of regard, but we pay in sterling cash, and are proof against bankruptcy; so I can only add our sincerest wishes for both your healths and happiness, while I subscribe myself,

Honoured Sir,
Your affectionate and grateful
LOUISE HALHED."

From Mrs. Halhed to Mr. Hastings, dated 16th January 1808.

"HONOURED SIR,—How shall I express the delight and gratitude with which I received your most kind and entertaining letter, in addition to that I had the pleasure of receiving from Mrs. Hastings this year. If you were amused as you say by the perusal of my scribble, my wishes are filled, and I only regret that when you come to hold this to the light, you will not find it illuminated with the same gas, for that is our favourite light now in Pall Mall. But comets you know do not emit their fire every day, and so you must accept the humbler star, who is not less desirous to attract your eyes the less able to contribute to your amusement—we were both, I assure you, most highly gratified with every line of your incomparable letter, and had it no intrinsic merits, what satisfaction must it not afford to those that love you as we do, to see such a fine, steady handwriting at the age of 75! The surest and most unquestionable proof of a mind perfectly at ease, and of nerves unshaken by intemperance or decay; how many do I know much younger than yourself unable to carry a tea-cup steady to their lips, much less to guide the pen with comfort to themselves and entertainment to their correspondents. My dearest Sir, do not lament the blindness of your superiors in leaving you to enjoy the rural improvement even of your pigs, but rather say

as I find it recorded that Cato did, I had rather it should be asked why I had not a statue, than why I had one.

"I rejoice the oysters proved so good, I wish I could make them multiply as fast as you take them out of the barrel till you were tired of eating any."

" Pall Mall, 5th March 1808.

"HONOURED SIR,—I have delay'd from day to day to thank you for your kind and affectionate postscript to dear Mrs. Hastings' last favour; in hopes that I might have sent you something to amuse you, but one may as well force a river, as the genius of a poet; it may be led to flow in another course by turning its banks, but nothing else will succeed; therefore, my dearest Sir, though there are many fragments ready to amuse you with, when we have the happiness of seeing you again, you must at the present accept only a few lines from my humble pen; as I am truly anxious to know how our dear Mrs. Hastings is, whom I trust and hope is perfectly restored to health, and that you both enjoy the mild opening of spring in your elysian fields, from whence I fear it will not be easy now to entice you to the thick atmosphere of London; yet I will indulge the hope that you and Mrs. Hastings will favour your friends with the satisfaction of seeing you here, and where none will more rejoice to pay their respects to you than Darby and Joan of Pall Mall, who in the meantime beg you will accept for yourself, and present to your beloved wife, the assurance of our most affectionate and unalterable attachment and respect, and allow me to subscribe myself ever,

Honoured Sir,
Your grateful and affectionate
LOUISE HALHED."

In the following we have a specimen of Mr. Hastings' facility in versifying, not without point.

" Daylesford House, 24th March 1808.

"MY DEAR MRS. HALHED,—My poor Mrs. Hastings is confined to her bed with a most severe cold; and has desired me to request in her name your acceptance of a leg of pork—not Corsican. I am sorry for it, remembering what a gainer I was by one of that breed in our last commercial intercourse. This is a Chinese. I hope it will prove as good to the consumers, if not so productive to the manufacturer.

"Mrs. Hastings has also enjoined me to make my apology to you for not having long ago returned my acknowledgments for your last kind letter. She knows the cause of this delay; that all my neighbours to whom I used occasionally to apply for franks, have either left the country, or vacated their seats in Parliament, and that I have no means of conveyance left for a letter, without a violence inflicted on my conscience, but the belly of a tur-

key in its season, or a basket of pork. As to entertainment, or any matter of information, which I might estimate at the value of the postage, I have absolutely none: for what interest would it afford to you, my dear Madam, or my freind Halhed, to be told that our favorite cow has calved twins, and that we mean to rear one of them upon principles of philosophic inquiry, to see whether it will turn out a free-martin? Or how will you be edified by the anecdote of a twin lamb being clad with the skin of a dead lamb, and passed upon the poor mother of the latter for her own? These events never happen, I know, in Pall Mall; and I only allude to them now, to prove how barren of intellect a man must necessarily be, who lives wholly in the country, and having no stock of his own within him, possesses only the poor resource of a farm yard, or a hog sty.

"But as I have, unhappily, no better, I will tell you the story of a twin lamb, from a principle which I borrow from Sarah Webb, the superintendent of our poultry, who seduces her hens to lay, when they are obstinate, and will not, by putting into their nests ill-formed lumps of chalk, designed to represent eggs. And they do lay; for *they* are not incorrigible. The story shall be related on a separate piece of paper. The event to which it alludes, as well as its record, happened about the time of the battle of Marengo, either before, or after it, I forgot which; but I verily believe, before. The exactness of the chronology is of consequence, and I am sorry that I have forgotten it. Mrs. Hastings desired me to add much that in her own expression was kinder and more affectionate than I can make it appear in mine, both to you and Mr. Halhed, in every sentiment of which, as in most others, my heart is in unison with her's. She has also charged me with a playful message, which must be the ingredient of another letter, either from herself, or from me: for I can laugh upon other subjects; but not cheerfully, or naturally at this time, upon any in which she is either the principal, or a party. Besides, I have received my commission so late, and have executed it with such a shameful waste of time, that I have hardly a sufficiency left for the task which I have imposed upon myself.

"Adieu, my dear Madam, and believe me to be ever,

Your sincere and affectionate freind,

WARREN HASTINGS."

"Diseas'd, and worried, and of life bereft,
Far from the flock a lamb deserted lay:
Last of its downy coat despoil'd, and left
With rot to moulder, or to kites a prey.

An alien lamb, clad in the borrow'd hide,
With surreptitious claim the mother press'd.
She, well deceived, her milky store supplied,
And the base nursling as her own caress'd.

The scene (for I beheld it) deep impress'd,
As in a mirror, my reflective thought;

And by the visions of my fancy drest,
This strange, but moral composition wrought.

I saw a potent state, of ancient frame ;
Of numbers countless ; o'er the nations round
Pre-eminent in greatness, wealth and fame ;
With science, arts, and martial glory crown'd.

Next I beheld, high seated on a throne,
That adamantine stood, or seem'd to stand,
A manly form majestic : round him shone,
The guards and emblems of supreme command.

A magic robe his graceful limbs attir'd ;
(Some saint had wove the talismanic spell)
Which who beheld, with awe and love inspir'd,
Low at his feet in adoration fell.

Sudden an earthquake shook the hallow'd ground ;
And the throne trembled to its deep laid base :
Wolves howl'd, and vultures soar'd with screams around,
Peace fled, and civil rage usurp'd her place.

From the scar'd pageant, in the foul debate,
The regal mantle fell : the bloody crew,
Their former love by madness chang'd to hate,
The living idol of their worship slew.

New scenes of war and rapine now disclose,
(The march of years abridg'd by rapid flight ;
For time and space in dreams their measure lose,)
Successive horrors to my mental sight.

One issuing from the tumult, where it fell,
The regal mantle, yet disdain'd with blood,
Seiz'd, round his body pass'd, and (strange to tell,)
With all its sovereign pow'rs invested stood.

The crew, the murd'ers of their legal lord,
Low at his feet their adoration pay ;
In thought behold their long-lov'd rule restor'd,
And distant regions trembling, own its sway.

Here darkness clos'd the scene. In wonder lost
I pass'd its mystic movements in review,
Doubtful of what it seem'd portentous most,
The state of France, or my deluded ewe."

Mr. Halhed by return of post capped these lines of Mr. Hastings, but though reluctant to omit them, it behoves us to hus-

band our space as best we can, where materials are so abundant. A letter nominally from Mrs. Halked, and in her handwriting, has reference to Mrs. Hastings' illness from fever. It is full of versified passages, of course, from her husband's ready pen. He yearns for the country, after Virgil, thus—

"This gloomy town's a fish-pond in my sight,
For knaves to angle in, and fools to bite :
If neither, like an out of water fish I am,
O Rus, Rus ! quando ego te aspiciam !"

In fact it would seem that he longed to be at Daylesford.

"Far from the busy hum of men,
The poet guides in peace his pen,
And paints ambition's bloody scheme,
Brim full of horrors, *as a dream*,
But shackled in this noisy cage,
'Mid cheats of every rank and age,
This magic lanthorn for the mind,
Where bustling forms and colours gay,
Their thin significance display.
Forlorn he *snuffs* the well known smoke,
Too dull to think, too sad to joke :—
His fancy flags, his tongue grows dumb—
His life and ev'n his verse— a hum."

Here is Mr. Hasting's reply, with some original verses from his own hand.

"Daylesford House, 31st March 1808.

"I cannot express, my dearest Madam, the pleasure with which my dear Mrs. Hastings and I read your first letter, nor the gratitude, and affection, and admiration, which by turns took possession of our bosoms on the perusal of the last. I might say perusals, for we read both more than once, and parts of both more than I kept count of. We both felt most the most elegant and moral lines on Mrs. Hastings' indisposition, myself in particular, as I hold their superior excellence to be a proof that they came warm from the heart. One line of them is perfectly original, and as true as it is poetical. The same character belongs to the sentiment conveyed in all the four lines with which it most happily closes. We were as much diverted, though we could not bestow on him the same warmth of heart, by "Showman Lucifer" and his gang ; and yet more by your abuse of me for my philosophical experiment. The better version of my deluded ewe has produced upon me the effect of inspiration, and I give you the fruits of it in the inclosed fragment ; which in its first formation, and yet more in its correction, and in the attempt to accommodate it to Mrs. Hastings' difficult, but accurate judgment, has cost me more labor than I ought, without shame, to own. Accept it, my amiable friend, as my last gift of the kind, from my pen, or head. If the heart had taken any part in it, you, my dear Madam, would have given it some of the

graces which it sadly wants ; and I must tell you, that the first objection to it that struck my dear Mrs. Hastings, when I first read it to her, which I did with all the emphasis and pathos which could cheat her of her approbation, was, that I had said nothing in it of the beautiful address to her, and the prayer which concludes it. I said, I felt them as much (and perhaps more, as being more interested in the subject,) as she did ; but that I could not do more without a call. Adieu, my dear Madam. Our joint love attends you both. Our joint vows for your health were offered up yesterday with the last glasses of our dinner. I hope you felt them.

"Alas ! it has this moment struck my recollection that to-morrow will be the first day of April, and I am half inclined to keep back this letter and its inclosure for a later and less inauspicious package, if this may not be postponed. Permit me, however, to take the occasion of this remembrance, to ask Mr. Halted whether this strange mode of giving an anniversary sanctity to the day may not have been derived from the Hooly, or both from one common origin.

"I am, my dear Madam, with sentiments of the warmest and equal affection, both for yourself and your good and respected husband, which are those of Mrs. Hastings,

Your sincere and faithful friend,
WARREN HASTINGS."

"I have the great satisfaction to announce Mrs. Hastings much better."

"O for a nose of proof, whose potent sense
Might penetrate through all external fence,
(Like the fam'd priests, which Grecian poets tell ye,
Smelt ruin latent in a horse's belly,
Or thine, great James, which from the lobby floor
Could snuff up treason through the cellar door)
Through coat and doublet truth authentic scan,
And separate the semblance from the man !
Then on Detection's active wings I'd hie
To town,—if e'er Detection taught to fly,—
For Hyde Park corner soar, a bustling scene,
And scent the fragrant haunts of men between ;
(Forbid by her, to whose imperious sway
Pleas'd I submit, and all she will obey,
The road of Uxbridge, else the better way,
To pass the gate by decent verse unnam'd,
And busy Bond-street of her sons asham'd)
Thence down Pall Mall ; but for a moment stint
My flight, and stop at Halted's for a hint :
Last to the holy fanes of palace-yard ;
For these, religion, law and freedom guard
Where patriot bands assemble, lords in suits
Of sober cost, and commoners in boots ;
Whose pores in diverse congregated streams
Waft their rich odor's down the silver Thames ;

There take my station ; or on William's roof ;
Or Margret's spire, if reformation-proof ;
Or from St. Peter's tow'rs my nose expand,
And snuff the special virtues of the land :
But let me, warn'd to fly the wrath to come,
Shun, holy Stephen, thy pestiferous dome,
Where once the glasses of corruption flew,
And in their way three printer's devils slew.

"Ah ! vain the dream. No borrow'd wings have I,
To bear me buoyant through the vacant sky ;
Nor could my genius an excursion bear
Far from the precincts of my elbow chair.
To this confin'd in dosing mood I sit ;
Or wako, to struin at imitative wit ;
For hard-earn'd rhymes my torpid fancy pose ;
To succeze the sole employment of my nose.
And well its pow'rs, and mine of flight, are lost,
By the vile east-wind in their purpose crost :
Though sped from India, which first gave it birth,
By me the land the best belov'd of earth,
Let not its breath approach my sense too near.
There Minto sweats, and I can smell him here.

"Enough.—To thee, my friend, I now consign
Th' unfinished'd theme. Its origin was thine.
Thy nose from rheum, thy wit from fog is free ;
And ev'ry sense can prove a muse to thee."

"*Pall Mall, April 1808.*

"HONOURED SIR,—I received your most kind and excellent letter frank'd by a very excellent member, whose name I do not recollect in Stockdale's Parliamentary list, but he is, I presume, a descendant of Lord Bacon, and Mr. H. tells me, must be in high fashion in *Aperil*. While we rejoice to hear of Mrs. Hastings' amended health, for which we offer our most hearty congratulations, we were not a little concerned to find the interruption of your's momentary, I hope we may call it, and that your nose has by this time recovered its serenity, or only disturbed by the imaginary purgatory provided for it by your all-creative brain, and not by the teasing defluxion of a cold. And that it may continue *proof* against all obstacles both from within and from without in future, is our most ardent wish ! You urge a continuation of the original and yet fertile topic you have so successfully broached : but you know it is a delicate subject for a stranger to meddle with, and sometimes is not handled with impunity, besides there is some latent ambiguity in your expressions, which time, that discloses all things, will doubtless develop. You allude to my *letters*, as if I had written two ; whereas I have positively written but one, and sent but one, in which I do not recollect that I mentioned smelling, but as connected with smoke. Now it is very true that

smoke must be a very principal ingredient in most of those delightful scents you have so poetically described, and with the peculiar merit of poetry, at a moment when by the suspended state of your odorative faculty you are under the necessity of taxing your invention for the examples: and very luckily too, for many a fume will pass very glibly upon the imagination which would throw the perceptive organ into convulsions, if exposed in all its nudity to actual contact with the real subject. You urge a continuation, but a continuation from this quarter would be like that described in *Hudibras*, a fustian continuation of a satin cloak, such as you will see it, if it should survive the perils of parturition, to which, indeed, it is not yet arrived. But why so suicidically resolve to lay down the pen? There is indeed (as Mr. H. tells me) classical authority for it—"Victor cestus astemque repono"—but all that is Latin, and I don't understand a word of it, tho' I am told it means "I shall leave off merely because I can do better than any body else." Poets to be sure, are much obliged to you for so magnanimous an exertion of self-denial, but if you expect thanks as encouragement for it from any other quarter, I can only predict for you a woeful disappointment.

"I have delivered your message to Mr. H. about April-day, but he says (he understands the learned to place the *Hooley* as according with our May-day,) and he believes they have no occasion in India to set apart a particular day in the year for the manufacture of the commodity so plentifully fabricated in England on that anniversary—but the origin of it he imagines to exist in the visible and notorious partiality of the inhabitants of this philosophical island for their own knowledge, wisdom and sagacity: which, that it may not quite overbloat, and perhaps burst them, our provident ancestors consecrated one day to the sole inculcation of the Pythagoric lesson of '*Nocie teipsum*'—allowing them to be as learned, as sensible, and as profound as they pleased for 364 days in the year. This is his opinion of the matter. But mine is somewhat more charitable, for I conceive that the true pith and intent of the solemnity consists in shewing them that they are naturally so wise, knowing, and experienced, that to bring them down to the common level of the world, it is necessary to have one day in the year solemnized by the ceremony of making them fools for which there could be no reason or use at all, if they were so already. Your most kind and entertaining letter however did not arrive till the second of April, and consequently found us *read, made tho'* what you say of *two* letters, when I positively have written but one, seems calculated to give us the finishing stroke. As the anonymous author of the motley fragments on which you have bestowed so liberal and so prodigal an encomium is seriously desirous to preserve the most rigorous incognito—it is impossible to describe, from authority, the extravagant self-applauses which he will undoubtedly feel at being the subject of such exalted panegyric, whenever it reaches his ears; which undoubtedly tingle at this moment, however distant they may be, at the repetition of them—by my perusal of your letter.

"And now, my dear Sir, accept my adieu. You have grieved me so

much by your's to the muse, that I can no longer smother my concern, and I am not fond of epistolary whimpering, which I feel is growing fast upon me. I will exert the last remnant of my forbearance in requesting you to present our most sincere and cordial congratulations to Mrs. Hastings on her convalescence, and our most affectionate regards ever and ever attend you both.

I am, my dear Sir,
Your most obliged and affectionate
LOUISE HALHED."

Postscript.

"No playful message come !
So country poets too can *hum* !
Unless 't were glancing at the pork,
To make a playful knife and fork.
But ah ! too luscious far is pork
For us, who never drew a cork."

"We really cannot make out what gate is not to be named."

The "Nose-of-proof" verses produced a reply apparently from Mrs. Halhed, and in her handwriting ; but it is easy to see who stood behind her chair. This was followed by an extension of the idea on Mr. Halhed's part, which we must waive for the present. Mr. Hastings having come to London on business was not able to see his friends the Halheds, but wrote to Mrs. Halhed a letter dated, 6, Portugal Street. He alludes to his harvest—"the blessed occupation of an unthinking mind"—as being uncommonly abundant—and such as he hopes it may have proved throughout all England. "They (the crops) appeared so on each side of the road as I passed from Daylesford to London. It was not always so, as it appears by the following humble apostrophe to Mr. Pitt, written, I forget when :

"My harvests drench'd by nightly rains decay :
My rents in taxes are dissolv'd by day.
Why, Pitt, this mighty pother, but to prove
Thy rule divided with imperial Jove ?"

"Pray show these, with my love, to Mr. Halhed."

Then follow these lines as a *P. S.*

"Once when my fellow tillers of the land
Felt their loins ache, smote by Pitt's iron hand,
I wino'd, but gave my rent, each varied tax
To fill, and fed contented on my stacks.
Now all I gain by produce of my stacks, is,
That though I cease to feed, I pay my taxes."

At length Mr. Halhed bethought himself of applying to one no less distinguished for true genius, than for the brilliance of his

Parliamentary career—Mr. Canning. His application was in the following terms :

“ No. 17, Pall Mall, 11th September 1808.

“ RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,—Among the crowd of unhappy beings whose aggregate composes the commonwealth of wretchedness, there is not perhaps an individual with sufferings so truly acute and distress so unutterable as the decayed gentleman. Such is the person who now ventures to obtrude himself upon your notice. Possessed of considerable property, but all locked up in France from the very commencement of our hostilities with that country, all his other means having gradually melted away during this terrible interval, he is now reduced to the necessity of seeking from his exertions that maintenance which he has been used to derive from his fortune. * * * If there exists at present, or should providentially occur, any opening though which the services of such a man might be rendered useful at once to Government and to himself, I most anxiously solicit the preference,—and with the only merit of conciseness in my importunities, well knowing the value of every moment to you,—but with unfeigned admiration of your talents and the sincerest respect for your character, I hasten to subscribe myself,

Right Hon'ble Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
N. B. HALHED.”

*To the Right Hon'ble GEO. CANNING, }
Secy. of State, &c., &c.*

On the 14th of the same month—he writes for the first time, for years, to Mr. Hastings—direct; and in his own handwriting. Sclerocardia, shadows out London—and there are voluminous productions of Mr. Halhed's pen under the title of a “Sclerocardian,” that is of an inhabitant of the hard hearted city, he himself being, we now scarcely add, one of the kindest hearted men in the world. In a vein of irony he condemns the Bank paper system of the day, to which on principle he was always opposed. The rest of the allegory, and its application to Mr. Canning will be obvious to the reader.

Extract from the Memoirs of a Sclerocardian.

“This was the period of projects and paradoxes. Among the former one, the principal was that of a society who manufactured every possible species of commodity by means of a well, in which by an apparatus contrived to imitate mastication they reduced the most worthless materials into a homogeneous pulp resembling chyle : which, when properly dried in moulds prepared for the purpose, and by the help of other supplementary processes, became an indisputable succedaneum for all the productions of nature and art. A palace or an elephant, a windmill or a pack of hounds, a fleet of ships or a set of horses were alike instantaneously conjured up by this miraculous invention. No attention was paid to the different bulk or value of the

articles required: the pieces of substitutable pulp, although not distinguishable to vulgar intellect by any discrimination of size, figure or proportion, were at all times precisely commensurate with the substances into which they were to be commuted: one of them by a single flirt of the finger became a leg of mutton, another a house and park, and a third a diamond necklace, a gold watch or a shewy equipage. Everything cognizable by all or any of the five predicables had its representative in this novel species of chylification: it seemed like witchcraft, and was indeed not a little indebted to the black art for its success. It was said that scarcely a fine woman in the whole precinct but had her exact equivalent, perfect as a facsimile, in this manufacture, and that the original and the model were at all times interchangeable.

"Elated both with their talents, and with the wonderful encouragement they enjoyed, the projectors even went further; and did actually modify their protean material so as to make it a regular and admitted substitute for invisible and impalpable objects. Nothing, for instance, was more frequent than a pulpified oath, a promise or an alibi: thousands were manufactured (as it was currently reported) in the shape and sound of a monosyllabic affirmative, and some, though rarely, were detected as the representatives of a surly No.—Votes indeed were so customarily created by this artificial manipulation, that at length it became impossible to distinguish the genuine from the factitious. Souls also were an article in which they drove a prodigious trade, equal at least in quantity to those produced by the clumsy method of parturition. In short, the transmutations and metamorphoses effectuated by this ingenious knot of manufacturers, extended to all persons, parties and professions, to all existences physical and metaphysical, and seemed co-extensive with all sublunary space in the opinions of those who were bewitched by the hocus-pocus of this extraordinary legerdemain.

"These arts of imitative sophistication quickly diffused themselves like wild-fire; and the great Club of pulpification presently generated an innumerable hord of affiliated societies in the country-provinces, who masticated in their turn stacks of wheat and chambers of malt, coal, lime and iron, salt, clay, gravel and dung, with the same facility as other more dainty or more portable commodities. But the evils introduced by this universal practice of substitution, the overthrow of every rational estimate of proportional values, the confusion of all sound ideas of right and wrong, and the amalgamation of all moral principles with the poisonous qualities of avarice and prodigality, appertain rather to the philosophical examiner, than the mere superficial annalist of passing events.

"On turning over a great number of thick-scrawled but undecipherable pages, we at length stumbled upon the following sentence which was tolerably legible, but we shall not vouch for the accuracy of our transcript.

"The Reis Effendi of the Sultan of Sclerocardia strolling one day in the bazar of the metropolis, Satanapûra, entered into a knick-knackatory or shop of haberdashery of hardware: where after cursorily

admiring the gold snuff-boxes and filigree toothpick cases, the painted fans and glittering trinkets exhibited in the windows, his notice was attracted by an old box that stood in a neglected corner of the repository—which seemed although now besprent with dust and cobwebs, to have once been well-siaped and not without ornament; curiosity led him to peep into it, and he found in it a variety of instruments like carpenter's tools—the iron part all rusty by neglect, and the wood work wormeaten and decaying. No wonder he turned away his eyes with contemptuous indifference from so despicable a piece of antiquity, when just as he popped down the lid, he caught a glimpse of what had formerly been gilding, on the handle of a chisel. This led him to interrogate the toyman as to the original destination of that dirty box: who replied, that it was formerly the tool-chest of a famous Bashu of Hastinapūr in Bangdēsa—who had often expressed his satisfaction both at the quality and edge of the instruments it contained, and had himself worked them with acknowledged success—but that since he had quitted the viceregal musnud, and buried himself in the civilization of a colony of gruntisqueakian savages, the chest had remained half buried in filth and obscurity, and the tools been consigned to inaction and rust. On this, the State minister, whose name was Abukanyanga Beg, paused a moment, and told the shopman to clean it up a little, and he *would consider about the purchase*, if it might be had cheap."

"And now my dearly-beloved friend and patron, you see me once more—proprio pollice and no longer in the borrowed plume of my dear amanuensis. As I broke my ten years fast on *your* excellent Daylesford-butter and Freuch roll, in Portugal Street *lately*, so *now* I break the dozen-year-silence of my pen, by addressing myself to *you* with a thousand and a thousand acknowledgments—warm from the heart—for all the fervour of your friendship and all the steadiness of your attachment. During near fourteen years of my voluntary imprisonment your constant kindness and unwearied attention has *so far* enabled me to subsist, partly on hope, and partly, like a bear in a cave, by sucking my paws. But though I am by some folks thought to have outjob'd Job, I must honestly confess I cannot outstarve starvation: seeing, therefore, this said bladder-bellied fiend gaining upon me, with hasty strides I have at length, a few days since you left town, mustered up a little courage, and demanded of him as of any other ghost what he had to say? He answered me out of the Stratford rubric, that he should certainly "sit heavy on my soul to-morrow"—if I did not turn to, and repent of my long inactivity this very day. As the threats of a spectre may, *for ought I know*, be as formidable in purpose as in opinion, and not wishing to risk the last thin integument of my ribs on the experiment of braving him—I instantaneously determined to take up my mattock and go into the market, to be hired by the first lord of a vineyard who should be in want of a labourer, and I have offered my services to the great Abukanyanga Beg abovementioned; but whether he has seen or heard of my application—and what may be the consequence—I will most obstinately reserve to a future opportunity, when

very likely I may be less able to utter it, because I shall know more of the matter. With my most sincere and affectionate regards to Mrs. Hastings—added to those of Mrs. Halhed—and with our united wishes for the health and happiness of you both—as the truest friends we have ever met with—and far beyond all we could have hoped for, I subscribe myself,

My dear, dear Sir,
Your most grateful and sincerely affectionate
N. B. HALHED."

Pall Mall, 14th September 1808.

Next day he broke his long silence towards another and most sterling friend to the last—Sir Elijah Impey.

15th September 1808.

"MY DEAR SIR ELIJAH,—To you who have so steadfastly befriended me through all the best parts of my life, and on the immutability of whose attachment no obstinacy of retirement or unwarrantable inactivity on my side has ever made the slightest impression, I owe it most imperatively to take the earliest opportunity of communicating my resolution to resume, if possible, some of the functions of social life; and at the same time assuring you with my own pen of my profound sense of the obligations you have ever unremittedly conferred upon me, and consequently of the unalterable warmth of my esteem and affection for yourself and Lady Impey, who participating with you in all the kindness of the most tender and disinterested friendship for my dear wife and myself, merits in every point of view a full share of our gratitude and regard, which never shall decay but with our lives. To put you in possession of the reasons which have operated so unexpected a change in my conduct, I hasten to inform you, that the urgency of want (arising from a cause which you well know) has at length compelled me to quit my deep though voluntary seclusion, and to attempt once more to elicit the means of existence (aye, bare existence) from a struggle with the busy world. I had flattered myself that by exercising the most rigid self-denial, and deriving a sort of negative subsistence from severe privations, I should be able to drag on a miserable independence until the restoration of peace with France. But my computation has fallen short, my experiment has completely failed, and I have at last been driven by those unutterable distresses which none but a decayed gentleman can be exposed to, or even well imagine, to turn my thoughts to the possibility of obtaining charity under the semblance of patronage. Two short days have decided my plan. After revolving in mind all that I know (very little, I confess,) relative to the persons who now fill the prime offices of Government, I determined to make the offer of my service to Mr. Canning. Without recommendation, without introduction, (for my protracted inhumation has long since bereft me of even so much as personal acquaintance with any man of influence or connection) I have simply addressed myself to his judgment and his

feelings, and my own pen has been my Sir Clement Cotterell ; whether I may hope for any success from so informal a solicitation will depend, I think, on the peculiar disposition and character of the individual which at my distance it is impossible to appreciate. It is, however, my very last stake : and if I lose,——

"I would not trouble you, or my other only remaining dear friend, Mr. Hastings, with a premature disclosure of my intentions—for I know you would both have rushed forward to my aid, under whatever inconvenience, and perhaps under a conscious disability of being essentially serviceable. But now that the ice is broken, now that the Secretary of State is in possession of my wishes and of my application, a favourable report of my talents or my industry cannot but be most opportune. If, therefore, it falls in your way to waft by a side wind a recommendatory innuendo to the ministerial ear, I am sure I need not cavass you twice.

"I wrote yesterday to Mr. Hastings—and this is absolutely my second epistle since my determination to re-enter the circle of humanity, if it would receive me : and I believe I shall write no more : for where shall I find a third—*similis aut secundus* to yourself and my *Mæcenæ* of Daylesford ?

God Almighty bless you and yours, My dear Sir Elijah, and I beg you to believe me (with Mrs. Halhed's best love also)

Your most obliged and affectionate friend,
 (Signed) NATHANIEL BRASSEY HALHED."

"Our kindest united regards attend Lady Impey and our friends Elijah and Miss Mary.

The next letter in our file is from Lady Impey. There are several besides it in our possession—all having reference to continued acts of kindness, and exhibiting the amiable and excellent writer in a light that claims for her memory our sincere admiration and respect.

To Mrs. Halhed.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—In consequence of a letter received this morning from your good husband, mine has taken flight for Pall Mall, accompanied by your favourite Elijah, which is very satisfactory to me. It gives me pleasure to find that our old friend consents to return to the society of his friends. I trust that you will do all in your power to encourage so happy an event, and I hope that you will endeavour to prevail on him, to return with Sir Elijah to Newick Park. Every thing he wishes can be as well negotiated here by himself and his friends, as if he continued in London—and I cannot tell you how supremely happy you will both make me, by seeing you arrive with him. God bless you both,

Your most affectionately,
 M. IMPEY."

Sept. 16. 1808.

"P. S.—Plenty of room for any servants you may choose to bring."

Mrs. Halhed's reply is dated Pall Mall, 19th September, expressing in warmest terms, her sense of Lady Impey's goodness. It appears that Sir Elijah and his son had most earnestly pressed her husband and himself to accompany them back to Newick—but they excused themselves as it was not *then* in their power to do so. We suppose that the cause here was simply *res angusta domi*. To Mr. Halhed's letter with the extract from the Sclerocardian memoir—Mr. Hastings' reply is as follows :

Daylesford House, 16th September 1808.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—The sight of your name at the end of your letter, the first object of it that caught my eye, impressed me with sensations of surprize and pleasure beyond what I have long felt. I thank you for allowing me to be the first of your friends (the first in heart I do believe I am) to whom you have preferred to break through your long reserve. If I had ever attributed it to coldness, I would thank you for having broke the ice. I think I read the chapter of your Sclerocardian with more satisfaction than I felt when I heard it with the advantage of your reading it to me. Perhaps I perceived some of the beauties which escaped my attention in the first instance : perhaps others have been added in this edition of it : or perhaps its last effect may be better ascribed to that which it produced on Mrs. Hastings, who was my auditress, and increased my pleasure by the pleasure which she expressed. The appendix affected me in a very different manner, and still more your letter. From the first I infer that the first advance was made by the great man to you ; from the latter, that the offer was made by you. He is said to be " a fellow of infinite jest, and most excellent fancy : " but I have taken it into my head, that he is a sneerer, a character rarely associated with that feeling which impels a man to wish to derive benefit from the services of one in distress. I do not, therefore, indulge any sanguine hopes from him. But I wait with anxious, very anxious expectation of what may result from it. As to myself, you know very well that it was my intention to have resumed my profession of upholder ; but had the misfortune to fall into a saw-pit, and was so crippled, that I have never been able to handle an axe or a chisel since ; nor even to sharpen them, though in this art I was once thought more expert than in their actual employment. You see, that I comprehend your innuendos ; but shall not follow them beyond my own justification. In truth, I do not feel myself in a humour for it.

" My dear Halhed, I disclaim all title to your acknowledgments and feel a pain, almost of compunction, while I read them. Your penetrating mind intuitively saw the inclinations of mine, and gave me the credit of performance, which was due only to intention. This is all the merit I ever had with you ; but I will not assert the degree of it.

" Accept from Mrs. Hastings and myself, for yourself and our dear

Mrs. Halhed, the assurance of our affectionate regards and best wishes, and believe me ever your sincere friend,

WARREN HASTINGS."

"P. S.—I was desirous of answering your letter by the return of the post; but a first visit from our new great neighbours, L. and Lady Ittedesdale interrupted my purpose, and left me too little time to attempt it, when they separated. It is possible this may not go till to-morrow, as I wait for a frank, and may be disappointed of one for this day.

*No letter come yet *—"all a blank."*

"HONOURED SIR,—The kind and affectionate answer you wrote to my dear husband assures me that you watch the post daily with anxiety, and perhaps feel disappointed that you have not yet received another epistle from him, but the misfortune was that when he despatched his letter to the great Abukanyanga Beg, he did not know he was not in Satanabad, and the letter was kept a few days at the office, and then despatched after him. So Mr. H. waits to thank you for your most friendly letter, till he has an answer; but the sad events in Portugal may well engross the Beg's mind so that he cannot think of such an oyster as is in Pall Mall. Yet I have the satisfaction to tell you that the delay causes no despondence, but that my good man rather augurs favourably from the silence, it carrying the appearance of considering the matter, as we have heard two instances of his polite and feeling negatives to applications made to him, wherein he said, "the next best thing to serving a person, was that of a prompt answer if he could not," and therefore Mr. H. thinks it better notwithstanding the zealous advice of our kind friend Sir Elijah, to *sit still* until he has some clue about the reception of his letter, as by an exhibition of his talents in writing something he might mar his own business, having no knowledge of the great man's disposition and sentiments, and we trust and hope our beloved Patron will approve of his waiting to see the result of his application.

"Mr. H. is highly delighted with the excellent manner in which you improved upon his little apologue of the tool-chests. He says your application of the terms *Upholder* and *Saw-pit* is infinitely happy and well-pointed—as well as your allusion to your former use of the tools—while now, you say, you can neither chisel out a mortise for so miserable a tenant as he is, nor yet *axe* any of the powers that be to make room for him. Of your former merits as an upholder no man is more gratefully sensible than himself—and he yet lives to thank you, whereas *some of your work* has long since been transferred to the care of the undertaker—and he hopes you will verify in this secondary capacity the character of Lycoris in Martial.

Omnes quas habuit, Tabiane, Lycoris, Amicas
Extulit—Uxori fiat amica mea !

* From Mr. Canning.

Like his own bounty Hastings braves decay—
The friends it rais'd successive pass away—
Live on—dear upholder of great and small !
And prove grand undertaker to us all.

"*Amen* says I, God bless you my most beloved and respected friend ; would my pen could express all the gratitude of my heart for your and dear Mrs. Hastings' unremitting and constant attachment, and well may I say

" *Amitie doux appui de l'homme en sa misere
La loupe des douleurs est par toi moins amere.*"

For you even, best of men, know "that in adversity even a friend will depart ;" believe, then, how highly we prize the jewel of such friendship as yours ! and what a cordial it has and does prove : yes, to the last moment my heart beats shall it remember it, and supplicate the Almighty to shower down His choicest blessings on you and your beloved partner ; and may your barns increase seven-fold, and all your flocks have twins. I had flattered myself with a few lines from dear Mrs Hastings with her *absolution* to my husband, trusting that she was convinced of the truth of his apologies,* but I will cherish the hope that the time is not far distant when we may both in person as in heart come and thank you ; in the meantime, with our affectionate respects to you both, believe me ever, Honoured Sir,

Your grateful and affectionate

LOUISE HALLED."

Pall Mall, 23rd September 1808.

A present of a Michaelmas goose from Mrs. Hastings is alluded to metaphorically in Mrs. Halled's next letter to her husband.

Pall Mall, 29th September 1808.

" My DEAR SIR,—When Brahma was once in a fit of perplexity for the provision of his Michaelmas feast, Vishnu condescendingly assumed the form of the Hansa Avatar, and came to the relief of the poor ———† noddled puzzlecap. Whatever may have happened since to Brahma, the goose at least has maintained its shape and roastability to the present day, and which is the more to be admired, even in that very spot where Medusa's Cupidific aspect had converted so considerable a part of the species to a morsel for the stone-eater. The carnal brood has however providentially escaped annihilation : and the actual representative *hero* of the batch, being the first Daylesford goose that has invited us—is not only most gratefully received—and with all our best acknowledgments to our dear benefactress, but hailed also as a phenomenon of auspicious omen—that so long as we do but furnish mouth and appetite, Providence will mercifully send geese or quails, to thrust themselves voluntarily down our throats.—

* For not going to see her at Portugal Street when she was in town.

† Illegible.

Now to put you in possession of the present suspended state of the temple of expectation—which is my next topic,—I must trouble you with a correct delineation of the whole process of the edifice; and first for a basement or the ground floor."

Here he gave his friend a copy of his letter of application to Mr. Canning, already known to our readers. He had now received the Right Hon'ble gentleman's reply, a copy of which he also forwarded.

Private.

"Bruton Street, September 28, 1808.

"Sir,—I am really ashamed to have left your letter so long unanswered—unacknowledged, I should rather say—for the difficulty of answering it, is that which has hitherto restrained me, and which prevents me at present from saying more, than that I assure you, it is not from want of feeling for the situation which you describe or still less from any feeling of disapprobation of the step you have taken, that I have been silent—and that I very anxiously wish that I had the means, in which case I should not have been wanting in the inclination, to come to your assistance.

I have the honour to be,

Very truly Sir.

Your most obedient servant,

GEO. CANNING."

N. B. HALHED, Esq.

On this, to use Mr. Halhed's own words, was raised a sort of temporary bungalow, to serve for a second floor as follows:—

"Pall Mall, 14 September 1808.

"RIGHT HON'BLE SIR,—I esteem your pardon of my intrusion, and the candour of your answer, as each of them a very considerable favour, and the honour you have done me in shewing that I have not mistaken the feeling turn of your mind, as equal to both. Permit me to return you my most grateful and hearty thanks for them all; and in the hope of being deemed at all times devoted to your service, to assure you of the sincere esteem, with which I have the honor to remain,

Right Hon'ble Sir,

Your most obedient and most faithful humble servant,

"Here then (continues Mr. Halhed's letter) the battle pauses *sans combattants*. I know he will not forget my application—and I have not so far demeaned myself as to make it ineligible to form an amicable connection with me—which at present I rather deprecate should the next move be in the shape of invitation—for notwithstanding my dear Mrs. Hastings' unwillingness to accept my apology on the score of deficiency of address, I can only say, had she been at the Governor of India's elbow when he had the condescension to help on the coat of a nameless individual—and had peeped into the naked wardrobe, she

would be completely satisfied of the authenticity of the excuse. In your last favour—for which I can never sufficiently thank you—you demurred at the ambiguity (apparent only) between the apologue of the tool-chest and the newspaper narrative that followed—as to the origin of the intercourse between the great man and the box. On better consideration—you will be aware that a tool-chest could not in a well constructed fable, quit its corner, and hammer out in *propria persona* a musty harangue of old saws—though it might make a plane case visible to an open eye. Now the use of the passive voice threw a sort of negative activity on the side of the box—and it is cautiously mentioned, that the great minister's notice *was attracted* by the tool-chest—consequently the said notice was *acted upon*, and did not commence the action.

“But is it not surprising that so excellent an upholder should look upon his tools as all mere dead instruments, owing energy, power of application, and all appearance of their having ever existed, to the merit of the head that directed and the fingers that exercised their several properties? However, you have here the *whole* that has passed. The said story of the upholder—in the last letter from hence with three lines to introduce the doggerel, was all that I furnished. To say the truth, that letter, was like every other production of the same hand, warm from the heart, and owed all its merit to its total want of study—for men only think where women feel,—I mean as to the comparative intensity of the thing. The dear scribe presents her kindest regards. ——— your new neighbour, Lord Redesdale, is not entirely unknown to me, nor perhaps I to him as we bow when we meet. I dined in his company once at my old friend's Mr. Justice Rooke (since dead,) brother to the Bengal Raven—and liked him much. He is besides connected with Lymington my quondam borough. I have no doubt he would, on application, very readily lend me his good word—were it not that I suspect him to labour at present under a stroke of taciturnity, a temporary paralysis of the fauces, being—if I am not mistaken, a confirmed side-mouthian.

I beg you to believe me, &c.,

(Signed) N. B. HALHED.”

In Mr. Hastings' next letter he throws out the idea that under circumstances as they then existed, a Latin Secretary to Government might possibly be entertained, for which office no man could be fitter than his friend Halhed. He also expresses *Peccavi* in respect to his former unjust suspicion about Mr. Canning. The letter gave cover also to a seasonable remittance.

“*Daylesford House, 30th September 1808.*

“MY DEAR FRIEND,—I cannot answer your letter in the playful style in which it is written. I am pleased with your two letters to Mr. Canning, and very much with his to you; because it admits of the inference, though it does not say, that if you could specify any

office or employment for which you had no competitor, and which was wanted, he would give it to you. Now it has occurred to me, that in the present state of ill-temper which our nation bears to France, and which has been considerably aggravated by the unpopularity of the late convention, a minister who should introduce the practice of drawing up all our future diplomatic papers in Latin would obtain the approbation of all the people of England for it. There cannot be a fitter man to begin such an innovation than Mr. Canning, nor one fitter to suggest it, and to offer his services for the execution of the new plan, than yourself. Turn it in your mind; but don't let any other mind get it to turn. At any rate, keep *him* in your mind. He is a gentleman, and *on very good grounds* I give him full credit for liberality and sincerity. In a former letter I abused him; for which I pray God to forgive me.

"If my hint is good for any thing, perhaps it would—no, I am wrong. Only, whatever you do, shun every appearance of importunity.

My dear Mrs. Hastings, whose heart beats in unison with my own in whatever concerns you, or our dear friend Mrs. Halhed, requests that you will be her debtor for the enclosed. From almost any one but from her or myself, the offer would be an insult:—not from us;—besides, as you have not resented the goose, she says, you have no right to quarrel with her for the egg which belongs to it.

"We desire you to accept our joint regards, and present them to your excellent, amiable lady.

I am ever, my dear Halhed,

Your sincerely affectionate friend,

WARREN HASTINGS."

"*Pall Mall, 1st October 1808.*

"MY DEAR MADAM,—The right I had acquired of addressing myself to you from the very visible correspondence that has so long subsisted between Mr. Hastings and my wife—and of which my conscious inability to do you justice, had hitherto prevented me from availing myself—is now converted into a duty so imperative and a necessity so urgent—as to compel me to waive all the customary preliminaries of formal approach, and throw myself at once at your feet in a transport of gratitude and affection.—Alas! shall I own it? not merely the known goodness of your heart and acknowledged tenderness of your disposition, but the dear, unimpeachable evidence of past experience has taught me to apprehend that the very moment of my throwing off the mask of gaiety through Mrs. Halhed's borrow'd pen, and venturing at a few lines of plain truth from my own—would but be a tax upon your freindship, and I blush to own it, not very unlike and appeal to your generosity.

"I knew you had practically imbibed the genuine spirit of Christianity in the application of the most benevolent of its principles—and as perfectly aware that along with the precepts of feeding the hungry was coupled that of clothing the naked, which made me very cautious in the construction of my apology for depriving myself of the

gratification of visiting you—as well as of exhibiting my decayed self in many less enviable societies. I foresaw, indeed, the impossibility of my ever returning into the world without some such a discovery, because every year that elapsed did but augment the shackles which confined me to privacy; and yet it was still an awkward attempt to defraud you of the satisfaction of exercising your compassion and extending the sphere, already so wide, of your sensibility. But indeed the plea of distress is become almost the common language of the day, and I know the most enlarged means are insufficient to supply the many calls upon the sympathy of their possessors.

“I cannot, therefore, my dearest Madam, find words to express my feelings upon the present occasion, nor to describe the service which, at this crisis of my destiny, your most opportune liberality has conferred. Your debtor, indeed, I am, under the most constructive of all obligations, of friendship guaranteed by honour: and I shall not insult your delicacy by the obtrusion of a badge of slavery in the form of a stamp: but shall sign any name on the back of your precious draft, as a scare-crow to my perfidy, if I should live to deserve so severe a memento. My dear wife who is, if possible, still more awake to all the finer perceptibility of gratitude than myself, unites with me in all I can say, or rather cannot say, to testify my deep sense of your kindness and the warmth of my esteem and regard in return.

“To our beloved Mr. Hastings I beg leave to steal in a short acknowledgment of his most friendly letter, just to assure him that I am much more convinced of the propriety of his idea relative to the adoption of diplomatic latinity, than of the likelihood of its being just now realized, or of my own abilities for its effectuation. I fear it has too republican an appearance to be welcomed any where by any of the few original powers still extant in the world, and least of all by this, as it was Cromwells. I am, however, very happy to find he does not disapprove of my letters to the great man, which I am convinced are not quite in the official style, and were indeed meant as novelties for the perusal of a Secretary of State. What can I say more? but that now as ever, and if not impossible, still more than ever, I describe myself most truly, and as the title of my very dear Madam,

Your most affectionate friend and
most obliged debtor,
N. B. H.”

TO MRS. HALHED.

“Daylesford House, 28th October 1808.

“MY DEAR FRIEND,—Having obtained the rare vehicle of a frank, I avail myself of it to thank you for your very entertaining, and ingenious letter, and to desire your forgiveness for having suffered a whole fortnight to pass without that acknowledgment. In truth, I had nothing else to write in answer, and this was not worth 4½d. and the trouble of reading it besides. Do not however conceive that you have been absent from my thoughts in this long interval. You have

I can truly affirm, given much employment to them, but this has been devoted to one subject only, and to as little purpose as the production of the pearl in your allegorical oyster. In truth, my dear Halhed, I can think only of your wants, and read the wonderful efforts of your imagination with little other pleasure than that which they afford me in the hope of the same powers contributing to your substantial relief. I have just read over again the answer of Mr. Canning to your letter, and I verily believe it to be sincere. Why else should he make professions, and by the application to them of the term "at present" hold out the expectation of some future reality? The treachery of a courtier would be thrown away upon a man who is not worth the tenth part of a vote. I have run over all the great names in the Court Calendar, but cannot find one to whom I am known, and who, if I could interest him in your behalf, at the same time possesses so much interest as to make mine ultimately effectual. I fear the case with Mr. C. is that of every minister, especially of one not well established, that he has more engagements than places to fulfil them; and that a claimant must devise a new place, or prove in some way or other that he can make himself subservient to the interest that he courts.

"All this, my dear friend, may serve to show my will and regrets, but afford to you neither counsel nor comfort. I am in truth a *yâr béwoofadar*. I can neither help you over your difficulties, nor intercept those that still pursue you, like the river to which Shah Allum gave the positive of that appellation. Still think me your friend, though an unprofitable one; for I have a pleasure in assuring you that I am such, and in the belief that it will be grateful to you.

"We are anxious for better accounts of Mr. Halhed's health. Mrs. Hastings ever remembers you both with the same interest of affection. As I began my letter with an apology for writing too late, she reproves me for writing so soon after one that she herself has written to you. I pray you to present my kind regards to Mrs. Halhed.

Adieu, my dear friend,

Yours most affectionately,
WARREN HASTINGS."

P. S.—I have picked the lock of your rich cabinet, but cannot unlock the last drawer of it without the key.

From Mr. Halhed to Mr. Hastings.

"Pall Mall, 16th December 1808.

"MY DEAR SIR,—After fourteen years of the most inflexible retirement and persevering continuance in my own habitation—behold a new epoch—I emerge once more into Society—and am actually in danger of sleeping from home, nay, of a temporary change from my own dungeon to Sir E. Impey's mansion. My first India-voyage had nothing in it half so tremendous! I was then young, and curious and active—I could gladly have peregrinated round the whole globe, and even deviated a little from the settled route by an occasional excursion to the seven planets: but now I am become listless, torpid,

and of immoveable apathy. But Sir Elijah hurried up to town on the moment of receiving my first letter communicating my intentions of attempting to gain an honest livelihood, with such an alacrity of friendship, and so eagerly pressed our acceptance of an immediate apartment under his hospitable roof, that it was only by a most condescending act of grace that he suffered himself to wait for our actual arrival till Christmas—and now Christmas is come, and we must set off on Sunday. Well ! if stability had been attainable in this world, I flattered myself with its exemplification in my own person—but even an oyster, I see, may not only be crossed in love, but also become partner in a post-chaise. Mrs. Halhed, who has long been as anxious to move, as I to be stationary, is no less alarmed than myself at the thoughts of submitting to the elegant comforts of an extensive establishment, and the unrestrained enjoyment of a friendly circle. But I hope we are in no imminent danger of life or limb from the experimental apprenticeship we are just undertaking—while we have both long seemed to be *out of our time*; and above all, we look forward with eagerness to the opportunity of consulting the oracles of friendship at Daylesford, and of personally presenting the offerings of inviolable esteem at the shrines of unwearied bounty and ever fostering benevolence in that quarter.

“ To-morrow, my dear Sir, as Mrs. H. tells me, is your birthday, “*jure solemnis mihi*”—for you have done much for the world, and all for me—who in fact have never done any thing fit or worthy to be done, for myself. In sheer equity, therefore, your nativity *should be*, as *it is*, of much more importance to me than my own—for which I never concern myself; but the 17th December,—it is one of the very brightest days in the year to me—“ *namque ex hac Luce Mœcenas Meus affluentes !*”

“ This the blest day, from whose auspicious sun
Commenc'd my Patron's stream of life to run !
But 'tis not *birth* can bliss or good supply :
Our gen'ral lot is to be born and die.
'Twixt these extremes extends a wasteful void,
Or well-spent interval of hours employ'd.
For not from years we estimate the sage—
Nor measure merit by the lapse of age ;
Else ev'ry dotard, by this partial scale,
Might o'er all-knowing Solomon prevail.
His be the prize, whose lengthening days we find
Rich in the four grand principles of mind ;—
Justice—that rendering back the talents given,
Looks up, and owns its gratitude to heaven ;
Prudence, that eyes the future in the past,
Sees the world wane, nor hopes its joys can last ;
Firm fortitude, to bear what fate ordains,
And *temperance* holding head-strong nature's reins.
True happiness, true glory these impart,
Improv'd by use, and mellowed in the heart.

On Hastings, then, ripe wisdom's meed we fix,
From youth maturing up to seventy-six !

Oh ! would it were seventy-six ten years hence ! *But then, I could hardly live to see what a divine old man you will make at eighty-six ; to which period you certainly will arrive*, unless the world, which I will not insure, should tumble about your ears in the meantime.

God bless you, my dear Sir, and our ever esteemed Mrs. Hastings and keep you both from all the intermediate calamities—is Mrs. H's constant prayer and mine ; and most heartily wishing you all the compliments of the approaching season, with a codicil for those of all the rest of the year, I beg you to believe me,

Your most sincerely, devoted
and affectionate friend,

We have marked a line or two in the above in italics as containing a prophecy, or at any rate a remarkable coincidence. Mr. Hastings died in his eighty-sixth year—and Mr. Halhed's aspiration of seeing the fine old man at eighty-six was gratified. Our readers have already seen how quietly Mr. Halhed could pun without laying that emphasis on it which so often spoils the jest. In the letter that follows, from Mr. Hastings to his friend, they will see a specimen of his humour, in which he easily assumes the newspaper tone of the day.

Daylesford House, 20th December 1808.

MY DEAR HALHED,—Accept my most hearty thanks for your two kind letters, for the last especially ; and a sentiment of acknowledgment which thanks cannot express for the admirable verses contained in the last. Praise from the heart is always pleasing, and is justifiably pleasing ; but when adorned with the brightest graces of poetry and blended with the philosophy (and that of a Reeshee could not be better expressed than yours) it is most delightful. I congratulate you and our dear Mrs. Halhed on your emancipation from what you call your apprenticeship, your apprenticeship of twice seven years ; the length of a patriarch for his wife ; and I verily think that your Rachel deserves that compliment more than Jacob's did, if she had any share in the motive of it. I feel a little something like a grudge that Sir Elijah has the first possession of you ; for Mrs. Hastings and I had meditated the same design upon you ; but deferred the execution of it till the spring of the approaching year, for two reasons : the first because we had the promise of a visit from a great personage, whom you would not like to meet on your first return to society, as we were uncertain how he would be accompanied, nor when he would come. He will be with us to-morrow. The other evasion is not one which of itself would have prevented us making the effort to engage you : It is our wish to share with you the blessing—such we estimate them—of a Daylesford sun, preferably to the coldest atmosphere that the winter engenders on the southern division of England. This I

give under my hand, and fingers too, which scarcely feel the pen that indites it. But I have your promise, and we shall claim the performance of it at as early a period as you please of the next year. I am glad, however, that our friend Sir Elijah will have the benefit of a friend near him, who can administer to him so well as you can, the consolation which he may require, on the privation of his most justly beloved son; and who can inspire him with the fortitude to sustain even the apprehension of it. I suspect, however, that he will be quit with the apprehension only, as I know of no foreign service to which his son can be called, but Spain; and the chances are many, that Spain will be completely subdued, before another embarkation can be formed, or any which may be now ready put to sea.

Mrs. Hastings desires me to send her affectionate remembrances to you and Mrs. Halhed; and we both join our fervent wishes,—and our wishes are prayers,—that God my bless you both through the ensuing year and render it more fortunate than any of the past. I must tell you that she made me read your letter to her a second time, and was at least as much pleased with the poetry of it as myself. All is well that ends well. She had before censured you for travelling, and pre-meditating it, on a Sunday; which you may receive as indirect and unintended praise; for I confess that we ourselves have not unfrequently committed the same trespass on the Sabbath. She requests you will tell Mrs. Halhed that on the receipt of your letter, she sent to recal a turkey and a ham, which had been actually despatched to her, intending to reserve both for your return home.

Adieu, my very dear friend, and believe me ever,

Your truly affectionate

WARREN HASTINGS.

"I have written through the force of habit with a vacancy left for the direction of a single letter, though I expect a frank for it.

"Give our affectionate regards to Sir Elijah and Lady Impey, and our dear Marian."

"I desire that you will give me your opinion of the following specimen of a political newspaper.—

"Letter from an Officer at Cadiz, 15th December 1808.

"The advices from the north are of an unpleasant nature. Castanos with the eastern division of the army had established his headquarters at Irun. The consequence was, that on the first appearance of the enemy, his soldiers took fright, and fled. The other division under Blake, suffered a check at Wrynose, and this was followed by a total defeat at Sorenose. He has been since superseded in his command by an officer of a promising name, and a prominent character;* but it is thought that the army will not be again in condition to face their opponents. The commander indeed endeavors to countenance a different opinion, and gives out that though the Spaniards

* i. e., Romanos, corruptly written Romana.

have been beat in two encounters, he is confident of success with one more.

“ ‘ Our little friend, Billy Dulgerid, has been deputed by the acting Governor of Gibraltar to the States of Barbary, to solicit their assistance. He wrote some time ago, that the Moors were ready to transport a formidable army to the coast of Spain, only desiring, as a preliminary condition, to be put in possession of a good provision of hand Grenades. This requisition appeared so extraordinary to the Governor, who knew that the Moorish forces consisted wholly of cavalry, and were unacquainted with these missiles of European warfare, that he suspected some mistake, and the rather, as Billy could not speak a word of Arabic, which is the language of the country, and in the hurry of his departure had left his interpreter behind. Under this persuasion he sent back the messenger with a letter requiring an explanation. By tempestuous weather in the passage, and other stoppages on shore, many weeks elapsed before Billy’s reply was received, which cleared up the mistake, and shewed it to have been committed, not by him, but by the Governor,—the words which he had read for “ *a good provision of hand Grenades,*” (not indeed very legibly written) having been intended by the writer to state the condition, that the Moors should be put in possession of “ *the good province, or land, of Grenada,*” which is known to have been the object of their continual regrets, ever since their expulsion from it in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. The correction of the error came unfortunately too late. The tide of affairs had turned ;—the troops which had been assembled for the proposed enterprize had consumed all their provisions, and were disbanded ; so that all hopes of aid from that quarter have vanished. Such is the fatality of all our measures, which are ever defeated by indecision and procrastination, arising from the most frivolous causes.’

“ We stop the press to insert the following extract of a letter just received from our correspondent in Finland :—

“ The King of Sweden has nominated General Duke, an* tic Tartar by birth, to the command of the army in this province. We marched under his orders this morning at day-break. We had not come a mile before we fell in with a strong post of the enemy, defended by eight men and a boy. It was taken by a *coup de main* without loss on either side. The affair was not great ; but it was a feather to our commander, who wanted it : for he had scarcely assumed

* “ ‘ This hiatus was caused by the friction of the package containing the letters. We cannot find any word that will make out the name in the geographical dictionary. Baltic and Adriatic, that is, the seas of those names, lie too distant from Tartary ; and Emetic belongs, as we believe, exclusively to another science.’

“ The above written nonsense was finished more than a week ago, and intended to mix with your other and better ingredients for a merry Christmas : but a spark of remaining modesty, suggested by the want of a frank, easily induced me to lay it by till I got one. Bad as the composition is, it is better by —. What was to have followed is forgotten, a letter from Newick when I had written thus far having discouraged me from proceeding. I could not send a composition of levity to the house of affliction.”

the command of the army, when he found it in hot water. The soldiers were sick of the war: so were the officers; many of these had thrown up their commissions. This, with other well timed discharges, had allayed the bad humors; but symptoms of risings still continued to break out from time to time."

Our readers, we presume, will not grudge the space we devoted to a few of Mr. Hallhed's poetical compositions. The sonnet was a favorite vehicle with him in his visits to Parnassus. His effusions embrace a great variety of topics,—grave, gay, or mythical.

To Lady Mawbey.

" Say not, beloved friend, that Heaven at strife
 With nature, couples malady with wealth :
 Sure 'twere unthankful, in the wane of health,
 Against life's Author thus to deem of life.
 No : *temp'rate* use will either boon secure :
 But Reason stern instructress, must supply
 The wholesome discipline of poverty,
 And riches bless but as they feed the poor.
 High tho' to view your stately dwelling stand
 Without, within, a master-piece of art :
 Tho' to the park's extent your taste hath plann'd,
 Luxuriant seasons all their smiles impart ;
 Whate'er of good or grateful they produce
 Not from themselves is drawn, but from their *temp'rate* use."

Surely there is exquisite tenderness and beauty embodied in this sonnet.

To Mr. Hallhed.

" O, let me under my Louisa's care
 Be gather'd to my fathers! Let me feel,
 With my extreme perception, her fond zeal
 Smoothing my ruffled pillows! Let her share
 (As she's most worthy) in my dying pray'r
 For both our souls! while her kind fingers steal
 With trembling touch o'er my glaz'd eyes and seal
 Their lids, just stiff'ning into death's void stare!
 Still shall I recognise, though outward sense
 Attest not, her dear cheek laid close to mine ;
 Her heart's quick throbs, her sigh's dumb eloquence ;
 So my last breath shall bless her matchless love,
 And waft her merits to the realms above."

Our next selection relates to an event connected with that tall bully-like pillar stigmatised by Pope, as *lying* where it stands. Some of us are old enough to remember the circumstance.

On a Jew felo-de-se who threw himself from the top of the Monument.

"Curtius the second! whatso'er thy vie^a,—
In leaping from the monument to ground.
Could no more manageable gulf be found—
Than England's vast metropolis, to shew
Thy courage or good will?—Had every Jew
But one joint wind-pipe all Great Britain round,
Ev'n then 'twould hardly close th' abyss unsound,
To break it from a precipice so new.
Cheats as they were, thy brethren still remain,
Curb'd by no rigor—by no menace aw'd :
Still yawn the chasms of usury and fraud,
And thou wast prodigal of life in vain !
But to the column gav'st one record true—
An Israelite died here, who prov'd himself no Jew."

The following complimetary criticism, like a scorpion, has a sting in its tail.

"———-admitted to a lady's room one day
(Boudoir or work chamber, or what you will)
Lost in surprise, my head as in a mill,
Turn'd with the wonders of its nice display—
All China strove in delicate array
Each brace'd angle and recess to fill :
Tea-pot o'er tea-pot rising higher still—
Cups, basons, saucers, all of purest clay.
Nigh these, an ill-assorted figure sat ;
Produce it seem'd of Egypt's tasteless clime,
Coarse workmanship, not unassail'd by time,
Of lumpish visage, on its haunches squat,
Too bad for use, too clumsy for a shelf—
Too ugly for parade—in short it was *herself*!"

Mr. Halhed, indeed, had a happy turn for epigram—considerably enhanced no doubt by his partiality for Martial. We can only spare space for a short specimen or two. One is dated 15th February 1808—on the death of the Marquis of Thomond, by a fall from his horse.

"Lapsus eque Thomond, quantum, heu ! se distat ab ipso !
Insedit modo jam Vir—ceciditque lutum.

"How vast a guif cross'd Thomond from his horse !
A man while seated—and when thrown, a corse !"

The following three epigrams were sent to Mr. Halhed by the Rev. Mr. Cane.

"Captain Macheath with passion fir'd,
A Polly,—Lucy,—both admir'd,
Mais Halhed a plus admirè,
Car Les Graces sont ses *Tiers consolidés* !

Ideas come, says Locke, from sense,
 As pounds the offspring are of pence,
 With Halhed who would dare to strive,
 Whose senses *four* excel all other's *five* !
 Halhed, however smooth it run,
 A man of taste, you hate a pun :
 Yet I confess I still am led,
 To think that Halhed his *all head* ! "

Mr. Halhed thus replied—

" Halhed admires—as well he may
 Your charming '*Tiers consolidé*,'
 Where *each* in merit's high degree,
 Stands representative of *three*—
 And thus the united *three* combine
 To form th' equivalent of *nine*.
 Where is the mighty wonder then,
 With every muse to guide *your* pen,
 While Halhed's can no aid command,
 Save a mere *Hoddy-Doddy's* * hand ;
 That just comparison ensures
 The odds of *nine to one* on yours ;
 His pen's a bulrush weak and vain ;
 Yours a most potent matchless Cane."

Mr. Hastings, in the next letter, begs to be excused for his long silence caused in a great measure by indisposition, for which he consulted Dr. Vaughan, and afterwards Sir Henry Hallford.

" *Daylesford House, 16th May 1809.*

"MY DEAR HALHED,—Do not impute my long silence to neglect or to an indifference to the genuine affection that breathes in your letters, and marks your whole intercourse with me. When I received your letter, I was earnestly and incessantly engaged in answering twenty-one queries proposed to me by the Board of Agriculture ; and as Mrs. Hastings had exempted me from the positive duty of writing to you, by making you, through Mrs. Halhed, acquainted with the return of health, I went on my way, saying, I will write to-morrow, —a term definite in intention, but very indeterminate in practice : and the occupation which I mentioned continued so long, as to exclude every other, and to give my procrastination a kind of prescriptive right. But here I am ; and not a line will I write upon any other paper till I have written all that I have to write upon this, already one-fourth wasted in apology.

"You already know that we have had the pleasure of an unexpected visit from your friends, Sir E. and L. J. Impey. The immediate occasion of it was alarming ; but we had the great satisfaction to

* Old Nursery rhyme—" Hoddy-Doddy, all head and no body."

see her wear the looks and complexion of health, and her good spirits have uniformly accorded with their indications. Sir E. seems uncommonly well. I wish I could persuade him to rise earlier in a morning; but I despair of success, and have not attempted it. I do not know but I may, if it be but to give him an opportunity of combatting my objection to his sleeping till ten, with his to my rising at five and six. My own case has something of novelty in it. I left Portland-street a very invalid: I arrived almost well at Tettsworth, and the next day in perfect health at Daylesford, though my nights were infested with feverish returns,—these however being perceptibly abating, I am now, and have been for some time past, in much better health than I had before my late indisposition: yet as I grew well a new disease succeeded,—a swelling in both my legs and feet. This increased to such a degree in my right foot as to be alarming, and its appearance to my sight disgusting. By Dr. Vaughan's prescription, I have taken for it sweet spirit of nitre diluted with imperial three times a day—but am not sensible of any amendment. Any exertion aggravates the affection of parts, and the flesh-brush instantly allays it. By the advice of a very acute experimental physician, I make my breakfast wait some minutes every morning for the exercise of the dumb-bells, to the great exacerbation (is that the medical word?) of the morbid irritation which commonly preceds that meal. . . . So much, and too much, of myself. I have great pleasure in being able to tell you, that my dear Mrs. Hastings is uncommonly well, and visits her farm on her poney in all weathers. I remember to have heard you more than once say, that poetry was prophetic of something that never entered into the mind of the composer of it. This sentiment was lately exemplified in a sonnet which I addressed to Mrs. Hastings about three weeks ago. It begins with—"Hail, ever blooming May!" Would you believe it! On the very first day of the month she ventured on horseback, and was caught by two hail-storms. I certainly predicted them, and most certainly by inspiration, but I can take my oath that I did not intend it. I bless you in my heart for your encomium on her goodness and her virtues, and for those too, I am ready with my oath, to attest them. She unites with me in affectionate regards to yourself, and dear Mrs. Halhed; and we both rejoice to hear of her amended health, and especially that its progress keeps pace with the spring; for I think I never witnessed a finer. Heaven bless you both, my dear friend!

"Since I wrote the above Sir Elijah has intimated his and lady T's intention of parting from us next Monday, which I have opposed on the ground of her ladyship being evidently better in health than she was when she arrived. I do not know whether he left me undecided; I hope so. I have one or two calls to town, and their final determination may regulate mine. This excursion will enable me to adjust some points of consequence to the arrangement of my time, and one especially, which I have much at heart; to settle with you the time when you will give us the promised pleasure of being our guests. It had been our intention to solicit it at the same time that our friends had devoted to their visit, had we been in time appriz-

ed of it. For the present, adieu, my friend. I am ever, with the most heartfelt affection, yours

WARREN HASTINGS."

In his reply (dated 18th May 1809) Mr. Halhed congratulates his friend on his restitution of health, as nature's triumph over art:—

'God made the country and man *made the town*,'

"and made it a most execrable amalgam of all the impurities and of all the four elements in the natural world, and their antitypes in the moral. Escaped from these and the iatrical toads that fatten on them, into the pure regions that still retain a smack of the perfection in which their Creator fashioned them: nature has re-asserted her rights in you, and her claim for unlimited gratitude from all those who have the happiness to know you. As for the interlude of the dumb-bells—if they confer an appetite for your breakfast—they are certainly beneficial: but if you would infer that by enlarging the interval from the pillow to the tea kettle, they augment an irritation already morbid: it is not to the belly we must apply the medicine, but to the irritability, a disease of which I have entirely cured myself, by simply bearing it. Perhaps a glass of factitious Spa-water taken at first rising, would qualify the acid of the stomach, and give a better appetite for the muffin an hour afterwards, with a greatly improved ability for well digesting it. Proceeding downwards we gradually approach the legs whose Odematous intumescence I lament as an inconvenience and an eyesore, and but little more. Throw nitre to the dogs and stick to the flesh-brush, is the language of experience, and that *your own*."

Of the two prescriptions we are free to confess that malgre what the sons of Esculapius may say, Mr. Halhed's appears to us to be the most professional and the shrewdest of the two. In his next letter Mr. Hastings confesses that he has derived benefit from Mr. Halhed's prescription; he also alludes to a versified edition of the debates in Parliament which Mr. Halhed used to send him periodically—and of which we should be glad to introduce a specimen or two, but that our limited space at present forbids.

From Mr. Hastings to Mr. Halhed.

"If I could, I would write you a letter of poetry:
You can do it with ease, but with me 'tis not so easy.
You possess the great art, which, if any, but few know,
To write ten score good verses, stans pede in uno;
To the hand from the head, as this dictates its plenty,
Inditing, and calamo writing currente.
And to speak the plain truth, I can't find in my conscience
To make you pay double for reading my nonsense;
For the cost of my letters in prose, though but four pence,
Is too much; but in rhyme, 'tis as dear as four more pence.

"This looks like one of Cobbet's papers, with a motto of his own composition prefixed to it, and not seldom one of his worst. I thank you, my dear friend, for the admirable continuation of your chronicle, and desire, *in return*, that you will go on with a new chapter at the close of every session of Parliament, only as long as I live: and if I can, I will live long enough for you to make up a good sizeable octavo. Perhaps, in that period, things may take a new turn, and instead of absurdities to ridicule, and corruptions to censure, you may be perplexed by a choice of wise measures, and virtuous statesmen, claiming the best exertions of your genius in their commendation. Surely such a reformation may be expected from the laudable training of the flower of the British youth; one seminary of which filled Cavendish Square, in my own delighted sight, with barouches, and admiring spectators: "delighted," although I lost by it full thirty minutes in the attempt to traverse the thronged street from Mrs. Motte's door to Lady Blunt's, nearly opposite to it. You will be pleased to hear that the swelling of my legs has subsided, and come almost to their bearings, taking the word in every sense. This effect has been produced, neither by pills, by galvanism, by repose, nor by diet, but by, or in despite of, severe exercise of them, and evidently more than is good for them at the time that I impose it upon them. In other points I have literally conformed to your advice, and have got well. The advice was salutary, and I thank you for it, but more for your kind interest in my dear Mrs. Hastings' health, and more yet for the credit you attribute to her influence on mine, and for the many handsome things you say of her, to all which I am ready to subscribe, while my hand is in, before the registrar of Oxford, who has already just administered that sanction to the first process of a chancery suit in the Supreme Court of the Km. of Wurtemberg, in which I have chosen to be an adventurer. I return to Mrs. Hastings to say that she is very well, and will (I know) before I have closed this, charge me with her affectionate regards to you, and dear Mrs. Halhed. In these as in all her affections mine go *pari passu*. We are in the midst of our mowing and haymaking, in which there is every prospect of our going on swimmingly, with the option of being thankful for the preservation of our turnips, (which I prefer) or murmuring at the injury sustained by our hay. On this, and many other similar occasions my mind sustains itself by the maxim of a great philosopher and moralist. * "Its poise life's balance to vibration owes." If you have never met with it before, copy it, and put it by among your good things. Mr. Anderson, and his most amiable wife and daughter are our present guests, and contribute much to our present happiness, which is not diminished by the reflection frequently recurring, that when we part, we shall never probably meet again.

"Adieu, my dear Halhed.

Your truly affectionate friend,

WARREN HASTINGS."

* A quotation from one of Mr. Halhed's sonnets.

"I am not sure, that I am yet pleased with your account of poor Elijah ;—I am half inclined to recommend to him my own regimen, of taking nothing."

It is with no small reluctance that we are compelled to omit whole pages that would be deemed amusing to those who are *au courant* with the Parliamentary debates of the period. Halhed's abstracts of each Session were often written in the manner of prose letters to save space and postage, but the sing-song soon betrays the covert rhyme. Here is a specimen in a letter to Mr. Hastings, dated 17th June 1809. "The Session clos'd, we now once more its efforts weigh as heretofore, in retrospective view : See legislation at a stand, while discontents distract the land for change to something new. What vigorous measures well pursued, what ardour for the public good the Commons' votes declare ? What then has occupied their toil ? What topic drain'd the midnight oil in guise of Council deep ? What wondrous motion-making itch has furnish'd a pretext for speech—and interrupted sleep ? Some friend emerging from a *border*, hatch'd in the brain of Colonel Wardle a sudden wish for fame—by circumstances harsh and sour to crush York's military power and blast his royal name, &c. Then shortly followed "a new song" to the tune of "a bumper Squire Jones." It may be familiar to some of our older readers (for it was published) who perhaps might not be aware who their author was—

" Mrs. Clarke, Mrs. Clarke,
Tho' conscience forbids me to praise or defend
What you do in the dark ;
Your sense and your merit,
Your freedom of spirit,
Have made me your friend.
You scorn to be cheated
Humbug'd or ill-treated
By any vain, bantering, impudent spark :
But constant and steady
Look close to the ready,
A conduct most sage in these times, Mrs. Clarke. "

Mr. Halhed's fortunes having come to about their worst—were now about to mend. In a letter of the 14th July 1809, he recalls to the recollection of Mr. Hastings the circumstance of an increased number of hands in the office of the Examiner at the India House, having been found necessary, leave had been given at the last general court for the creation of a new *Military Secretary* for India, and two additional *Civil Secretaries*—the latter with salaries of £600—each. Mr. Halhed then proceeds—"By William's advice and co-operation of the most feeling and friendly

kind I was tempted to offer myself a candidate for one of these last mentioned offices, and was most strenuously affectionately and efficiently assisted in the application by my old and very dear friend Sir William Bensley—under whose suggestion I wrote a joint letter to the Chairman and Deputy in the beginning of April. No notice whatever was taken of my address till yesterday morning, when I waited on Mr. Grant by appointment—who in the most kind and liberal manner then informed me, that my services were accepted on the terms I had proposed, and that I might consider myself as effectually admitted to the post, although the nomination could not pass the Court till next Wednesday. I lose therefore not a moment in communicating this account, which I know will be received by you with the most sympathetic feelings of satisfaction—as it lifts me from a state of the most grovelling inactivity and indigence to regular exertion and *comparative* independence.” Nothing can well be more cordial than Mr. Hastings’ reply on hearing of his friend’s good news :—

“ *Daylesford House, 16th July 1809.*

“ MY DEAR HALHED.—I thank God, fervently, for the happy tidings which you have imparted to me. You did justice to my dear Mrs. Hastings, and she desires me to tell you so, in the persuasion which you felt, that her joy would be equal to mine for this accession of good fortune to your long-tried patience, and miserable state of depression. I always loved Sir William Bensley. I love him now more than ever for the proof which he has given you of the genuine goodness of his heart. At the same time I candidly confess, that I have a little sensation of envy mingling itself with my better thoughts, from the contrast of what his friendship has accomplished, with that which mine has only meditated and professed. Yet, let me inform you my dear friend that mine has not been idle, though its efforts have been unsuccessful. I have not much inclination to turn to other subjects : but I must thank you for your former unacknowledged letter, and for the mirth and good spirits which it impressed me with, both while I read it, and since. You shall have an answer to it, however, in the words of Walter Scott, who certainly did not know that he was an advocate for the D. of York, when he wrote his *Marmion*.

“ When F.....was betray’d,
And on his board forg’d letters laid,
She was, alas ! the sinful maid,
By whom the deed was done.
O ! shame and horror to be said :—
She was a perjur’d nun. - (none, it should be,)
No Clark in all the land, like her
Trac’d quaint and varying character.”

“ I am sorry to tell you, that I am bid by a solicitor to go to town

next Thursday, as a preliminary to a subpoena, which is to follow his summons. It will give me, however, the pleasure to see you, and with that I must console myself. Our best and united love attend you and dear Mrs. Halhed.

Your affectionate
WARREN HASTINGS."

It appears that Halhed had shewn Mr. Hastings a review which he had written of Lord Valentia's travels, and which perhaps he had some intention to print. There is a transcript of this review among his papers, but it is evidently the first rough sketch of it—and not the one he had shewn to Mr. Hastings. It is capable of being decyphered, but with an amount of labour and time that we have not to bestow on its further consideration. Suffice it that in it he was severe upon the Marquess of Wellesley's over stateliness; and deemed the spread of Missionaries dangerous to the safety of India—a delusion that was a fashionable bugbear of the day with men of the governing class. Mr. Hastings, in his next letter (bearing date 27th July 1809,) warns him as to the inexpediency, or rather the imprudence of ventilating such subjects—in regard to the position in which he then was:

"Daylesford House, 27th July 1809.

"MY DEAR HALHED,—From the period of our parting, to this hour, my mind has been perpetually recurring to the critique, of which you read to me a considerable part, on Lord Valentia's travels, till it has become a growing weight on my conscience. There are two subjects of it, which, though admirable treated, and though I listened to them one at least with a criminal complacency—I wish to be able to persuade you to erase totally. The first is your argument against Indian Missionism. (Excuse the barbarism of the word: I cannot hastily devise a better.) It will mortally offend the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, whom it is your honest interest to conciliate, and whom no duty calls you to make your enemy. A writer to the public is as much bound to write the truth, and nothing but the truth, as a witness on his oath before a Court of Justice: but he is under no obligation to be a champion in a cause that shall exact from him the necessity of writing *all the truth*; and on this the opinions of all mankind, except a few righteous overmuch, are already brought into agreement. Neither does your professed disquisition require this digressive interposition. Do not think my advice hastily given. I myself, animated with the same indiscreet zeal, drew up a bold philippic against the doctrine of Indian conversion, and put it into the hands of friend Toone, to produce it on the first occasion in which the subject should be introduced in the Court of Directors. This he was on the point of doing; but choosing to make Sir Francis Baring a party to the plot, Sir Francis peremptorily forbid it, convinced him in three words that it would be the height of folly, and Toone con-

vinced me. In you the folly would be much greater, (forgive me for this plain speaking,) for mine was more common, every day reasoning: your's eloquent, elegant, unanswerable, and therefore unpardonable.

"The other passage is your stricture on Lord Wellesley's pomp and vanity. It is not a necessary part of your undertaking. It will create you enemies in another quarter; and as he has not provoked the attack by any act of his own, I do not think it quite fair to punish him for having been placed in a ridiculous light by his silly compeer and panegyrist. In this judgment too, I evince, if not my own, at least my disinterestedness; for with the exclusion of Lord W. you must exclude all that your too partial friendship has introduced upon another person. I shall be sorry to part with it; for the same thing will never be said, certainly not so well said, by any other person.

"While I am executing the office of a commentator you must forgive me for suggesting a slight objection to your birthday verses. It was not originally mine; but first hesitated by my friend Anderson, and afterwards decidedly pronounced by all the ladies of our family. The objection regards only the words, "dear Miss," in the first line, which is judged not to agree with the gravity, and the solemnity of the rest of the poem. To me the second line seems to partake of the same incongruity; and I cannot help thinking, that you began it in a vein of pleasantry; but that you felt an interest in the subject in the next step as you advanced, your own affections were engaged or increased by those of the surrounding party, and animated to the highest strain of poetry: for I verily think that it is, with the exception which I have stated, most complete and original, beyond any composition of the kind that I have ever seen. But I beg the favor of Mrs. Hallid not to punish my cavils by withholding from me the occasions of them. I thank her gratefully for the copy of this: but she owes me that of the address to Mrs. Aldersy, in which also I ventured to propose a correction—and I am an unforgiving creditor. With my best love, and Mrs. Hastings's to her, and to you, my friend,

I am ever yours,
WARREN HASTINGS."

" Pall Mall, 31st July 1809.

"MY DEAR SIR,—If any thing had been wanting to rivet my conviction (and my unalterable gratitude founded upon it) of the very warm and sympathising interest you take in all that concerns me, your last favour of the 27th instant would be more than sufficient for the purpose. I know not, indeed, how to reconcile the perpetual reiterations of your kindness under all manner of circumstances and in so many different modes of affection with the very slender pretensions I really have to your favour, and with the pitiful efforts I appear ever to make in return. I am indeed in a sort of habit, a constitutional system of self-reproach for the seeming indifference of my general behaviour toward you, and for the tameness of my exertions to merit

your esteem; and when I would tranquillize a little the perturbation of conscience on this article, I have no other resource than the meagre reflection, that at least I purchase no part of your friendly condescension by fawning adulation: and that in spite of the peculiar distinctions by which you are continually honouring me, I am sure you know me and all my faults: and so, in short, I wrap myself up in that most gratifying of all self-delusions, that you have an incurable prejudice for me, and I go on loving you without any consideration of the propriety of evincing the fact by suitable demonstrations of language and conduct—as if you wore my second self. Now in this last actual instance of your anxious regard for me and my well-doing I see a thousand traits of good-will, and a care fully amounting to paternal, like Micio's for Cæcilius in the *Adelphi*, lest I should incur damage where there happens to be no danger. The two subjects of your present solicitude have undoubtedly those objectionable peculiarities which you so eloquently describe: but it luckily happens that I was not sufficiently enthusiastic on the topic while employed on it, to acquire the smallest partiality for my composition—in truth I thought very slightly of it; so that I am admirably well prepared for suppressing not only the two passages in question, but the whole piece. While I continued a bare candidate for office, with little hope and less appearance of success, my friend Wilkins intimated to me one day, that if I wished to insinuate myself into the Chairman's good graces, I could not do better than review Lord Valentia's book with a lash in my hand, and he would supply me with the work: whether my whip-cord was or was not rightly aimed, it may not become me to say—but at least it is whip-cord. I know the danger of a *cut* at the missionaries—and was at no loss to discern the cause of Mr. Grant's strong dislike, when I came to the article that condemns the system *in toto*; I therefore, as you know, rather leaned to that side in opposition to episcopacy which my Lord recommended. The philippic against the pomp of the Governor-General was a mere ebullition of my feelings. But you are aware that I have produced no more than an outline—and that for hardly a third part of the work—I detest the office of reviewing—and go to it with a reluctance precisely commensurate with my want of qualifications for its due discharge: I mean (not to seem more modest than I am) collateral reading—for which I certainly have had no means or opportunity these many years. But in fact it is the very scavenger-ship of literature; and I always recollect a lucky hit of my fellow madman, Elphinstone, who translated Martial, and whom the Reviews abused for his translation; in rebutting their remark he says—“*Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*”—“No man can be a Reviewer *at once*.” Now as I have never served my apprenticeship to the business—I can be no better than a bungler. But while I was floundering on through the mud of criticism, comes a message from the chairman—and subsequently my appointment—then why retain the *net* when the fish is caught? My *view* in reviewing is anticipated by the event—and I am now up to the ears in Leadenhall street lucubrations—which employ all the time I can possibly dedicate to the desk.

“What you say of my epistle to my little niece demands a very

different notice : and I am really astonished at the more than *Bentleian* acumen of your remark on the reason for the apparent difference of style between the two first lines and the remainder, now you have suggested it to me, I perceive the fact certainly was so : but of myself I should never have suspected it, like the honest citizen who had written from his whole life without knowing it. All I knew was, that I determined to write her a letter—and send it by post—directed to herself. So my mind being prepossessed with the idea of the address “to Miss Beauchamp,” &c. The letter itself naturally took the same turn in the commencement. I feel the force of your objection—and still more to the second line than the *first* : for it is difficult to find any other suitable term than *Miss* to designate at once that the infant is female. I will not lose sight, however, of the subject—altho’ I do not engage to produce anything more to my mind—and however inexorable you may be as a creditor, if I do not tender you demand in *sterling*, you will not reject any passable *paper* in the present hard times. The lines to Mrs. Aldersy, you shall have—with an alteration—but not much of a correction.

“And now, my dear Sir, give me leave to address our united best and most sincere regards toward our Mrs. Hastings, whom we presume to be in good health from your saying nothing to the contrary, and from our most earnest desire that she should be so—and to request you to believe me—

Your much obliged,
And very affectionate friend,
N. B. HALHED.”

“Welcome, sweet babe, to our terrestrial sphere !
No pains were spar’d for your reception here.”

At the time of the Jubilee Mr. Halhed wrote a long song on the occasion, which having found its way into print, became very popular. A copy had, of course, been forwarded in the first instance to Mr. Hastings in a letter from Mr. Halhed. The sage of Daylesford (under date 5th November 1809) says of this loyal effusion :—

“I cannot tell you how delighted I was with your pot-pourri ; I was prepared for another treat of it in a visit to my nephew Woodman in Northamptonshire, where I met with your ballad in a loyal newspaper, said to have been sung at one of the late civic feasts. It was copied with perfect correctness, but ushered in by the Editor, with one of the most insipid of all compositions that call themselves poetry, an ode of a Mr. Fitzgerald. I do not believe that the profanation, wicked as it was, could have been felt so indignantly by you as at was by me.”

Even Warren Hastings seems to have had a foretaste of Byron’s indignation—for he could scarcely in his snugery at Daylesford have seen the pungent outburst of him, who was then “juvenile and curly :—”

"Still must I hear—shall hoarse Fitzgerald bawl!
His creaking couplets in a tavern hall,
And I not sing, lest haply, Scotch reviews
Should dub me scribbler, and dename my muse?"

Early in March 1810, Mr. Hastings again mounts Pegasus, the result being certain stanzas on the rise and progress of John Company, as following:—

"From the days of Job Charnock, scarce known on record,
To the triumphs of Plassey's redoubtable Loid,
The Company traffick'd unheeded:
She sent her ships forth, the wide ocean to roam,
With rich cargoes well freighted, and brought richer home;
And in all she adventur'd succeeded.

By oppression provok'd, she to arms had recourse,
And soon made her oppressors submit to her force;
From defensive proceeded offender;
And her courage attempt'd with wisdom conspir'd
To aggrandize her pow'r, till at length she acquir'd
Of an empire entire the surrender.

Now the sages in schools of diplomacy bred
Civil doctors, divines, and state-moralists said—
(And the senate confirm'd their opinion;)
That for her, a mere trader, (for what was she more?)
Or her factors and clerks, from her counting-house door,
To pretend to the rights of dominion;

That to give up the pen in exchange for the gun;
To hold rule over nations—no matter how won;—
To make treaties; assume legislature;
Nay worse, of finance to distribute the drains,
To elicit their currents, and pocket the gains;
Was to gospel repugnant and nature.

So they stripp'd off her robe; but the loss to atone,
His Majesty gave her a cloak of his own;
Lent her armies and fleets for protectors;
To diminish her cares, and to lighten their weight,
For her guardians appointed the Lords of the State,
And a Board to direct her Directors.

Thus equipp'd, and embrac'd by the beams of the throne,
As once Semele, wrapp'd in Jove's attributes, shone,
Now as meek and resign'd as a martyr,
With the guilt of imputed offences defil'd,
By rapacity pilfer'd by malice revil'd,
She gave up the ghost, and her charter.

Though ignoble her birth, yet in death she may boast,
That her orb in the colors of glory was lost,
Like the sun, when he sets in Orion ;
This reflection of comfort at least to produce—
That her greatness arose from the quill of a goose,
And was crush'd by the paw of a lion."

"MY DEAR HALHED,—I avail myself of the frank of a basket to Mrs. Motte to send you the above. It was composed of shreds and patches between Portman-square and Daylesford, and put together since my return. I attribute to this employment that I escaped an accession to my cold. I am sorry to say that Mrs. Hastings has not yet recovered the effects of her fall. Give our kind regards to Mrs. Halhed, and receive them yourself from

Your affectionate—

WARREN HASTINGS."

Mr. Halhed in his reply allows the excellence of the lines, and goes on :—

"By the way you have answered a question which from long antiquity has been propounded as insoluble "*Sed quis custodiet ipsos custodes*"? But you have shewn us who direct the Directors. I am, however, particularly gratified with the closing lines—not being so fastidious as Elijah about an epigramatic turn, which in truth I always chuckle at, and the quill of the goose in contrast with the paw of the lion, would in my opinion furnish an admirable basis for a caricature, or a hieroglyphic, which seem to me to be very much akin. But after all the labours of your life in John's service, and the matchless volumes of prose you have expended as candle and cordials to prop up a little his vacillating constitution—it falls, I find, to your lot to give him the finishing stroke in verse, and write his elegy!"

Mr. Hastings in reply confessed shame at feeling more of the pleasure of vanity in his friend's approbation of his ditty than an intimate consciousness of minor merit should have admitted.

"But I have the subject of it over at heart, and ludicrous as I may treat it, to get rid of reflections of a very different nature, I brood over it walking and sleeping, and cannot repress my astonishment that the rest of the world, those especially whom it most concerns, only sleep upon it. I am so much pleased with your emblem, that I have executed it, like the avatar of Krishna, coming out of a fish, with four arms and a sword, a book and a ship in three hands, the fourth marked with the wheel of sovereignty, the head crowned with a turret and a spire, the body armed, and the breast just emerging from the rib of the pen—but execrably performed—so I do not exhibit it to you. I should like to strike off 26 medals with the two devices, after the manner of Wilkins's remunerating medal, and to present them to the Directors, with two a piece to the chairs or (as that would cost money) to apply some ready made ballad tune to the elegy, and

get some good voice to sing it by surprise at one of their official dinners at the London tavern. I think it would sing well : but as neither song nor medal would avail to avert the impending catastrophe, I believe it would be best to confine its circulation to the little world of half a dozen inhabitants, who are in the patient habit of listening to such nonsense. If I should not be in at the death, bear witness that I foreboded it."

In a poetical description of a storm in the 9th Nov. 1810, which was universal in its ruinous consequences throughout England, Mr. Hastings bewails the destruction of his fine grove of beeches. The storm-fiend is described as commanding the demons of the north to rush forth and destroy :—

"Nor paus'd they but with loud and lengthen'd blow
Wrench'd the tall beech, and dash'd their glories low ;
(Oh ! were that all !) their guardian maids assail'd
(Nor beauty, sex, nor innocence avail'd)
With unresisted might, and malice scurv'y,
Laid the chaste dryads (—O shame !) topsy turvy,—and there
they lie."

Mr. Hastings then asks his friend in prove, whether the beech tree in its native growth, has a *tap-root*,—his having none. Mr. Halhed in reply confesses that he knows little more of beeches than as far as Tityrus might have instructed him. And then he goes on :—

"But I remember formerly (for I *once* possessed and exercised a little of the locomotive faculty) to have been delighted with the beech groves of Buckinghamshire in taking the lower road to Oxford ; but for many years I have only taken a second hand peep at them in Bath. Judge, then, with what sympathy I enjoy their lying round me in all the majesty of ruin, * * * * But, ah ! my dear Sir, why disfigure so charming a composition with a line of doggerel ? Why suffer the intention of a couplet in mock-heroic to stand like a posture master among an assemblage of General officers ? You must know the scurv'y'd distich to which I allude. To go one step farther in animadversion, I take the liberty to hint that I do not perfectly comprehend the period of time described in the poem. The suppressions are undoubtedly of the highest classical authority and the turn exactly after the antique models : but how to adapt it to my homely calendar is the question. Your storm is a *matter of fact* on the 9th of November, and you have fixed it as a storm for ever on description. But *when* does it occur ! I take it for granted, you place Libra to September, and Scorpio to October, and this I shall let pass as current poetical astronomy. But what is meant by "eight times and eight ?" It puzzles me much, and yet perhaps the obscurity is all in my own noddle. * * * * How should I know what a *tap-root* is ? There is generally a small door in an alehouse on which is written "the tap : " and where I have hitherto supposed the beer was drawn ;

so if beeches be liable to the process of bleeding, or tapping, as firs certainly are, and I believe *birches* also—the tap-root is then the point of attack, below ground, as the beer is usually tapped in the cellar. I will not deny that I have heard of a tap-root, but am very imperfectly acquainted with its meaning, nor do I believe there is one in all Leadenhall street, unless it belong to a turnip, which I have sometimes seen with a little pendent tail like a pig's. Your trees, now they are lopped and cleared, must look like so many May poles laid prostrate, as if Satan had been playing nine pins. If they have lived 96 or 97 years, they cannot complain of their destiny, nor even of that of their bitchyad's (for how can I say out of metre drynd to a *beechee* beauty) since you know even the life of Brahma himself and of the *—and in that the whole mass of living creatures, gods and all, is limited to a hundred; and the only difference is in the length of the munit's. Here are the lines, after the benefit of Halhed's criticisms:—

“Through the black Scorpion's range the circling sun,
Eight times and eight his daily course had run;
And now to sleep, and all the motley kind,
That fancy generates, his pow'r resign'd.
Struck by his parting ray, my mental sight,
Pierc'd through the gloomy vapors of the night,
Saw forms on forms advance: and at their head
The Prince of air his horrid mandates sped.
Black was his visage, hoarse his voice, his eyes,
Flash'd livid light'nings through the murky skies.
'Come forth,' he cried, 'ye demons of the north!
'Come forth!'—'The demons of the north came forth.
'On Daylesford hill your stormy warfare deal:
'Let its proud grove my licens'd vengeance feel.
'But spare its mansion: there, her favor'd home,
'Fair Virtue dwells, and guards the sacred dome;
'Or wait, till unprotected on his hill,
'Its owner stray; and crush him, if you will.'
Here ceas'd the fiend. I saw th' ærial crowd,
Obsequious rush, each from his buoyant cloud.
I saw their press'd and lab'ring sides enlarge,
And their swollen cheeks the gather'd blasts discharge.
Nor paus'd they; but with loud and lengthen'd blow,
Wrench'd the tall beech, and dash'd their glories low;
And groans, and sobs, and shrieks proclaim'd around
The senso of many a lacerated wound:
Whether within the wood, its native cell,
Congenial sprites, or nymphs, or dryads dwell,
Drink the light sap, the flexile branches ply,
Live while it lives, and if it perish die;
Whether perceptive life the plants inform,
Impart its feeling, and with passions warm;

Be left, if doubtful, to discussion free,
While I lament, that 'twas my doom to see
(To me sufficient proof, and, ah! too dear)
The prostrate victims, and their woes to hear."

"Daylesford House, 27th November 1810.

"MY DEAR HALHED,—I am gratified by your praises, and convinced by your censures. I thank you for both. I feel indeed a reluctance to part with my dear dryads. As to the incongruity of the two reprobated lines, in which they are named, with the rest of the composition, I can only say, that, tragical as the catastrophe was, had you yourself had suddenly presented to you so many butts for laughter, vous en auriez fait autant. I thought the dryads were the tutelary deities of the woods and groves, not of the oak tree alone. The ancients seem to have allowed a great latitude to the properties of all the nymphs, and I remember a line of Virgil in which he expresses something like surprise at not finding the Naiads on the top of mount Dindus. I am not sure that I can justify the license which I have taken with my astronomical date of the event which I have attempted to place upon record. All I can say for myself is, that if the astronomers, in defiance of the procession of the equinoxes, still suppose the signs of the zodiac to occupy the same places in the heavens, in the same correspondent seasons, as they did, I do not know how many hundred or thousand years ago, I have a good authority from their example to do the same, and a better right (tho' no poet) to avail myself of a fiction than they have. I have some notion that Thomson adjusts his seasons by the modern calendar. To give a greater dignity to my verse, I preferred the 16th day of the sun's residence in Scorpio to the 9th of November its correspondent date; and as 16 is an unpoetical number, and the Prince of Air was entitled to as much solemnity as Macbeth's witches, I tried to imitate their arithmetic by dividing that number into equal parts, i.e., $8 \times 8 = 16$, as $2 \times 1 = 3$ in the following line in Macbeth:

'Twice and once the hedge pig whined.'

"As I have said that I acknowledge the justice of your first criticism, and I only demur to the rest, I think it proper to shew you in what manner I have availed myself of it. I shall therefore subjoin to this letter a new, but I fear not an amended, edition of my elegy. I had projected a continuation of it; but worldly calls have interrupted me, and I am not pleased with what I have done; nor will even your approbation this time satisfy me. I sometimes suspect that by indulging myself in these fancies I am guilty of a waste, if not of time, of thought. Yet it amuses, and every pleasure added to the stock of life, if it interferes with no positive duty, is a rational acquisition. I please one whom it is my first wish to please, and by communicating what I write to you, I get something substantially good in return. But for all this ingenious reasoning, you would not have had the destination of it, nor of this letter, if you were to have paid eight-pence for it: for when I had written the ten first lines of this page,

and had prepared a cover with an internal direction for the letter, the postman informed me that my franking neighbour was gone to town; and I laid the letter by, without any thought of resuming it, when I fortunately learned from Mrs. Hastings, that she was going to send a parcel to Mrs. Halhed, and would give my letter a carriage in it.

"We wait with great anxiety for an account of the information of the Privy Council on the state of his Majesty's health, and its probable influence on the deliberations of the two Houses of Parliament. Give our kind compliments to dear Mrs. Halhed, and accept our hearty wishes for her better health.

"It has hailed, rained, snowed and frozen in the night, and the morning lowers with every symptom of as bad weather to ensue in some period of the day. At this instant I see from my window six men wheeling and beating clay at the bottom of my pond; who, I dare say, envy my condition which exempts me from their labor and exposure, and are equally the objects of my envy, for being able to do and to bear what would kill me. I shall not put my nose out of doors to-day. Mrs. Hastings, more delicate, but more active and daring, will; and come home with better looks and health for the excursion. For a definition of the tap-root, see Virgil's Georgics, book ii., 291st and 292nd line. Adieu, my friend,

Yours affectionate

WARREN HASTINGS."

"P. S.—I do not know why I have given you the meaning of a tap-root, unless I add its application to the subject which first introduced it. This provision made by nature for the duration of all forest trees the nurserymen destroy for the easier means of transplanting them, by cutting it off. This operation they twice perform. The consequence is, that wanting this hold of the earth at first, the trees never after acquire it, but subsist by lateral shoots, which crawl along the ground, and rarely penetrate to any depth beneath its surface: and when a heavy and long continued rain has melted the soil which had held them by its adhesion, it will not require a very strong wind to make a pole of a hundred feet height, and a bushy head the lever of its own destruction. This was the case with my beech trees; and I rather wonder at their having stood so long, than that they fell when they did. I am more astonished at their survivors. I am afraid my elegy is in a state not unlike them. It wants a tap-root; but as it is not very long, and (I hope) not too heavy, it may stand—not ninety odd years indeed—but as long as you live to remember it, in kindness to its author."

Mr. Hastings had mentioned a work on Alphabets and Hieroglyphics to Mr. Halhed, which the latter having looked over, reports on very unfavourably. "When (he writes) I find gross and palpable mistakes in the things that I know, I am reduced to pause and reject the things of which I am ignorant, for want of all possible means of discrimination between the erro-

neous and the authentic." He then enters into particulars which we cannot give at present. Mr. Hastings in his reply (28th February 1811,) says: "I have not yet read Hammer's book, and probably never shall; but I have read your critique upon it with great concern, as if I was under the actual infliction of the loss of three guineas, the price which, I think, I paid for it; and if you know any one who will purchase it of me with one, it shall be heartily at his service, and there is an end of it, as Pamela says." Referring to one of Halhed's versified abstractions of Parliamentary proceedings, he writes: "I pray you my friend to love the Prince, for I do; and whatsoever the demons behind Mount Kaf may say, if they shall ever come forward, I give him credit for wisdom, or virtue, or both, (for it is not easy to separate them,) in all his past proceedings. I wait but for one act to decide the consummation of his character, namely, his coming in state; and for the first time, to announce the complete restoration of his father to health and understanding." He then asks if his friend had read Mitford's History of Greece.

"I am in his 4th volume, and much pleased with it, though he has adopted or rather conceived a new style of his own, and that neither graceful nor seemingly meant to be so. It is only not diffuse. As a history, I think it superior to all that I have read and remember, of the short period, but turbulent scenes, to which it is confined. In a part of Xenophon's *Anabasis* he says that the Greeks were greatly annoyed by the Persian arrows, while theirs at the same distance fell short of their adversaries, till some one taught them a better way of drawing them. Was not this by applying the thumb, held firm by the forefinger to the string, and by the elevation of the elbow, instead of holding the string loosely with three fingers and drawing it to their breasts, as our modern English archers do? You know that the former is the actual practice both in India and Persia at this day, and that Droopad in the *Mahabharat*, (I think that was his name,) who was the preceptor in that science to the Pandoos, that is their archer, lost his thumb, and his office in consequence of it. There is a passage in the *Anabasis* which indicates, that the inhabitants of the northern regions of Asia Minor did practice the English method of drawing their bows, and that their bows were in the form of a simple curve, or long bows. The Parthians who belong to that geography, were proverbially notorious for lying, as Horace testifies:—'*inventor Parthis mendacior*': and I dare say the Medes were no better. Now we learn from Xenophon that it was a prime part of the Persian education, to shoot with the bow, and to tell truth; and their bows were the circumflex, or *short* one. As the short bow and truth were thus coupled in their characteristic discrimination of the Persians, is it too forced a construction to infer that the moral and practical qualities of their Parthian rivals would be contrasted by their addiction to lying, and their use of the long bow, as of a necessary relation; and that

hence we may derive the origin of the expression, of drawing a *long bow*, as synonymous with *telling a falsehood*?"

Mr. Halhed expresses himself in his reply to the above, greatly edified and entertained by the account of the origin of the 'drawing the long bow.' Mitford he had not read, having a general aversion to what is called ancient history written by moderns, who never draw the distinction properly between the literal and the mythological; but he adds:

"If I could make such good use of it as you have done, and add to my stock of knowledge in the origin of old proverbs and phrases, the sources of all that denotes idiom of meaning, I would gladly reverse my resolution. The *short bow* was certainly used in India, and drawn as you observe by the thumb and fore-finger, but I have not been able to find that the shooting master of the Pandovas—whose name was Drovadanya, lost his thumb by any accident, at least, according to the Mahabharat. He died in the service of their cousin, Durjadhun, fighting against them, and lost his life, and thumb I imagine to boot, early in the contest. But there are two modes of *tir-andâze*, or arrow shooting, one in general use, and one exclusively belonging to the Brahmanical order mentioned in the Mahabharat—whether distinguished by the difference of the bow, or otherwise, I cannot find, but it would not be very wide of the mark to say, that few persons have been suspected of drawing a longer bow than the Brahmans. There are also jungle robbers who use a very long bow, which they lie on their backs to draw, setting their feet against the centre of the bow and drawing the string with both hands; and these employ a very long arrow, and shoot to a great distance."

He expresses regret at putting his friend so much out of conceit with Hammer's translation of the book of Alphabets, but confesses having studied himself into something very similar to contempt for it, and that for reasons that had doubled, upon frequent recurrence to the work, he proceeds—

"You know that there is a great stone here in the library, covered with characters, and brought from Bagdad, supposed to have belonged to ancient Babylon. It is engraven with perfect accuracy, and you probably have the plates, as well as those from the inscriptions on some large square bricks, or rather paving tiles, brought from the same place, and imprinted with the same characters. Not a vestige of resemblance to any of these figures can be found in all the numerous alphabets exhibited by Hammer—yet this stone should have been the touch-stone of their authenticity and utility. The author professes to have seen at Bagdad thirty-three ancient inscriptions in letters of which he pretends to give the complete forms and series. Yet no trace of similarity to any of these truly Babylonian writings is it possible to discover. Now, a French Abbé, named Coperan, an emigré, who was in England at the time this literary curiosity was exhibited, sat down to study the character and gave a plausible account of their contents. He began

by assuring himself, not unreasonably, that the language must be Chaldean, such as we know to have been used in that city, and in which some of the chapters of Daniel are written. He then compared the forms of the letters with those of the *Hebrew* (generally understood to be the real character of Chaldea, adopted by the Jews during their seventy years' captivity, and retained by Esdras, who made up the Canon of Hebrew Scripture on the restoration of the people to Jerusalem) of the Samaritan, supposed to be the character in which Moses wrote his books, and of several other very ancient alphabets, yet preserved—from whence he formed an alphabet for this stone—and by the use of it, explained the first sixteen lines of the first column on the left hand, into the Chaldean dialect, and gave the interpretation of them in French, by which it appeared to contain a reference to the Hebrew prophets, with severe denunciations of God's wrath upon Babylon, and, indeed, as if it had been inscribed at the time of some signal calamity upon the city, to which it apparently alludes. This I believe was done about the year 1804, and Mr. Wilkins was so good as to give me at that time the engraved plates, and to communicate to me the Abbé's original manuscript, and I made some preparations for ascertaining how far the interpreter's exposition of the characters and language might be warranted by reference to the rest of the inscription. But other occupations drew off my attention, and I thought no more of it, until now that a perusal of Hammer's work brought it to my recollection, and I took occasion to ask Wilkins whether the Abbé had completed his translation, or in what state of forwardness it might now be? He answered, soon after he had lent me those papers the man had suddenly disappeared, whether by death, or by returning to France, he could not tell; but that he had never once hear of him since. This circumstance adds to the value of the conjectures he has left, which, though in a most incomplete state, and even a letter or two wanting to his alphabet, are yet, I believe, the only attempt that has been hitherto attended with the slightest plausibility, for reading this sort of character. As I had made myself in some degree master of his method when I first obtained the loan of his papers, and have never looked at them till now, I was quite surprised to find how much light they threw on this system of writing usually called Persepolitan, from the great number of inscriptions still extant at Chehelminar or Persepolis, of the same nature though by no means of the same alphabet. I have never yet seen any mode of decyphering such characters at all approaching to this—and though I do not myself understand Chaldean, and cannot, of course, extend the Abbé's labours beyond his limit—yet it had always been my determination to follow him through the whole of his disquisition—and make myself acquainted with the fundamental principles of his method whenever it should be completed. My disappointment at his disappearance, and the full stop thus put to my investigation, is proportionably severe."

To those versed in the grand heroic poem of the Mahabharat, the following estimate of that ancient work by a man of Halhed's

genius and extensive archeological attainments cannot fail to be interesting. It will be seen that in regard to spiritual philosophy—so to say—he ranks it even above the works of Homer—no less than in its reach of genuine pathos.

Charles Street, 29th May 1800.

"MY DEAR SIR,—The monotony of a life consisting in a walk of four miles every day in the same direction, then four or five hours of official apathy and solitude, and the return of four miles again to dinner produces a fund and bank of tamogunism that obstructs and absorbs all the powers of attention: and superinduces an intellectual torpor bordering upon the dull serenity of a monk. Very seldom, indeed, do any of the passing events of the day break through this *palpable obscure*, and only when the latent interests of connexion are roused by some stroke of destiny, do they even manifest any signs of existence. Such occurred at the beginning of last week by the death of lady Day, whose brother, H. Ramers, married Mrs. Halhed's cousin, and with whose family we have always maintained an intercourse that occasionally amounted to intimacy. Mrs. Halhed, who observant of all the precepts of the gospel, has a peculiar bias for the duty of visiting the sick, was most attentive to the calls of sensibility during our near neighbour's illness. (He lived in Mortimer street,) and after her decease to the sorrow of the surviving relations in the house—I could do nothing to assist her—my turn of mind perhaps, or my deafness, unfit me for the soft offices of consolation; and so to contribute my mite to the general concern, I wrote her a short epitaph:

Here lies the shell of an unspotted mind,
In life contented and in death resign'd.
Not snatch'd in youth's exhilarating bloom,
Nor spar'd for years to linger o'er the tomb:
But ere the soul, unconscious of decay,
Loath'd the worn fabric of its wasting clay
While all her virtues age's touch defied,
Just ere she could regret to live, she died—

20th May 1800. She was in her 58th year.

"People are in such a habit of dying, that it becomes almost impossible to write anything new upon the subject, and I therefore never look to aught beyond simplicity—which indeed seems more becoming and suitable to the occasion than splendid imagery, or pomp of phrase; but till you have pronounced upon it, I suspend all opinion of my own.

"Nothing else have I done since your departure, but pore over the *Mahabharat*, which being infinite, is of course interminable. It is certainly the most extraordinary poem that ever was composed, and it grieves me that I never could learn Sanscrit enough to read it in the original. Of the Persian translation, as you know, I have not been sparing: and your significant question '*cui bono?*' when you

saw the collections I had made from it, still vibrates on my ear. As the poem is of the Asiatic form and model, it will not bear to be examined by the rules of Aristotle, but it is nevertheless a treasure of morality as well as poetry, and for surprising incidents is perfectly unmatchable. To give you one instance: In one of the concluding works, the narrator relates to Janamejaya how Vyas proposes to the mothers and widows of all those slain in the eighteen days' battle, who are lamenting and weeping over the dead, to give them any specimen of his spiritual powers that they may require. They, of course, wish for nothing so much as a sight of those dear relations whose death they are now bemoaning, and immediately the whole of the slain, in all the pomp and circumstance of war, chariots, horses, elephants, steamers, &c., arise out of the Ganges, all in the bloom of life, and far handsomer than when alive—and come and join their partners on the shore. Their intercourse is kept up during the whole night with mutual joy and even Dhritarashtra, who you know was born blind, receives his sight, and beholds his hundred sons for the first time. On the approach of morning the whole disappeared again in the stream, and Vyas tells the widows, &c., that all who desire it may rejoin and be united for ever with those they have now seen, so all the women drown themselves. This is in narrative. Janamejaya, the Raja to whom it is told, observes to Vyas, who is present in the assembly, that he thought it hard no such favour had ever been shewn to him,—when instantly his father Parikshita, who had died by the bite of a serpent, and all his Court, and even the Brahman whose curse had been the remote cause of his death, marched into the Court. This scene closes the famous, 'page of Janamejaya,' and even in the translation I could hardly read it without a tear.

"Now if you only consider what a light such a recital throws upon the immortality of the soul—how far superior this apparition is to anything ever produced by the classical poets we admire—how much more impressive than the visits of Ulysses of Æneas as to the shades below, and how wonderfully it is calculated to make a lasting impression upon those who implicitly believe in the poet's pretensions to inspiration—I think you will not imagine all that could be produced on such subjects confined to Homer and Virgil. There is afterwards a visit to Elysium, and with this the poem closes. The prominent actors in the history are all seen and described in paradise, and shewn from what dovetas, &c., they were sent upon earth as avatas; a conclusion which leaves nothing for the mind to regret—nothing abrupt, like the termination of the Iliad, and is, at least to me, much more satisfactory. I have not mentioned that the ground plot of the poem is still an allegory—which is so perfectly well concealed, as by no means to diminish its historical interest; a contrivance totally unknown to all the moderns—for nothing can be more insipid than the feeling excited by Spencer's allegories, which yet I think are the best we have. Now the concern we take in subjects professedly historical, makes an impression hardly ever to be worn out. The topics of mere invention—like Southey's *Kehama*, very soon fall upon the mind. But those which unite an allegorical enigma to

a historical, or assumed historical basis, can never fade—they bear the charter of their own immortality about them—which indeed lies in the allegory, and is by us termed the machinery. Your stationer, Dutton, not caring a button, new cover to put on the volume you wot on, has never made his appearance, and so the book lies in *statu quo*. I hope you have not ruined my character with Mrs. Barton, by forgetting to send her the list of India Directors I procured for her. It is from this *machinery* of the ancient poets that I conceive their productions derive so vast a superiority over the moderns. Yet, that machinery was by no means of their own invention, it was anterior to their own times, like the Indian traid, and other devatas, to the composition of the Mahabharat. There can also be no doubt that the poets to whom I allude fully believed themselves to be inspired and appealed to the muse upon all occasions, and solicited her assistance, because they actually held her to be the spirit of truth, and to *know all things*—not a mere phantom, and the shadow of a name as all subsequent poetasters have done. It is the wunt of a real muse, of a genuine heaven-born instinct, to point out both the subject and the detail, that makes me so averse to every idea of a long composition—for thus, there is a wide difference between supposing one's self to be inspired, and the presence of substantial inspiration, yet the very thought itself elevates and purifies the mind, and may fit it for magnificent conceptions. I would not peremptorily assert that Milton was inspired, but I think almost all the sublimity of his composition is derived from the sincerity of his conviction on that head. I have had a letter from Elijah lately on the subject of Walter Scott's and Southey's poems—but I do not subscribe to a word he says about their excellence, which I hold to be none other than expressing with occasional felicity, the most arrant commonplace notions, and which I am perfectly sure are made of the most perishable materials, without any very superior texture. My better half unites with me in requesting to present our sincerest regards to Mrs. Hastings, and in ardent wishes for the health and happiness of you both,

I remain ever,

My dear Sir,

Your most affectionate and obliged friend,

NATHANIEL BRASSEY HALIHD.

When we commenced this article, we were in hopes that more of our materials might be included in it than we have been able to find space for. They are, however, so voluminous, that with reference to the claims of other contributors, they must for the present lie over. They, in fact, comprise matter sufficient for several review articles. It is possible that some may grudge the amount of space our subject has already occupied, to what they may be disposed to view as belonging rather to the meridian of London than of Calcutta. To this we have simply to observe, that we are of a different opinion, and that considering the political and literary celebrity of Mr. Hastings and his

friend, the subject of these pages possesses a high Indian interest for Bengal as well as for home readers.

After taking possession of his appointment at the India House, Mr. Halhed pursued the even tenor of his way, in comparative ease and comfort. He took a house in Church Street, where Mr. Hastings on his visits to town continued frequently to be his guest, till within a very short time of his death. The duties of the desk kept him much more in London than was agreeable to his Daylesford friends, who yearned to see more of him in the country. In regard to the remittances sent to him (wholly unsolicited) in the day of his distress—Mr. Halhed never considered them but in the light of a friendly loan, of which the document of repayment (to the extent of between eight and nine hundred pounds) is in our possession. It has been already noticed that he latterly became very deaf. In allusion to this infirmity there is something very touching in a sonnet of his addressed to Mr. Hastings in September 1816, marked—"in apology."

*"Dear as I am, what praise can I bestow
On lov'd Balkeisa's merits of discourse.
Albeit persuasion with relentless force
Furnish her lips, till mute attention grow,
Euraptur'd, to their motions? What but woe
To me, that straining her soft voice to hoarse,
She waste in futile efforts all resource
To wake my palsied organs with its flow?
Her graceful hand's dumb eloquence I see
With frequent wavings wait upon her words;
Th' appropriate gesture with each phrase accords.
Pouring conviction into all but me,
At length my very listening I forbear
And worn with useless toil, seek refuge in despair!"*

Of Mr. Halhed's last moments we at present possess no record. He died early in 1830, and his mortal remains were buried in the family vault at Petersham. His amiable wife survived him about a year and a half. Of Mr. Halhed's works the treaties on Gentoo law and the Grammar are most known to Indian readers. He published a close English version of Martial, but the work never came to a second edition. In 1807, he published from original manuscripts, translated from the Persian, a work illustrative of the Researches of the Asiatic Society—a copy of which is in our possession. He had a curious facility of translating from or into Latin. His version of Martial illustrated the former, and his transposition of the burlesque of *Midas*, the latter. Many of his effusions lie scattered in the "*Morning Chronicle*," and other newspapers of the day, which there would

be no insuperable difficulty in tracing by one conversant with his style and turn of thought. He had very peculiar views in regard to the fall of man, and certain changes dependant or consequential thereon, and the state of mankind after the dispersion at Babel. He loved to trace the history of nations and races with respect to Scriptural data, and the light thrown on the past by what we know of ancient astronomy. If we have not mistaken him, it would appear that he leaned also to a notion which we believe to be current with the orientals, that the sun formerly rose in the west. He throws out the idea that important cormic changes took place during the sleep of Adam and the formation of Eve. The *Brahmanda* appears to have been a subject of very favorite speculation with him, and he has left drawings and schemes made with his own hand to illustrate it, in connection with Revelation. He has left a series of sonnets on the ten incarnations of Vishnu—and we subjoin one of these, as it is a specimen of the mode in which he associated our sacred writings with those of the Hindoos.

VAMAN.

“O’er the three worlds when Vali’s empire spread,
Vaman, a holy dwarf, before him bow’d—
 ‘Take what thou wilt’—exclaimed the monarch proud.
 ‘Space his three steps to cover,’ were, he said,
 ‘Enough,’—‘The sovereign’s priest opposed, in dread—
 Of latent mischief: but the king allow’d.
Vaman strode twice and spann’d (a god avow’d,)
 The universe.—The *third* took Vali’s head.
 So Christ, a dwarf in reason’s lofty eyes,
Two steps has trod, where Satan’s glories swell,
 The first, his cross, o’erstriding death and hell;
 The next his resurrection clear’d the skys.
 For his *last step*, his second advent know
 To bruise the serpent’s head, and chain him down below.”

In Mr. Gleig’s third volume, he states that the last two years of Mr. Hastings’ life, if described in detail, would affect the reader with melancholy only. This remark is generally less or more applicable to all persons of highly advanced age, for if by reason of strength they have attained such age “yet is their strength labor and sorrow.” Mr. Hastings was no exception to the rule. In Mr. Gleig’s opinion these two last years furnish little else than the gradual decay of the powers of a great mind, and the breaking up of the frame in which for four score and six years, it had lodged. The biographer refers to materials in his possession which have never been published. Of these, of course, we cannot speak, but had we no further

evidence than Mr. Gleig's of the state of the case, we might feel disposed to take a darker view of those two years, than the letters now in our own possession warrant. By the light of these, we see no trace of dotage. There is, if we may so call it, latterly a sort of stammer in the style, as if words eluded the feeble memory, but ideas are there, and the capacity of giving them utterance in choice language. Indeed, Mr. Hastings appears to us to have always been happy in the neatness and good taste of his style. The correspondence between the two friends was kept up as regularly as age, and its infirmities, would admit. Here are the two *last* letters in our possession that close the correspondence on Mr. Hastings' side, and with reference to Mr. Gleig's remarks, we leave them to the judgment of our readers.

“*Daylesford House, 18th May 1818.*”

“MY DEAR FRIEND, I—acquit you of intentionally sinning against me, but you have certainly provoked me to sin against myself, and most grievously, if indiscretion be a sin; for at your recommendation I have bought Mr. Marsden's translation of Marco Polo's travels, a book which reminds me almost painfully of the following line of Crabbe:

“And ladies read the book they cannot lift.”

You may however gather the kind of interest which I have already taken in it, when I have told you, as I do, that I have read besides the introduction, (a work of no small intricacy, to a mind so worn out it cannot be sure of spelling a word of four syllables without losing one of them by the way), seventy pages of the body of it, in only a part of two days in which it has been in my possession. But this is not the purpose for which I began my letter, but the following: “In the 53d page of the book it is related that in a certain lake not far from the Caspian sea, fish never make their appearance until the first day of Lent, and from that time to Easter-eve they are found in vast abundance; but on Easter-day they are no longer to be seen, nor during the remainder of the year.” Now it may appear a strange coincidence that should bring the Caspian, or one of its subsidiary bodies of water, and the pond of Daylesford into a mutual comparison; but it is a fact which I vouch on the credit of my own veracity, that about the time that I was beginning to collect a store of carp and tench for my pond at Daylesford, it chanced that somebody sent me a present of some jack, which I ordered to be put into one of the stews till I should want them. I had sent for a famous breeder of fish from Banbury for his advice, who, as soon as he came, accosted me with a look of alarm, and said—“I see, Sir, that you have got four or five brace of jack in a stew there. I advise you to part with them as soon as you can. Your surest way will be to send them at once to the kitchen, for if you leave them where they are till *Shrove Tuesday*, you may depend upon it they will spawn, and then your pond will be all stocked with jack and pike, and you will never get any other fish to

breed in it ; nor will you get rid of these.' By this anecdote it appears that the popular superstition is equally prompt to ascribe the same influence to the recurrence of the feasts and festivals of religious appointment at Banbury, as on the coasts of the Caspian sea or the lake of Aral ; for you will observe that the fish of both countries are mentioned as deriving their nativity from the times of their common relation to the ecclesiastical, not astronomical calendar. But this agreement, though in a palpable falsehood, is a proof of the veracity of the traveller. I hope my reasoning upon this subject is fair ; for I shall never get through another so much to my own satisfaction : besides, I feel an interest in its favor, extending both to the writer and his translator and annotator, which indeed is a plausible reason to make me mistrust my opinion upon them, and their work altogether.

"I am much gratified by your approval of my decision to let Mrs. Hastings depart and leave me behind. I have the conscious satisfaction of having throughout allowed a bias in favor of every wish and opinion in preference to my own ; and after the age of four-score, I believe, it is the wisest resolution, as well as the most virtuous that a man can come to. I almost regret her absence, too, as it deprives her of the new beauties of the spring, which is bursting upon us with all the arrears of delight which we have been so long expecting. Are we to lay this privation to the account of the approach of the icy mountains ! And what is your opinion of the Arctic exploration ?

"You are not a greater admirer than I am of the Princess of Saxe Homburg ; and you have added an incitement to my admiration. Certainly our gracious Queen deserves infinite merit from the virtues and accomplishments of all her amiable daughters. I will take a little time to consider whether I can quite praise two rhymes of an assortment not quite familiar to me, but not for that reason not the best. But my words escape my own conception ; a warning to break off, which I do with confirmed assurances of affection in which you and your dear Lady are ever joined in my remembrance.

WARREN HASTINGS."

"Daylesford House, 9th June 1818.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I am pleased that you were pleased with my commentary on a passage in Marco Polo. I have since met with another similar accordance in the same book, with a fact of which I was an eye-witness, and which I have no doubt that the fastidious readers of those days, passed to the account of the many incredibles which were laid to his charge. It was the traveller's assertion of his having seen a man walk—not swim, nor what is popularly called treading water, but literally—*walk*, at more than the height of his waist above the bottom of a river. My own evidence of a similar feat occurred, when I was at Lucknow, in the month of May 1784, much about the time that you joined me there. One morning I went to visit the Prince Jehandar Shah, whose quarters then occupied a terraced house close adjoining to the bank of the river. I had scarce made my obeisance, when the Prince said : 'I have a very extraordinary man in my

service, who possesses the art of walking beyond his depth in the water. You shall see him, if he is here.' Advancing then to the brink of the terrace, and calling to the people below, he asked, if such a one, mentioning his name, was there. The man instantly made his appearance, being just then occupied in cooking his dinner, with no other garment upon him but his loonghee. The Prince commanded him to let me see him walk in the water. The man, without other bidding or preparation, advanced, passed leisurely into the channel of the river where his movements at this time, after a lapse of thirty-six years, scarce retain the indistinct but certain traces on my remembrance of his having walked, and moved about in the surrounding stream, with a buoyancy apparently independent of the physical effects of gravitation. I do not recollect whether any one accompanied me in this visit. If there did, Jonathan Scott is most likely to have been the person, and I should be much inclined to put his memory to this test, if it did not require the prior knowledge of his direction, a knowledge of no difficult attainment, except by one to whom every thing presents a difficulty. In the meantime I have a present difficulty to overcome. I have lost the page of Marsden's book in which this document is to be found, nor after repeated search have been able to recover it. If it should not have escaped your notice, and you can turn to it again, I shall be obliged to you for the information of page in which I may find it.

You will rejoice to hear that my dear wife, after all that she had encountered of tumult, parade, and festivity, and some sickness, in London, with added inflammation, dust and jaded horses in her departure from it, returned to her own comfortable abode in perfect health and gaiety of spirits, and found me as glad, without going so far for it. We both unite in kind regards to yourself and your dear lady, and I ever am, my dear friend,

Yours most affectionately,
WARREN HASTINGS."

Extract of a previous letter, dated 18th January 1818.

"At your recommendation I have bought Mr. Marsden's translation of Marco Polo's travels. You may gather the kind of interest which I have already taken in it, when I have told you, as I do, that I have read, besides the introduction, (a work of no small intricacy to a mind so worn, that it cannot be sure of spelling a word of four syllables without losing one of them by the way) seventy pages of the body of it in only a part of two days in which it has been in my possession:—but this is not the purpose for which I began my letter."

Dated in May 1818, we have two or three memoranda taken from Mr. Hastings' diary. They refer to "confused sounds, as of distant multitudes." I date their first perception from the 20th, at times resembling slow music—but its effect!!" We do not care to question Mr. Gleig's opinion regarding this "communion of unearthly voices hovering, as it were, on the brink of

the great gulph." May it not, however, admit of a physiological explanation, as there are states of the aural organs where all kinds of sounds impress themselves upon the sensorium. If beautiful, it shews the beneficence of Nature in some of her compensations. To a classical scholar like Mr. Hastings, that beautiful passage in the *Odyssey* where Ulysses visits the regions of the dead could not but be familiar. *Where* did Homer get that cultus? The description altogether is very affecting where the spirits of the married and single—of tender virgins and of the slain in battle—appear and greet the living.

We leave it to the critical to determine whether this was a shout or a mournful wail. Be that as it may, it is painful to think that the last request of the dying statesman, in regard to some provision which he begged the East Indian Directors to make for his wife, was not attended to.

The gifted author * of the only one of the (so-called) "Bridge-water Treatises," that received no pecuniary prize, however much it merited one, in a very curious passage, argues (we write from memory, not having the work to refer to,) that sound and motion cease not their being, though their vibrations be no longer apparent in our sphere, but have passed on continuing their impress upon the elements of infinite space. It may be said of writing, too, that it ceaseth not its movement. The immortal principle that gives it impetus, clings to it. Characters which the hand (may be carelessly) traced, may become luminous when the will that urged and the fingers that wielded the pen have alike vanished from the things that are true, and not without its solemnity is the saying, *littera scripta manet*. A thousand perils environ the tablet on which it may be traced, be it stone, brass, or papyrus; but like bread cast upon the waters, it yet somehow casts up after many days. It is not for any age to determine him, many secrets may be flashed back, when least expected, from the night of time. Links of a chain supposed to be lost in the ocean of oblivion, have ever and anon, been fished up by the surest of drags, the *littera scripta*. What does not the world owe to it! We allude not altogether to what was done with formal intent and deliberation, but also to what may have proceeded from spontaneous flowing of thoughts, or passing impulse. Sometimes even a brief missive that was traced by the light pen of confidential *abandon* has turned up after many years, stamping a more vivid impress upon our conceptions of character, and merits, than studied treatises. It is much to have the men of rank whom the world would not willingly let die, admitting us as it were, to their fire-sides. Significant indeed is the saying—*littera scripta manet*.

* Said to be the author of the Calculating Machine.

THE SHERLEYS.

BY COLONEL BROOME.

History of Persia from the most early period to the present time.

By Major-General Sir JOHN MALCOLM, G. C. B., K. L. S. Governor of Bombay. A new edition, revised, in two volumes. London : John Murray, Albemarle Street.

Purchas, his pilgrimes. In five Books. London. Printed by William Stansby, for HENRIE FETHERSTONE, and are to be sold at his shop in Paul's Church-yard at the signe of the Rose, 1625.

Sir Anthony Sherley, his Relation of his Travels into Persia, the Dangers and Distresses which befel him in his Passage both by Sea and Land and his strange unexpected Deliverances, his magnificent entertainment in Persia, his honorable employment there, hence as Embassadour to the Princes of Christendome, &c. &c. London. Printed for Nathaniel Butler and Joseph Bagpet, 1613.

The Three Brothers, or the Travels and Adventures of Sir Anthony, Sir Robert and Sir Thomas Sherley, in Persia, Russia, Turkey, Spain, &c. London, 1825.

AT the present day when we are enabled to look with justifiable pride and satisfaction upon a magnificent Eastern empire, and on an array of more than 200,000 oriental troops, armed and disciplined on the European model by British officers and enlisted under the banner of England, it may not be uninteresting to cast a retrospective glance at the earliest efforts made by our countrymen two and a half centuries ago, to establish a military and political footing in the East, and to discipline the Persian troops with the view of enabling them to cope with the great enemy of Western Europe in that day,—albeit our present good ally,—the Sultan of Turkey, the *Soldan*, *Grand Turk*, or *Ottoman*, as he was then variously designated.

The record of these adventures, as far as they can be traced, are strange and startling even for that romantic period of their occurrence, the Elizabethan era ; but unfortunately we are only enabled to pick out details of these interesting proceedings, by bits and snatches, just sufficient to tantalize us with the conviction of the valuable biographical memoirs that have been lost to us. Purchas is our grand stand-by ; numerous detached notices of the heroes of our narrative, the Sherley Brothers being scattered throughout his quaint old volumes, whilst Harkluyt gives an account of an early expedition of one of them to the West Indies.

The last work quoted at the head of our article, professes to give a corrected narrative of the life and adventures of the fraternal triad, but unfortunately the fulfilment falls very short of the promise, as it does not even contain the personal narrative

of Sir Anthony, and completely ignores Sir Robert's visit to Hindostan.

From the scanty and fragmentary materials within our reach, we purpose laying before our readers a brief outline of the career of the adventurous brotherhood, more particularly of the two who carried their enterprise into Asia, dwelling somewhat in detail on their proceedings in that quarter, as containing more of special oriental interest.

The Sherleys, Shirleys, or Schirleys were an ancient family connected with some of the best blood of England, having branches in Derbyshire, Leicestershire and Sussex. Of the latter the representative in the middle of the sixteenth century was Sir Thomas Sherley of Winston, who married Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Kemp, by whom he had three sons, Sir Thomas, Sir Anthony and Sir Robert, "a leash of brethren severally eminent" as Fuller terms them. Sir Thomas, the elder of the three, was the latest in making any public reputation for himself, "men's activity not always observing the method of their register" as the quaint old author just quoted observes, who further remarks—with reference to the successes of the two younger members of the family, instigating Sir Thomas to endeavour to distinguish himself,—“as the trophies of Miltiades would not suffer Themistocles to sleep, so the achievements of his two younger brothers gave an alarm unto his spirit. He was ashamed to see them worn like flowers in the breasts and bosoms of foreign princes, whilst he himself withered upon the stalk he grew on.” He had, however, distinguished himself as a young man in the wars in Holland, and had been knighted by Lord Willoughby for his conduct there in 1589. After the rumours of his two brother's adventures in Persia had reached England, Sir Thomas determined to follow their example and to conduct a semi-religious, semi-political crusade against the Turks on his own account. He accordingly equipped three vessels and collected a body of five hundred military adventurers, apparently of the most worthless description, with whom he sailed on his strange and questionable enterprise in the latter end of 1601. Soon after entering the Mediterranean, they encountered bad weather which drove them on the west coast of Italy; Sir Thomas seized this opportunity to pay a visit to the court of Florence, where he was received with marked honor and distinction; after remaining there a short time he resumed his voyage, bending his course for the Grecian Archipelago. Here he fell in with a large Turkish vessel of war which he attacked and finally captured, after an obstinate engagement which lasted eight hours, during which he lost a hundred of his men: this prize proving of little value, a general feeling of discontent sprung up amongst his disorderly followers; one vessel deserted him, and

he was obliged to return with the other two to Leghorn to repair damages. He had scarcely resumed his voyage when a fresh mutiny arose, and the second ship sailed away and left him. With his own, the sole remaining vessel, he bent his course towards Milo to look out for a noted pirate, but was driven to the island of Zea, where he found a Venetian ship at anchor, which his crew of desperadoes wanted to seize upon. To divert their attention he planned an attack upon a neighbouring islet, which was carried out on the morning of the 15th January 1602; but here his crew added cowardice to their previous insubordination, and Sir Thomas with two of his followers was left in the hands of the enemy, who made him prisoner after a desperate defence. As might have been expected from the circumstances of his attack and the savage and bigoted hatred of the Turks, he met with little mercy or consideration, and his life was only spared in the hope of obtaining a large ransom. He was first sent in chains to Negropont and thence to Constantinople, where, for nearly three years, he was confined in a loathsome dungeon in the Seven Towers, fed only on bread and water, heavily chained, frequently put in the public stocks, twice ordered out for execution, and subjected to every possible hardship and indignity to compel him to pay a ransom of fifty thousand sequins. The English Ambassador at the Porte, apparently Sir Paul Pindar, was earnestly solicited to interfere in his behalf, being well acquainted with his family. "But prisons are like graves, where a man though alive, is nevertheless buried from the regard or respect of any," and no notice was taken of his application; perhaps the Ambassador may have considered Sir Thomas' marauding expedition, at a time when no actual war had been proclaimed between the two nations, as altogether unjustifiable; but the expedition,—the object and destination of which was well known at home,—had met with no opposition or discouragement from the English Government, and a general condition of warfare then existed between Turkey and the several nations of Christendom, neither party caring much for formal declarations, and almost as little for treaties when such existed.

At length Sir Thomas' father and other relatives made interest for him at home, and the Ambassador was ordered to endeavour to negotiate his release, which was finally effected in December 1605, and in the following year he returned to England, having acquired much of the notoriety he so earnestly desired. Before twelve months were over he was again in trouble, having been committed to the Tower on a charge of intriguing to obtain the traffic of Constantinople for Venice and the Florentine States, but apparently he was speedily released. In "*Dalrymple's Memorials*" there is a petition from him to King James, dated January 1615,

representing his own and his father's past services and his ruined condition, on which he states that his father, "being a man of excellent and working wit, did find out the device for making of baronets, which brought to your Majesty's coffers well nigh £100,000, for which he was promised by the late Lord Salisbury, Lord Treasurer, a good recompense which he never had." Of his subsequent career we have no further trace; but we find in Gough's Camden that his son rebuilt the Church of Stanton Harold, as set forth in the following inscription:

"In the year 1653,"

"When all things sacred throughout the nation

"Were either demolished or profaned

"Sir Robert Sherley, Bart, founded this Church;

"Whose singular praise it is, to have done

"The best things in the worst of times."

We now turn to the other two brothers the narrative of whose career fall more within the scope of an oriental publication.

Anthony Sherley, the second son, was born in 1565, and educated at Oxford. Regarding his early training he states himself, "In my first years my friends bestowed on me those learnings which were fit for a gentleman's ornament without directing them to an occupation; and when they were fit for agible things, they bestowed them and me on my Prince's service, in which I ran many courses of divers fortunes according to the condition of the wars, in which as I was most exercised, so was I most subject to accidents."

Before he was of age he commenced his military career in the wars in the Lower Countries, the usual field for the enterprising youth of that period. In 1586 he held a command in the famous battle of Zutphen, and subsequently accompanied his great friend and patron the Earl of Essex when he was sent to the assistance of Henry the IV. of France. Here he remained some time, and was actively engaged in the wars of the League, where he so much distinguished himself that the French monarch bestowed upon him the order of St. Michael, his acceptance of which extremely displeased Queen Elizabeth, who observed that "as a virtuous woman ought to look on none but her husband, so a subject ought not to cast his eyes on any other sovereign than him God hath set over him. I will not have my sheep marked with strange brand, nor suffer them to follow the pipe of a strange shepherd."

For this breach of allegiance, Sir Anthony, on his return to England in 1593, was committed to the Tower, and a special commission ordered to enquire into and report upon his conduct. This report being favorable and the Queen's paramount authority being sufficiently vindicated, he was speedily released, and the following

year he married Frances, the sister of Sir Robert Vernon of Hodnet. This marriage appears to have proved an unhappy one even at an early stage; for he immediately commenced arrangements for a new adventure, and in a letter from Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sydney, dated in November 1595, he writes—"Sir Anthony Sherley goes forward on his voyage very well furnished, led by the strange fortune of his marriage, to undertake any course that may occupy his mind from thinking of her vainest words."

The expedition he now projected was an attack upon the Spanish island of St. Thomè, the details of which voyage are given in Harkluyt. It is sufficient for us to state that after considerable delays and difficulties, he obtained a commission from the Queen for the adventure, and equipped nine vessels with 900 men, but subsequently left three of the larger ships and half the soldiers with the Earl of Essex, then about to undertake an expedition against Cadiz. With the remainder he set sail for Plymouth on the 21st May 1596. After touching at the Canaries and waiting for the chance of meeting a Spanish fleet, they bore away for provisions and water to the coast of Guinea, where Sir Anthony was attacked with fever and had a narrow escape from death; his crews also suffering greatly from the unhealthy nature of the coast and tempestuous weather; according to Harkluyt "the water falling from the heaven did stink, and did in six hours turn into maggots where it fell, either among our clothes or in wads of ocombe." From thence they steered to the Cape de Verde Islands, and abandoning the original plan of proceeding to St. Thomè, attacked and gallantly captured the Portuguese city of St. Jago, which, however, they were unable to maintain against the vast numerical superiority of the enemy; notwithstanding which, they made a skilful and safe retreat to their ships with little loss.

From the Cape de Verde Islands they sailed for Dominica in the West Indies; but in the tropics the old infection reappeared with increased violence. The narrative states that "our men fell generally downe, so that the hole could not relieve the sick; the disease was so vile that men grew loathsome unto themselves, franticke and desperately raving, among whom our good General's part was not least; for his disease was vehement, the grief of his mind, the lamentation of his men, and the loss of those whom he loved were to him torments more than durable; all which with patience and humility in prayer he humbled himself unto. But had not his mind been invincible and his desires above the ordinary course of men, it had been impossible that life should now have rested in him: but God I hope hath preserved him to some exceeding good purpose."

At Dominica the crews found great benefit from the natural hot baths, and obtaining rest and fresh provisions, recovered their

health. Marguerita was visited in a bootless search for the pearl dredgers, thence they sailed along the coast of Terra firma, landed at St. Martha, and subsequently bore up for Jamaica,—of which they took possession,—thence to Cuba and over to the Bay of Honduras, intending to surprise the Town of Truxillo, where however they found the enemy prepared. Upon this they shaped their course to the Rio Dolce, up which they proceeded thirty leagues, and then steered for Newfoundland. In these wanderings one vessel had been lost and another had deserted, but now the rest of the fleet was scattered, and Sir Anthony with his own vessel, the *Beris*, alone reached Newfoundland on the 15th June 1597, after many severe hardships and privations. Here he refitted and then turned his face for England again, where he arrived in the autumn of the same year, after a fruitless voyage as regards actual results, but one that tended fully to maintain the English reputation for daring courage, and manly fortitude and determination.

On his arrival he found his old friend the Earl of Essex appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whither he accompanied him.

In 1598, the Duke of Ferrara died, leaving no legitimate children, but only a natural son named Don Cesare d'Este, who laid claim to the Duchy which was disputed by the Pope. Of course the claimant carried all Protestant sympathies with him, and an opportunity thus offering of striking a blow at the Vatican was too tempting to be neglected by an adventurous spirit like Sir Anthony. Accordingly in the end of the year 1598 he embarked under the auspices of the Earl of Essex to lend his aid to Don Cesare, accompanied by his younger brother Robert, then little more than seventeen years of age, and five and twenty other followers, either young men of good family serving their military apprenticeship under so adventurous a knight, or old retainers. He says in his narrative, "I had my brother with me, a young gentleman whose affection to me had onely led him to that disaster, and the working of his owne vertue, desiring in the beginning of his best years to inable himself to those things which his good mind raised his thoughts unto. I had also five and twentie others; gentlemen for the most part, the rest such as had served me long; only carried with their loves to me into the course of my fortune." Amongst his followers we trace the names of Thomas Powel, and John Morris, both afterwards knighted; George Manwaring and William Parry, both of whom wrote brief notices of the expedition. John Ward, Thomas Davis, John Parrot, Gabriel Brookes, and Abel Pinzon, Sir Anthony's Steward, as also Arnold Roldcraft a Gunner and Edward Vanthiever a Dutch founder of cannon.

From England he sailed to Flushing whence he proceeded to

Douay, to concert measures with Count Maurice the General of the States Army, who gave him a welcome entertainment and attached a troop of horse under Sir Nicholas Parker to his party as an escort. From thence he proceeded *viâ* Cologne and Nuremburg to Augusta, where he received intelligence that Don Cesare d'Este had made terms with the Pope, relinquishing his claim to Ferrara, and receiving the Duchy of Modena in return. His object being thus defeated, Sir Anthony repaired to Venice, apparently with the idea of undertaking some expedition into Turkey, as he represents himself "not willing to returne and turne such a voyce as was raised at my going to nothing."

Here he obtained information that the Shah Abbas then seated on the throne of Persia was extremely jealous of the power of Turkey, and well inclined to enter upon hostilities with his rival; and also hearing that the Persian monarch was of a gallant and liberal disposition, he determined to proceed to that country, and endeavour to induce Shah Abbas to enter into a combination with the Emperor of Germany against Turkey, and to join him in the campaign. This plan he laid before the Earl of Essex, who gave him warm support and encouragement: accordingly on the 24th of May 1599, he started from Venice with his little party in a vessel named the *Morizel* bound for Aleppo, taking with him as guide and interpreter, a Christian trader named Angelo, of Italian parentage but born in Turkey, and who had passed several years in Persia whence he had recently returned. In the present day when a journey to Persia is little more than a holiday trip, this undertaking may appear nothing extraordinary; but it must be borne in mind that at the period of Sir Anthony's expedition, Persia was nearly a *terra incognita*, and the intervening territory even more so, and what was of still greater importance, the whole route lay through a hostile and barbarous country.

They had a tedious and troublesome passage to Zante of five and twenty days, during which time the English party became embroiled with the crew and passengers. One of the latter, a passenger to Cyprus, made use of disrespectful language regarding Queen Elizabeth, which being reported to Sir Anthony, "not only moved with the dutiful zeal which a subject oweth to his Prince, but even with that respect which every gentlemen oweth to a lady," ordered one of the meanest of his men to give him the bastinado, which he did right soundly; the result was a general outbreak, which was with difficulty appeased for the time, through the intervention of some Armenian merchants on board. A Portuguese factor, named Hugo de Potso, took a leading part against the English, and when on arrival at Zante, the latter went on shore, he persuaded the Captain of the vessel to send their baggage after them and refuse them re-admission on board. This mea-

sure compelled Sir Anthony to hire a small craft, in which he embarked his suite and sailed to Candia and Cyprus, and from thence to Tripoli on the Syrian coast. Here they found the *Morisel* at anchor, and their old enemy Hugo de Potso went immediately to the Pacha, and represented the party as notorious and desperate pirates but well laden with booty, thus exciting both the anger and the avarice of the Turk. Sir Anthony receiving intimation from his old friends and fellow passengers, the Armenian merchants, of this "scelerat treason conspired against him," had just time to put to sea and escape, although he was chased until dark by a Turkish frigate which gave them several rounds without effect. Thence sailing southward to the gulf of Scanderoon, he entered the mouth of the *Asazi*, the ancient Orontes, and proceeded to Antioch. Being now in Turkish territory, their military character was of necessity laid aside and that of merchants adopted, which does not appear to have set easily on them, for their bold and martial bearing, the fashion of their arms and a certain readiness to handle them, appear to have constantly excited suspicions during their journey, whilst the national insolence of the Turks as conquerors, their hatred to Christians generally, and the idea that the party possessed considerable wealth, laid the latter open to continual insult, annoyance, and oppression which it was dangerous to resent, as the Turkish law ordained that if a Christian struck a true believer, no matter what provocation he received, he must either embrace Mahometanism or lose his right hand. Fortunately, they found here two Hungarian renegades amongst the Janisaries, who greatly befriended them, and with the assistance of their comrades, though in opposition to the wishes and orders of the Kadi, finally got them clear of the place. Joining a caravan they proceeded to Aleppo, where they were kindly entertained by Mr. Coulthurst the British Consul. Here they were detained six weeks, and Sir Anthony having letters of credit on the merchants, laid in a stock of merchandise the better to support his character as a trader, including a quantity of cloth of gold and "twelve cups set with emeralds and jewels of great worth."

Here again they were thrown into a state of great alarm by the intelligence that the *Morisel* had arrived on the coast, and that their determined enemy Hugo de Potso was on his way to Aleppo; but fortunately for them he died on the journey. At length they joined a caravan bound for Bagdad, and proceeded to Bir on the Euphrates, whence they all descended the river in boats to Felujah; here they disembarked and marched across to Bagdad. On their route Sir Anthony paid a visit to one of the principal Bedouin chiefs whom he styles the King of the Arabs, and his description of the interview shows that

little change has taken place amongst those wild tribes since that date.

At Bagdad the whole party experienced better treatment at the hands of the people, whom the valuable European trade with Ormuz had accustomed to the sight and toleration of Christians ; but the Pacha viewed them with a jealous and suspicious eye, and seized upon Sir Anthony's baggage with a great part of his merchandize, including the much valued jewelled cups. Fortunately Sir Anthony found friends even here : a Turkish officer who had come on a mission from Constantinople, and accompanied the caravan, warned him of the Pacha's suspicions and rapacity ; and offered to take charge of any valuables that might be confided to him, a duty which he faithfully performed. An Armenian attached to the Pacha's household also did him good service : but his greatest support was from a Florentine merchant, Signior Victorio Speciera, who had been his fellow-traveller from Aleppo, and who appears to have very soon discovered the real objects and condition of the pretended merchant and his followers. To blind the Pacha, Sir Anthony had given out that he had a large quantity of merchandize coming in the next caravan, and pending this expected arrival, all violent measures or restraint were suspended. When the caravan was reported close at hand, Signior Victorio warned Sir Anthony that on its coming he would be imprisoned, until the receipt of orders from Constantinople, to which a reference had been made regarding him. He therefore urged immediate departure with a small caravan just about to start for Persia, and further made all arrangements for this plan, providing carriage and provisions, and supplying Sir Anthony with a most liberal sum of money, who thus relates this generous conduct : "When I came there he brought me a *Vittarin* of whom he had already hired horses, camels and mules for me, and I found a tent pitched by his servants : and then opening his gowne, he delivered me a bag of chequins with these very words :

"The God of Heaven bless you and your whole companie and your enterprise, which I will no further desire to know than in my hope, which persuadeth me that it is good. My selfe am going to China, whence if I returne I shall little neede the repayment of this courtesie, which I have done you with a most free heart ; if I die by the waye, I shall lesse-need it : but if it please God to direct both our safeties with good providence, that we may meet againe, I assure myself that you will remember me to be your friend, which is enough, for all that I can say to a man of your rank." And almost without giving me leisure to yield him condigne thanks (if any thanks could be condigne) for so great and so noble a benefit, he departed from me."

After Sir Anthony's escape, the better to conceal it as long a

possible, Signior Victorio moved into his late quarters, reporting that the English merchant was very sick, and boldly asked the Kadi to send his *Hakeem* or physician to attend upon him, well knowing that the request would not be complied with; in this mode the departure of the party was unknown for several days, and when finally discovered, a party of Janisaries were sent in pursuit of them, the leader of which was bribed to take the wrong road, and thus they were enabled to escape. Signior Victorio however got into trouble for the assistance thus generously afforded, which the more enraged the Pacha, as an order arrived from Constantinople to seize the whole party and send them prisoners to that city. After a short imprisonment he was released on payment of a fine of four hundred crowns. Sir Anthony and his suite appear to have taken the route by Mendell and Samara, which latter they confounded with the *Samaria* of Palestine, thence over the Dertung Pass to Kermanshah, and by Hamadan towards Kasbeen where they resolved to await the arrival of Shah Abbas.

That monarch, who twenty years before, whilst still a child, had been proclaimed king by the nobles of Khorassan during the life time of his father Mahommed Khoda-bandah, had during the earlier years of his nominal reign, been a mere tool and pageant in the hands of the powerful chiefs who had put him forward for their own purposes. One by one, however, these had fallen, either by mutual hostilities or intrigue, or before the growing power of Abbas, who gradually asserted his rights and authority until 1597, when he gained a great victory of the Usbeks near Herat, the result of which enabled him to execute Ferhad Khan the last of his powerful king-making barons, who was accused of holding back in the action from motives of treachery. A short time previous, Abbas' elder brother and rival, Humza Meerza, who had long and gallantly sustained the father's broken fortunes, fell by the hands of an assassin, and Shah Abbas found himself undisputed monarch of Persia, the limits of which had been sadly curtailed during a long series of civil wars; the Turks having wrested all the north-western and western provinces from the empire, whilst the Usbeks pressed upon the north-east; and Kurdistan, with all the south-eastern districts, were in a state of open rebellion or actual independence. With equal prudence, skill, and courage, Shah Abbas had gradually restored order in his dominions; Kurdistan had been reduced to a certain degree of subjection, a serious rebellion in Fars had been suppressed, Laristan and Kerman had been reconquered and annexed to the empire, and Khorassan finally cleared from the Usbeks, who had been driven back over the Murghab towards Balkh. It was during a successful expedition of the Shah in this quarter that Sir Anthony entered his country.

When fairly passed the Turkish frontier and clear of the predatory tribes of Kurds, Sir Anthony's first act was to assemble his followers to prayer, when on their knees they returned thanks to God who had protected them through all their straits and perils, and safely brought them to their destination, "although," in the words of George Manwaring, "we were sometime before past hope of our lives, but that we had so worthy a leader, which in the greatest of our extremities never made any show of despair, but with a gallant spirit did encourage us not to take any fear, for he would engage his life for us."

As they approached Kasbin, Sir Anthony sent forward John Ward and Angelo the interpreter, to provide a lodging and make arrangements, in order that the whole party, timing their arrival in the evening, might enter the city quietly without attracting public attention "in regard that we were unprovided with apparel and other necessities by reason of our long travel." But the near approach of so remarkable and novel a cavalcade could not be kept a secret, and preparations were made for their reception, which by arriving at night they avoided, to the great discontent of the sightloving populace.

Notwithstanding this, they were well received by all classes, but as Sir Anthony states "more by the opinion which they had that the King would take satisfaction by us, than by their own humours, being an ill people in themselves, being only good by the example of their King, and their exceeding obedience unto him." The day after their arrival Morganna Beg, (*Margannabeague*), the Master of the Royal Household, visited Sir Anthony in state, and welcomed him to Persia in the Shah's name, when laying "twenty pounds in gold" at his feet, he announced that the same sum would be forwarded daily for his expenses, until the receipt of the Shah's orders, who doubtless would increase the amount. Sir Anthony, "according to his princely mind," turning the money over with his foot, replied—"Know this brave Persian, that I come not a begging to the King, but hearing of his great fame and worthiness, thought I could not spend my time better than come to see him and kiss his hand, and with the adventures of my body to second him in his princely wars." The Persian official astonished at what probably he had never experienced before, the refusal of a present, expressed his conviction that Sir Anthony must be a Prince himself. "No," was the reply, "I am the second son to an English Knight, but I have been trained up in martial affairs, and well esteemed of in my Prince's court, and for this cause do I come to do thy King the best office I can, if it please his Highness to accept of me." The result was a most liberal entertainment of the whole party, a visit in state from the governor of the city, and the constant at-

tentions of Morganna Beg, whom Sir Anthony conciliated by liberal presents, and who, as he observes, "being more inwardly acquainted with the King's inclination, fitted himself to that than others did which knew it less."

At length the Shah approached and made a triumphal entry into the city in honour of his recent successes over the Ushegs. Manwaring thus describes the equipment of the English party. First, Sir Anthony himself in rich cloth of gold his gown and his undercoat, and sword hanging in a rich scarf to the worth of a thousand pounds, being set with pearl and diamonds; and on his head a turban according, to the worth of two hundred dollars, his boots embroidered with pearls and rubies; his brother Mr. Robert Sherley likewise in cloth of gold, his gown and undercoat, with a rich turban on his head; interpreter, Anglo, in cloth of silver, gown and undercoat, and four English gentlemen in cloth of silver gowns with undercoats of silk damask; four in crimson velvet gowns with damask undercoats; four in blue damask gowns with taffety undercoats; four in yellow damask with their undercoats of a Persian stuff; his page in cloth of gold; his four footmen in carnation taffety." Manwaring himself heading the party, acted as Marshal.

The details of the Shah's procession are fully set forth by Sir Anthony in his narrative, who proceeding to meet him with his brother and followers in the above mentioned order and escorted by Morganna Beg, thus describes the interview:—

"When we came to the King we alighted and kissed his stirop, my speech was short unto him, the time being fit for no other, "that the fame of his royal virtues had brought me from a far country to be a present spectator of them, as I had been a wonderer at the report of them affare off, if there was anything of worth in me. I presented it with myself, to his Majesty's service. Of what I was, I submitted the considerations to his Majesty's judgment, which he should make upon the length, the danger and the expense of my voyage only to see him of whom I had received such magnificent and glorious relations." The King's answer unto me was infinite affable. "That his country whilst I should stay there should be freely commanded by me; as a gentleman, that I had done him infinite honour to make such a journey for his sake; only he bid me beware that I was not deceived by rumours, which had peradventure made him other than I should finde him: it was true that God had given him both power and minde to answer to the largest reports which might be made good of him, which if he erred in the use of, he would aske counsell of me, who must needs have much vertue in myselfe that could move me to undergo so much and so many perils to know that of another."

Sir Anthony and his brother were then directed to mount and placed between Ala-u-din Beg (*Haldenbeagan*) the Vazier and Ali-verdi Khan (*Oliver di Can*) the Commander-in Chief, when following the Shah they thus entered Kasbin.

At night they were invited to dine with the Shah, and the next morning Sir Anthony sent him a present consisting of "sixe paire of pendants of exceeding faire emeralds and mavelous artificially cut; and two other jewels of topasses excellent well cut also. One cup of three pieces set together with gold inamalled; the other a salt; and a very faire ewer of crystall, covered with a kind of cut work of silver and gilt, the shape of a dragon;"

Sir Anthony's narrative as also that of Manwaring are filled with details of the official and private interviews with the Shah, who appears to have been exceedingly flattered by the compliment of Sir Anthony's visit, and to have taken a great fancy to himself and his followers, about whom there was for him so much novelty, and whose blunt English manners probably furnished a striking and for a time at least, an acceptable contrast to the servility and sycophancy he had heretofore only been accustomed to. His conversation, Sir Anthony says, "was not of our apparell, building, beautie of our women, or such vainties; but of our proceeding in our warres, of our usual arms, of the commoditie and discommoditie of fortresses, of the use of Artillerie and of the orders of our Government." He also carefully inspected and perfectly understood certain plans of fortification which Sir Anthony had brought with him.

After remaining six weeks at Kasbin they proceeded to Kassar and thence to Ispahan, on which occasion Sir Anthony informs us that the Shah conferred on him the rank of *Mirza* or Prince, "telling me that he would provide condignely for me; and the next morning sent a thousand tomans, which is sixteen thousand duckets of our money; fortie horses all furnished; two with exceeding rich saddles plated with gold and set with rubies and turkesess, the rest either plated with silver or velvet embroidered and gilt; sixteen mules, twelve camels laden with tents and all furniture both for my house and voyage; telling me withall that this was but a small demonstration of his favour, by which I might (notwithstanding) conceive what better hopes I might gather; that it was his Majestie's pleasure I should follow him to Kassar; in the house where I was, that I should leave a keeper, it being his Majestie's pleasure to bestow it on me; and that there were ten *Courchies* who should attend me the next morning to serve me in my journey."

Thus honoured and *fêted* Sir Anthony naturally speaks in the highest terms of the Shah's character and abilities, but both he and Manwaring mention numerous incidents and traits of despotic conduct and caprice which scarcely bear out these general eulo-

giums. That Shah Abbas was active, energetic and brave there is no reason to doubt, and that he possessed considerable ability is equally evident, but although bred up in the school of early trial and adversity, he exhibited little consideration for the lives of his subjects, and had a strong tincture of ferocious cruelty in his disposition, which long exercise of despotic power fostered and drew out to a frightful extent in his later years. At this period he was young, gay, and flushed with the first taste of conquest and absolute power; apparently too he was desirous of earning the name of a just as well as of a strict monarch. Many of the anecdotes related savour strongly of certain points in the character of Haroun-Al-Raschid, in the Arabian Nights, but only of the more unamiable and sterner or more capricious traits of the latter sovereign. Roughs, practical jokes, a wild summary justice and severe punishments are the chief features of these details.

For some time Sir Anthony carefully avoided the important topic which constituted the main cause of his visit, *viz.*, the advantage to be gained by entering upon a war with Turkey, and the advisability of forming a league for that purpose with the Christian powers of Europe; but before long the Shah gradually broached the subject himself, and afforded the English Knight an opportunity for fully bringing forward his whole array of arguments and advice.

The Porte had taken ample advantage of the recent domestic troubles and had gradually seized upon some of the most valuable provinces of Persia, including part of Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Tabriz on the north-west and the whole Pachalic of Bagdad on the south-west, including the holy town of Kerbila, so dear to all orthodox Sheahs. The recovery of these conquests was a tempting object, and Abbas himself with many of his ablest officers longed for a fair opportunity to make the attempt. Sir Anthony appealed to the royal pride and national vanity, descanted on the innate weakness of Turkey and the facilities attendant on an union with the Western nations, the Emperor of Germany, Rodolph the Second, being at that time actually at war with the Porte. Above all he urged upon the Shah the great military principle that a small disciplined force well equipped and capable of rapid movement, was far more efficient than a cumbrous, ill organized rabble, however strong in numbers. Or as he expresses it himself, that it is the opinion "of the best experienced Captains that multitudes are confusions of orders, and divisions of time, and of those memoirs which naurrish the warres, and are good for no other use but to make warres, soon break off and to consume the world." In these views he found staunch supporters in Ali Verdi Khan, Morganna Beg, and Shah Tamasp Kuli Beg;

made him carefull in that point, but more particularly his infinite desire of my returne, which he thought would be more assured by so deare a pawne ; and by daily relation which I should receive of his royal usage I should also be daily invited to returne. Howsoever if I met with such fortunes as would be worthy to make mee stay from him, or such accidents as had power to hinder me by their necessitie, the company of my brother should give him great satisfaction in my absence. And if the worst should be happen unto me, he did desire ever to have a subject so neere unto me, upon whom he might make a declaration unto the world, both of what qualitie his owne mind was, and of what condition his true and royall affection towards me was."

Young Robert Sherley supported this plan and readily agreed to stay with the Shah ; five of the party also remained with him.

It was at first arranged that a young Persian noble, friendly to Sir Anthony, named Assan Khan, should accompany him, but this plan was interrupted by the young man's marriage to a relative of the Shah ; "None others of the great ones having a spirit to apprehend only such a voyage, much less a heart to perform it," Sir Anthony was consequently constrained to put up with a man of inferior rank, named Hussein Ali Beg (*Seine Olibig*) who was recommended by his opponents the Vuzier and Bostan Aga, and who subsequently gave him much trouble. But the greatest annoyance he experienced was from one Nichola di Meto, a Portuguese Dominican friar, who had been Bishop of Ormus and Inquisitor General of the Indies ; and being now on his return to Spain, applied to Sir Anthony for permission to join his party and travel under his escort. This Sir Anthony not only readily acceded to, but went out to meet him on his arrival at Ispahan, and paid him every mark of attention and respect. But the friar, who it was soon discovered had been recalled to Spain on account of gross misconduct, had scarcely joined when he commenced intriguing, and this conduct being commented on and checked by Sir Anthony, a feeling of hatred and a desire of vengeance sprung up in his mind, which he subsequently missed no opportunity of giving vent to.

In the beginning of 1601, Sir Anthony and his suite took their final departure after above a year's residence in Persia. The Shah himself accompanied them several miles out of Ispahan, and at parting gave Sir Anthony a golden seal, saying at the same time, "Brother, whatever thou dost seal unto, be it to the worth of my kingdom. I will see it paid." He likewise renewed his promise of regard and protection to Robert Sherley, whom he vowed he would treat as his son, and thus, in the concluding words of the Knight's narrative "after some teares on all parts, we all parted ; they for the Court, myself for my journey, having left with my brother my

heart certainly, not only for the conjunction which nature had made betweene us, but also for those worthy sparkes which I found in him likely to be brought to great perfection by his virtue, which cannot leave working in any which will give them way, much more in him who will make way for them."

Sir Anthony and his party marched to the southern shore of the Caspian, where they embarked, probably at Ashraff, for Astrakan, which port, owing to bad weather, they did not reach for nearly two months; from thence they proceeded by boat up the Volga, to Kazan and Negson, where they were delayed nearly a month waiting for a deputation and escort from Moscow. Here the conduct of the friar Nichola di Meto was such, that Sir Anthony was compelled to place him in confinement.

Boris Godenow was at that time Czar of Russia, and he appears from the first to have received Sir Anthony and his mission with a suspicious eye, and to have entertained a personal dislike towards the Knight himself, which the proud and independent bearing of the latter was not calculated to remove or to conciliate.

The Czar markedly treated the Persian Envoy as the head of the Mission, a position which the latter was quite ready to assume, and assisted by Nichola the friar, lost no opportunity to foster the ill-feeling of the Czar towards the English Knight. Each day new indignities were offered to Sir Anthony, who with his suite was placed in actual durance, and the English merchants at Moscow forbidden to hold any communication with them, whilst their papers were seized and ransacked. At length Sir Anthony was dragged before a Royal Commission appointed to investigate certain absurd charges brought against him by Father Nichola; on which occasion he boldly denounced the conduct of the Czar, which he declared he would proclaim all over Europe. The friar imagining himself secure under the protection of the Court, ventured to indulge in further insolence and abuse, when Sir Anthony, "whose blood" in the words of Parry's Narrative, "already boyled with the excesse of his choler's heat, which as then abounded, and being by that gracelesse and ungrateful friar further provoked, he not able, (though instantly he should have died for it,) to suppress his heat, gave the fat friar such a sound box on the face, (his double cause of choler redoubling his might, desires of revenge withall augmenting the same,) that down falls the friar as if he had been strucke with a thunderbolt. Which being done, (with that courage and high resolution which well appeared in his lookes, words and deeds,) they forthwith gave over examination, because they had too examined Sir Anthony's patience, which well they, with feare (as I thinke) saw, and the friar (almost past feare) did far better feel."

This ebullition of temper, instead of ruining his cause as might have been expected, proved favorable in the long run ; for the Czar thus convinced of the nature of the man he had to deal with, ordered his release and permitted his departure in a few days; after which the friar fell into disgrace, when he was punished for his false accusations, and as Parry relates—"all his substance, that he had deceitfully and lewdly gotten many years before in the Indies, taken from him, leaving him not so much as his friar's weed, and whether they caused his throat to be cut, it was uncertain, but not unlike."

From Moscow Sir Anthony proceeded into Germany, where the treatment he experienced offered a remarkable contrast to what he had recently been subjected to. At Prague he met with the greatest respect and honour from the Emperor Radolph the Second, by whom he was created a Knight of the Holy Roman Empire, and at whose Court he remained six months, receiving royal entertainment. But we find no trace of any effectual league being arranged with Persia. Thence he proceeded *via* Munich, Inspruck, and Trent to Rome, at all which places he was received with great honors. Here he came to an open rupture with Hussain Ali Beg, the Persian Envoy, whose conduct from the first had been a continued source of annoyance and trouble. The latter now returned to Persia where he arrived after a long journey, bringing a whole series of false accusations against Sir Anthony. But Sir Robert being at the time in favour with the Shah, called for an investigation, and so clearly proved the falsity of the charges against his brother, that the unfortunate Envoy was proved guilty and sentenced to have his hands cut off, and his tongue torn out, which was done in the presence of Robert Sherley, who being asked if he required any further revenge of his brother's wrong, replied "that he took no delight in his torment, and that which was already done was more than he was willing or consenting to, but that now he would entreat in behalf of the miserable Persian, for that he supposed there could not be in his case a greater pleasure done unto him than to have his head follow the fortune of his tongue and hands."

From Rome, where he was made a Knight and Earl of the Sacred Palace of the Lateran, Sir Anthony proceeded into Spain, where as usual he appears to have gained the regard of the reigning monarch, Philip the Second, who not only gave him a most honorable reception and installed him a Knight of St. Jago, but finally took him permanently into his service, and conferred on him the rank of grand Admiral, with a pension of two thousand ducats per annum. In 1604 he was sent as Ambassador to Morroco and shortly after commanded a naval expedition against the Turks. After this he appears to have relinquished all further efforts in favor of

Persia, whether occupied by matters of greater personal interest to himself, or convinced of the impossibility of uniting such incongruous elements as the European and Persian politics of that period.

His connection with Spain aroused the jealousy of his own sovereign, James 1st, who summoned him to return to England; an order which he did not consider it advisable to obey. From thenceforward he appears to have connected himself entirely with Spain, in the service of whose monarch he remained until his death in 1630.

He is described as man of noble presence, indomitable courage and energy, generous to prodigality, deeply imbued with the chivalrous principles of that romantic period, somewhat pompous in manner and conversation, but still possessing great tact, and in an eminent degree, the talent of winning the regards of all with whom he came in contact, whether sovereign princes or his most humble followers.

But a bold restless spirit of this stamp was specially distasteful to the craven monarch James 1st, and to this dislike, maintained throughout a long reign, may probably be attributed the little mention made of him in contemporary history after the accession of that prince to the throne.

We now return to notice the fortunes of the younger brother. Robert Sherley, who had been left at Ispahan with Shah Abbas. The party that remained with him included Captain, afterward Sir Thomas Powell, John Ward, John Parrot who some years after accompanied Mr. Mildenhall to Lahore where he died; Gabriel Brookes, who also subsequently went to the East Indies, Arnold Roldcraft the Gunner who was some years later assassinated by an Italian when detached into Khorassan, and Vanthievier the Dutch cannon-founder. Shah Abbas was true to his word and treated them all with extreme kindness and liberality, notwithstanding his disappointment at the fruitless results of Sir Anthony's mission. All were employed in commanding and disciplining his new force of regular troops, which appear to have been brought to a considerable state of perfection, as they were enabled to cope with much larger forces of the Turks. Regarding the result of these measures Purchas observes,—“The mighty Ottoman, terror of the Christian world, quaketh of a Sherly-fever and gives hopes of approaching fates. The prevailing Persian hath learned Sherleian arts of war, and he which before knew not the use of ordnance hath now 500 pieces of brasse and 60,000 Musketers; so that they which at hand with the sword were before dreadful to the Turkes, now also in remoter blowes and sulfurian arts are grown terrible.”

Although they may not have had cannon prior to the arrival of the Sherleys, the Persians were well acquainted with

the use of fire arms, for Manwaring distinctly states in his Narrative that "they are very expert with their pieces or muskets, for although there are some which have written now of late, that they had not the use of pieces until our coming into the country, this much I must write to their praise, that I did never see better barrels of muskets than I did see there; and the King hath hard by his court at Ispahan about two hundred men at work, only making of pieces, bows and arrows, swords and targets." The Rev. John Cartwright who was in Persia whilst Robert Sherley was there, and published an account of his voyage under the title of "*The Preacher's Travels*," speaks of the Persian troops as very superior to the Turks, and "by good right very highly to be esteemed." For the Turkish horseman is not to be compared with the Persian man at arms, who comes into the field armed with a strong cuirasse, a sure head-piece and a good target." Again, "the Persian horseman weareth his pauldrones and gauntlets, and beareth a staff of good ash, armed at both ends."

Shah Abbas commenced his long meditated hostile operations against the Turks in 1602-3, by the assault and capture of Nakhavend; he then marched into Azarbijan, and overran that province with great rapidity. Ali Pacha, the Turkish General, was at this time absent in Kurdistan, but hearing of these successes he hastened to oppose the Shah, and a battle ensued near Tabriz in June 1603, in which the Turks were defeated with great loss, and Ali Pacha himself made prisoner. Robert Sherley, who was appointed *Topchi Bashi*, or Master General of the Ordnance, accompanied the Shah throughout these campaigns, and it was probably in this action that he "so valiantly besterred himself that the Persians gave him a crown of laurel for the victory; for being armed and made ready for fight, taking a pole-axe in his hand, he himself gave first such an honourable attempt, and so amazed and repulsed the enemy, that his soldiers, imitating his courage, put all the foes to the edge of the sword." We are further informed that he offered to exchange thirty Turkish prisoners for his elder brother Thomas, with whose misfortunes and imprisonment at Constantinople he had been made acquainted; which offer being refused, he is reported to have struck off their heads, "and according to the custom of Persia, commanded them to be carried in triumph about the market place on the top of his soldier's pikes." This proceeding we would fain hope is an exaggeration.

The fall of Tabriz was the result of this victory, and the Shah following up his successes laid siege to Erivan and despatched Ali Verdi Khan to invest Bagdad. Erivan surrendered the following year after a long siege. But the Turks were now assembling an immense force under the command of Jaghah-aghli

Pacha, which compelled Shah Abbas to recall Ali Verdi Khan from Bagdad and concentrate all his forces to meet the impending attack. At length the two armies met to decide the fate of the campaign on the 24th August 1605. The Persian army amounted to 62,000 men, that of the enemy, by the lowest computation, exceeded 100,000. Most of the Shah's officers advised him to avoid an action with such unequal forces, but Robert Sherley appears to have given the bolder counsel, and to have rendered good service in the field, where he received three wounds "as a triple testimony of his love and service to Christendome." An old MSS. in the British museum, puts an oration to the troops into his mouth quite in the Cambyces vein; after which "catching a strong staff, pulling down his beaver, and putting spurs to his horse, he furiously rushed upon the enemy, his soldiers followed with such a desperate resolution, that the Turks were amazed at his valour, for he ran without stop through the troops, and like a lion, massacred whom he met; which the enemy perceiving, and what a great slaughter he had made amongst them, many of them fled, many laid down their weapons and yielded, the rest he put to the sword without partiality or favour."

Certain it is that the victory was most complete, and the Turks, who fought bravely, experienced an immense loss in killed and prisoners. Twenty-five thousand five hundred and forty-five heads were brought to the Shah after the action. A curious incident illustrative of the character of the monarch is recorded. Amongst the captures was a Kurdish chief of the tribe of Mookree whom the Shah ordered to be made over to one of his officers who was at feud with that tribe; Roostum Beg the officer in question, objected, saying that he could not take advantage of an enemy bound and in distress. The Shah irritated by a remark that appeared to reflect on his own conduct, ordered the prisoner's head to be struck off, upon which the Kurd, a man of gigantic strength, broke from his guards and drawing his dagger rushed upon Abbas. This occurred in the royal tent, it was already night, and in the scuffle and confusion the lights were all extinguished, and none dared to strike in the dark. After a few minutes of horrible suspense the Shah exclaimed "I have seized his hand," lights were brought in instantly, and the Kurd fell under a hundred weapons, when the Shah coolly seated himself and "continued to drink goblets of pure wine and received the heads of his enemies till midnight."

Robert Sherley's conduct was fully appreciated. The Shah, according to Purchas, (who states that he received the account from Sir Robert himself and saw the firman,) "gratified him not in titles of honour and honourable employments alone, but in rewards. *This man's bread is baked for sixtie years*, being the formall words of

his Royal Charter to him, (which he that understandeth the Easterne phrase of "*daily bread*" in his *Pater Noster* knows how to interpret,) with an explication added of the allowance to him and his assigns for that space whether he liveth himself or leaveth it to others enjoying." He also gave him in marriage a daughter of a Circassian Chief, named Ismail Khan, a relative of his own wife. This lady who was a Christian and bore the name of Theresa, appears to have been a most estimable person, to have made him an excellent and most faithful wife. The following year they had a child, to which Shah Abbas, though a Mahomedan, was god-father, but this child apparently did not survive.

In 1608, not discouraged by Sir Anthony's failure, Shah Abbas, sent the younger brother on a similar mission to the Christian potentates, announcing his recent successes and proposing a general confederation against Turkey.

Robert and his followers embarked at Derbent and crossed the Caspian to Astrakan, whence passing through southern Russia, he proceeded to Poland, where he was warmly received and entertained at Cracow by King Sigismund the Third. From thence he proceeded to Prague, where he met with a reception from the Emperor Rodolph the Second, similar to that accorded eight years previously to his brother. He also was made a Knight of the Roman Empire and Earl Palatine, the deed bearing date the 2nd June 1609. From Germany he passed over into Italy and arrived in Rome in September of that year, where he met with a most gratifying reception from Pope Clement. His wife, lady Theresa, was here an object of great interest, as a Christian coming from so remote a part of the world. From Rome he went to Spain, where he must have met his brother Anthony after so long an absence. From thence he went over to his native country, where he arrived in 1611, and was well received at the Court of King James, but could get no promise of assistance to the Shah from that monarch, whilst from the Directors of the East India Company, who viewed him with great suspicion, he experienced much active though covert opposition.

Whilst in London, lady Theresa was delivered of a son, to whom the Queen and the Prince of Wales stood sponsors, the boy being christened Henry after his royal god-father.

At this time he received Kinghood from James 1st, together with his faithful friend Thomas Powell—who married during this visit. The Court of Directors were likewise ordered to furnish one of the Company's vessels to carry him and his party to Persia; and they were further directed to supply him with £500 to defray the remainder of his journey by land.

On the 7th January 1612 he sailed from Gravesend in the

good ship *The Expedition*, of London, of 260 tons, commanded by Captain Christopher Newport. His suit consisted of himself and Lady Theresa ; Sir Thomas and Lady Powell ; Morgan Powell, a younger brother of Sir Thomas ; Captain John Ward, one of his old companions, Mr. Francis Bubb, his secretary ; John Barber, apothecary ; John Gregson, a Dutch goldsmith ; John Harriot, and several other musicians, Lielah, a Persian female and one Armenian and three Persian male attendants.

After touching at the Canaries, the Cape of Good Hope, Madagascar, Mohelia and other places, they made the coast of Cutch Mekran (*Getch Macquerona*) in the beginning of September, and anchored in the port of Guadel. Here they found Malik Mirza, the ruler of the country, who professed himself the humble servant of Shah Abbas, and proffered every assistance to his Ambassador, Sir Robert Sherley, and his party, promising them an escort to Seistan or Kerman, from either of which they could easily proceed to Ispahan. Arrangements were made accordingly ; the Belooch Chief prepared tents for Sir Robert, and his suite, who sent most of his property and baggage on shore, together with some of his followers to take charge of them. Fortunately one of his Persian attendants understood the Belooch dialect, and overheard the guard at the tent discussing their treacherous plan, which was to entice Sir Robert and all his party on shore, and to persuade Captain Newport and some of the officers of the vessel to accompany them to a farewell entertainment ; then, to murder the whole, seize the property, and, if possible, take possession of the ship in the confusion attendant on this massacre. The Persian hearing this plan, quietly returned on board and gave Sir Robert information of their designs. He, in concert with his friends, remained perfectly quiet, but pretending indisposition retired to rest and postponed his departure for another day, sending for one or two attendants then on shore and some of his more valuable packages, on the plea that they contained his and Lady Sherley's night cloths, medicines, &c. A further portion of his goods he rescued by filling some empty cases with ballast and other heavy rubbish, and sending them on shore carefully packed up, getting back others which it was represented belonged to the vessel and had been landed by mistake. Finally, after thus recovering all his more valuable property, he announced his intention of landing the following morning, but recalled his remaining attendants alleging that he required them to attend upon him as musicians when he went on shore in state. He further sent word to Malik Mirza that in consideration of the Shah's honour, whose representative he was, he expected a deputation of the principal men to receive him. The Beluchis fell into their own snare and complied, when

the whole party arriving on board were seized and disarmed, and the restoration of the remainder of the property made the condition of their release.

From this port they steered for Diu in Guzerat, where Sir Robert and his party disembarked and proceeded by land to Agra. Here they were most hospitably and liberally entertained by the Emperor Jehangir, who tried very hard to persuade Sir Robert to enter his service, but in vain, notwithstanding the most tempting offers. Sir Thomas Powell, however, appears to have been induced to remain at Agra. This refusal on the part of Sir Robert appears to have wounded the pride of Jehangir, who was farther annoyed by his candid and spirited defence of Shah Abbas in reply to some disparaging remarks of the Indian monarch. But this manly independence and *truth to his salt* were appreciated in the long run, and Jehangir finally dismissed him on his return to Persia, liberally supplied with elephants, camels, tents and all the requisites for his march, together with money and jewels to the value of eight or nine thousand pounds sterling. They took the route by Scinde and Kandahar, and in the Bolan Pass they met Thomas Corryat, the English pedestrian traveller, then on his way from Persia to Lahore, who speaks highly of their kindness to him. From Kandahar, by Ferrah and Herat, they reached Kasbin in 1614.

Four or five years later Sir Robert was again dispatched by Shah Abbas as ambassador to the several European sovereigns, and he appears to have followed nearly the same route as on the previous occasion, only lingering longer in Rome and at Madrid, where—probably supported by his brother's influence—he persuaded the Spanish monarch to consent to send four vessels to cruise against the Turks in the Red Sea. But the news of the capture of Ormuz, by the joint forces of the Shah and the English East India Company, caused a complete change in Spanish policy, and put an end to all hopes of aid from that quarter. From Spain he passed into Holland, and finally reached England in 1623.

Here he found the Directors of the East India Company more opposed to him than ever. They had all along viewed his influence at the Persian Court with great suspicion and distrust, and regarded him as an interloper in their particular field of operations; but their disappointment at the results of the Ormuz expedition, from which they had expected great commercial and political advantages, together with Shah Abbas' refusal to allow them any establishment in the Gulf, made them doubly inveterate against one whom they looked upon as the Shah's adviser. They combatted his arguments for a Persian alliance, they denounced his statements of the power and wealth of Shah Abbas as gross exaggerations, and accused him of being in the interests

of Spain, and desirous to throw the Persian commerce into the hands of that nation.

Two years after this,—Sir Robert having then been absent from Persia several years,—the Shah sent a Persian named Nogdi Beg as ambassador to King James. On the intelligence of his reaching England the Directors hastened to welcome him and pay him every attention, and they found little difficulty in gaining him over to their views, and enlisting him as an active opponent of Sir Robert Sherley. When brought to Court, Nogdi Beg coolly denied all knowledge of Sir Robert's mission as emanating from the Shah, boldly proclaimed him an impostor, and on being shown the Shah's letter, which Sir Robert had produced as his authority, he boldly pronounced it a forgery, tore it up, and even went so far as to strike Sir Robert in the face, pleading in excuse his anger at finding his master's name thus made use of by a scheming impostor.

The result was that King James appointed Sir Dodmore Cotton as his ambassador to Shah Abbas, sending with him Sir Robert Sherley and Nogdi Beg in order to have the truth of the matter investigated. The account of this embassy has been given in detail by Sir Thomas Herbert. It is therefore sufficient to mention here, that they sailed from Gravesend on Good Friday 1626, with a fleet of six vessels, and reached Surat in November of that year, when Nogdi Beg found letters awaiting him, mentioning that the Shah was greatly incensed against him for his conduct in England, of which intimation had been sent overland by Sir Robert Sherley, via Aleppo. On receiving these tidings Nogdi Beg committed suicide by poisoning himself, not daring to face the Shah, and was buried on shore by his son Ibrahim Khan.

On the 10th of January 1627, they arrived at Gambroon, where through the influence of Sir Robert Sherley, the English Ambassador was received with due respect, and furnished with carriage and all requisites for his journey to Ashraff, on the shores of the Caspian, where the Shah then was.

On arrival there in May, Sir Dodmore Cotton was most graciously received, and announced the objects of his embassy, which were the establishment of a commercial alliance and a league against Turkey, as also "to see Sir Robert Sherley purge himself from the imputations laid on him by Nogdi Beg, the king of Persia's late Ambassador." The Shah gave a very gracious reply, and observed concerning Sir Robt. Sherley, he had been long of his acquaintance, and expressed as many considerable forms towards him, (though a stranger and a Christian) as to any of his born subjects. That if Nogdi Beg had aspersed him unjustly, he should have satisfaction; it argued indeed Nogdi Beg was guilty, in that he rather chose to destroy himself by the way, than adventure a purgation. In some sort he hath presaged my rigor, for had he come

and been found faulty, by my head (an oath of no small force) he should have been cut in as many parts as there be days in the year, and burnt in the open market with dog's turds."

But after this he took no further notice of Sir Robert Sherley. This ungracious and ungrateful conduct apparently was partly owing to the influence of the Vazir Mahomed Ali Beg, who was an old enemy of the knight, partly to a change in the Shah's views in regard to European policy, partly to caprice, and above all to the fact that Sir Robert's work was now done; his campaigning, voyages and troubles had made him prematurely old and infirm, and his presence was a constant remainder of claims for past service, which Shah Abbas was desirous to get rid of. Sir Robert's pension was considerably reduced, himself treated with neglect by the Shah, and with insult by the Vazir, and all his demands for enquiry or justice disregarded. These causes, coupled with a broken constitution and previous anxieties, brought him to his grave on the 13th July 1927, at Kasbin,—and according to Herbert "wanting a fitter place of burial, we laid him under the threshold of his own door, without further noise or ceremony." Thus passed away a brave and adventurous spirit, a victim to royal ingratitude, and an instance of the precarious nature of worldly prosperity and reputation. His faithful wife, who had shared all his fortunes, attended him at his death. Even then, her misfortunes did not end; a Dutch Jew painter and one Crole, a Fleming, who had both been some years in Persia,—most probably introduced by Sir Robert—advanced claims against the estate, in which they were supported by the Vazir, and under his authority they seized the property of the deceased knight. Through the friendly offices of some members of Sir Dodmore Cotton's embassy she saved some of her jewels. With the proceeds of these she was enabled to leave Persia with the remnant of the embassy—Sir Dodmore Cotton having followed Sir Robert to the grave within the year—and ultimately found her way to Rome, where she finally ended her days in a convent.

Thus ended the first English attempt to establish a military and political influence in Persia. Although the idea originated entirely with Sir Anthony, who fairly opened the way, the details, slight and incomplete as they may have been, were carried out during a quarter of a century by Sir Robert Sherley.

He appears to have possessed many of his brothers' good qualities, but to have lacked the knowledge of the world, the tact, and also the education and literary abilities which Sir Anthony possessed. Moreover, commencing his career in Persia at an early age, he seems to have imbibed many of the ideas and prejudices of his adopted country, which were not at that period understood in Europe.

Perhaps a more appropriate summary of his career wherewith to conclude our article, cannot be found than in the epitaph written at the time of his death by Sir Thomas Herbert :—

“ Lo here, the limits to whose restless brain,
No travels set, this urn doth now contain.
A German Count I was ; the Papal State
Impower'd me th' Indians to legitimate.
Men, manners, countreys to observe and see
Was my ambition and felicitie.
The Persians last I viewed, with full desiro
To purge my fame, blurr'd by a pagan's ire ;
Which done, death stopt my passage. Thus the mind
Which reacht the poles, is by this porch confin'd.

Reader ! live happy still in home contents,
Since outward hopes are but rich banishments.

After land-sweats and many a storm by sea,
This hillock aged Sherley's rest must be.
He well had view'd arms, men and fashions strange
In divers lands. Desire so makes us range.
Sad turning course, whilst the Persian tyrant he,
With well dispatched charge, hop'd glad would be.
See Fortune's scorn ! Under this door he lies,
Who living, had no place to rest his eyes
With what sad thoughts man's mind long hopes do twine,
Learn by another's loss but not by thine.”

HAFIZ.

C. J. STEPHEN, ESQ.

1. *The Odes of Hafiz*, M. S. Shiraz. 1801.
2. *Waring's Tour to Shiraz*. London. 1807.
3. *Malcolm's Persia*. Vol. II. London. 1805.
4. *Dissertations on Oriental Literature*. London. 1792.
5. *Descriptive Catalogue of Tippoo's Library*. Camb. 1809.
6. *Sketches of Persia*. London. 1828.
7. *Sir W. Jones' Discourses*. 1796.
8. *Castello's Rose Garden of Persia*. London. 1845.

POETRY has ever been held in the greatest veneration in the East. Its admirers include almost the whole population. If the ancient Greeks and Romans gave to their poets all the honours they lavished on their inferior divinities, the Persians have ranked them with their Emams and Prophets, and have as willingly abided by their commands as by the injunctions of their Holy Writ. The Persians are enthusiastically devoted to poetry ; it forms the very essence of their religion ; the works of their best poets may be called their scriptures. The meanest artisan, the rudest soldier, the proudest noble and the Tyrant-King, are alike charmed by the strains of the minstrel, who sings a mystic song of divine love. They may forget the words of Mahomet, they may neglect the maxims of their *Sherrahs*, but the verses of Sadi and Hafiz are indelibly impressed on their memory. Ten years ago we met a divine at Shiraz, deeply read in the mystery of the Koran and the Moslem theology, who was of opinion that the very teachers of their religion—the Mollahs and the Moftahs—preferred the imagination of Hafiz or the judgment of Sadi to the inspired wisdom of their twelve apostles. Sir John Malcolm, full fifty years ago, was “ forcibly struck ” with the fact, that a common tailor, who perhaps in our country is as ignorant of Milton and Shakspeare as the natives of New Zealand, while engaged repairing the Ambassador's tents, entertained his companions with reciting some of the finest mystical Odes of Hafiz. Nor is this all. The morality of the Persian poets is conveniently adapted to the flexible disposition of the Persians. It has been remarked by some German philosophers, that Mahomet has appealed only to the passions and the emotions of his countrymen, and seldom or never to their judgment ; but the Persian poets have been still more pliable and more political, and have watched the current with keener optics. They sometimes inculcate ascetism, the rudeness of sullen independence, and support the spirit of suffering virtue ; but they also justify the means by the end, and gloss over the accommodative disposition of servile subjection. The weak and ease-loving Moslems of the present time have consulted their own temper in their choice of a creed, and are much

more inclined to profit by the laxity of their poets' opinions than to observe the austere precepts of their morality. Whenever religion has imbibed the "colours" of the imagination, the uneducated multitude have paid a willing submission to its commands. The faithful have found their vices countenanced and supported by the wisdom of their poets, and they have clung to their poets with all the affection and all the fears with which an accomplice clings to the ringleader. Every man has a number of verses from Sadi and Hafiz by heart, which he is ready to bring forward in self-defence, to stave off any charge of infamy or criminality. The poet's judgment is strong enough to justify an evil in the eyes of the Believers, and the exculpation is immediate. A verse from Sadi, which has run into a proverb, and whose equivocal meaning we condemn, is quoted with success by every offender against truth. "A lie," says the poet, "purporting good, is better than a truth exciting disturbance." We doubt if Sadi could have meant this as a defence of all possible falsehood, but yet the verse is used in its widest signification. In the year 1792, when the ambassadors of Tippoo Sultan were at Madras, engaged in their mission of raising an insurrection against the British Government, one of them in his letter to his master advises him to agree to a proposal, "upon the principle recommended by the sage and worthy Khanjeh Hafiz Shirazi, on whom the mercy of the Lord may for ever rest, *with friends cordiality, with enemies dissimulation.*" Here is an instance of a grave and far-sighted prince being addressed and counselled by his Ambassador, to mould his political conduct according to the maxim of a lyric poet! In Europe it would be considered gross stupidity in an Envoy to advise his sovereign, in his official correspondence, to accept or reject terms of peace on the precepts of a poet or a dramatist; but in the East, the "law and the prophets" are best known to the bards, and it is no umbrage to a statesman to follow their counsel in danger. There is another story told of Prince Sufdur Jung, Nuwab of Oude, that a petition being presented to him with a couplet from Sadi for its motto:

"O Tyrant! the oppressor of the helpless,
How long will your streets continue populous;"

the King wrote two lines of Hafiz on its back, and sent the mendicant away:

"I have been denied access to the streets the of virtuous,
If you dislike this, change my destiny."

But it has been very well remarked by Sir William Jones, that though the verses which justify vice are oftener quoted than those in praise of virtue, yet the doctrine which Sadi and Hafiz inculcated, was to return good for evil. Or, what a greater authority

than Sir William has observed :—" They have recommended good works to men, and clemency and justice to their rulers. " But though the influence which once the Persian poets possessed over their countrymen has unfortunately been turned from its legitimate channel and employed in the defence of successful vice, yet *it* is still held in such veneration by the Moslem, that they have acknowledged its supremacy even when their antagonists have used it against *their* creed. It has been related to us by an eye-witness whom we consider trustworthy and deserving of confidence, that Futteh Ali Shah, King of Persia, and a man of acknowledged talents, on whom the Muses lavished some of their gifts, being out one Friday to attend service at the royal mosque, one of his attendants struck a poor Christian, who ventured to approach the cavalcade, accompanying the blow with an awful imprecation : " Begone to hell, O cursed dog ! This is not your church. " The injured youth, who had much more wit in him than he had credit for, made use of his presence of mind with great effect ; his reply was from Hafiz :

" I have been to the Temple, the Mosque and the Church,
And the same God I found worshipped in all."

Futteh Ali Shah smiled with admiration and extended his hand to the Giaour, who went home with his condition bettered by two hundred rupees. We can add a score of other instances to substantiate our assertion ; but we shall not proceed any farther with the subject. Enough has been said.

The Persians have called poetry *legitimate magic*, and have used much art in the arrangement and selection of words. Often, even to the sacrificing of sense to euphony, they have spared no labour to render the verses smooth and elegant. Their poetical compositions are of several kinds.

GHUZLS, orodes, are of different lengths, and different construction. A whole Ghuzl must rhyme throughout with the same word. Some affirm that a Ghuzl should not extend to more than eighteen couplets, and others allow it to extend to eleven only. But we remark as a peculiarity in Persian odes, that every couplet is complete in itself, and that any image, however beautiful, is not dwelt on for more than one verse. This custom, of course, cramps the genius of the poet, and his imagination, though fruitful and inclined to rise above rules and "poetical disciplines," succumbs to the evil influence of the restraints imposed on it, and quenches its vigour in continual alliteration. The poet is compelled to harp on the same subject and image, or adopt every image which presents itself, and the taste is soon vitiated. The usual subjects of the Ghuzls are *beauty, love, and friendship* ; but with the Sufis it has been em-

ployed in the praise of *wine* and *mystery*. At the end of each ode the poet introduces his own name, and it is always an address to his own heart, or a reflection on his past life. It must, however, be confessed, that most of the Persian poets have failed, by the too frequent use of the same thoughts and the same metaphors, in their efforts to please and instruct. The reader soon finds that there is nothing new to admire, nor anything new to learn. But this can only be said of the unfavour-
ed aspirants to fame

Next to the Ghuzls is the KASSIDEIL. This differs from the odes, only in the number of the distichs it contains. It may be a satire, or it may be a moral piece, but it cannot be extended to more than a hundred and twenty couplets. We have been told that there is a poem in existence, written by Sheik Sadeek, in praise of the late Shah of Persia, extending to upwards of two hundred verses. Though its extreme length is an infringement on the rules laid down for the composition of a Kassideh, yet critics call it by that name. The Arabians, however, make it exceed five hundred, or even nine hundred lines. A rare Arabic poem, written in Kassideh by a "nameless" bard, which we have in our possession, begins with a distich which we cannot forbear rendering into English. To most of our readers it will come as the echo of a familiar strain which perchance the poet never heard :

"Oh Lord, chastise me for my sins, but give me
strength to suffer.

Let my heart be full of charity, for he who cannot
forgive shall never be forgiven."

Next to the Kassideh is the TUSHBIB, which means a representation of beauty and youth, and it may be compared to a descriptive poem, or to the fables of Gay, where the end is chiefly to instruct by means of examples. Poems of this description are not held in repute by the Persian critics ; but yet the beginner finds them indispensable.

The MUSNAVEE is a kind of epic poem, generally on amorous subjects, or on the pleasures of the spring. The verses are not confined by any rule, as in the Ghuzls ; they may extend to ten thousand lines, or may be confined to twenty ; the poet alone has to determine the length of the poem. The Musnavee has another beauty, which in the Ghuzls is excluded by the canons of poetry ; the subject is connected throughout the poem, and thus we never encounter any abrupt termination, or any of those unhappy transitions from grave to gay, or *vice versa*, which so frequently occur in the Ghuzls, and which, if unskilfully managed, are serious blemishes in a poetical composition. But unfortunately for the spirit of emulation which once existed among

the Persian poets, the subjects of their Musnavees are generally drawn from one source. Even the names of the hero and the heroine, the unity of time, action, and place, are the same in all. It is scarcely possible for the reader to sum up courage to pass through the dreadful ordeal of perusing some thousand pages of indifferent poetry on the same subject, and written in the same style with slight, and certainly immaterial, differences, in the author's name. There are other measures of poetical composition ; but they are of such rare occurrence, and involve such technical difficulties in their explanation, that we shall leave them unnoticed. Some of the more modern poets of Delhi have adopted these measures, but their works have long been consigned to merited oblivion, and we shall not rake up an equally forgotten subject to illustrate them.

The authentic particulars of the life of Hafiz are so well known that we shall not recapitulate them here. The memoir of this poet in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Tippoo Sultan's Library*, has been written with care and discretion, and with great fidelity to all the known and acknowledged authorities on the subject. But such anecdotes of his life as illustrate his poems, we are bound to mention in these pages. Most of them we have only found in the original Persian, and from this circumstance, we trust they will be more welcome.

Khajeh Mahomed Shumsoodin, surnamed Hafiz, was born in Shiraz, in the beginning of the fourteenth century of the Christian era. Though his parents were in good and easy circumstances, he led a life of poverty, which he considered inseparable from genius, and which, according to his creed, was the only medium of salvation. He knew the old proverb of the Sufis :—"Wealth keeps a guard in the heart of the wealthy ; how can *he* be in communion with his Maker." He also knew the maxim of his Mollahs : "Poverty causes the world to come in view ; but wealth even darkens the prospect of heaven."

Hafiz was but indifferently acquainted with the works of his contemporaries. We may in vain search in his odes or elegies for any allusion to them ; we may in vain try to detect even affinity of thought with them. His works throughout breathe originality ; his creative mind scorns to imitate any authority but the highest of all authorities—Nature, and disdains to use any art but the perfection of all arts—that of concealing art. The defects and excellencies of Hafiz are all his own. Mr. Waring remarks, that the Odes of Hafiz are so very different from those of other writers, that they "deserve particular notice !" It is, also, the opinion of Persian critics, that "Hafiz *may be condemned*, but he *cannot be compared*." Masculine without being severe ; impassioned without being affected ; sublime

without being unnatural, the ideas of Hafiz are in every sense original. He may have defects, but *such* defects are only to be met with in *his* odes. He has beauties, but *such* beauties are only found in *his* works. We can with confidence affirm, that in no other country has there been born a genius so *singular*. In fact, he has founded a new school of poetry, and it may be remarked here, that his imitators have so faithfully copied his lyric odes, that they have gained some celebrity which the original has reflected on them. Eccentricity, the badge of the learned, and not unfrequently the companion of genius, was found in Hafiz to such an extent, that the credulous vulgar deemed him *inspired*, and the sceptic *savan* imputed to him *madness*. It has been related of him, that sitting in the company of his uncle Sadi, while the latter was engaged with an ode on the ethics of the Sufis, he managed to read the first, and till then the only line that was written on the subject. Feeling an irresistible longing to finish the hemistich, he approached Sadi and wistfully eyed the reed with which the poet wrote. At that moment, Sadi was for some reason compelled to leave the room, and with a quickness of thought rivalled by few, Hafiz finished the couplet by a half sarcastic and half laudatory verse of his own. When Sadi returned to his study, he missed his nephew, but found the verse complete. Indignant at his conduct, he summoned the young bard before him, and questioned him on the subject. Hafiz acknowledged the authorship, and Sadi asked him to finish the whole work as he had done the first verse; not satisfied with this, the poet cursed his nephew in a spirit of rivalry which tradition is at a loss to reconcile with the temper of the Persian moralist: "Your work shall bring the curse of insanity on its reader." We cannot vouch for the truth of this anecdote, but we can say this much in its behalf, that the opening line of the first ode of Hafiz is in pure Arabic, and much in the style of Sadi. The commentators of Hafiz, especially the Sheahs of Constantinople, seem to place some trust in the authenticity of this story, and believe with implicit confidence that the curse of Sadi has been verified in every instance without a single exception. "Ever since," say the Faithful, "the odes of Hafiz have had that destructive effect on human understanding, with which the pious poet cursed them." We can affirm on the contrary, that the curse of Sadi is ineffective, whatever may be the worth of the anecdote itself.

Hafiz justly proud of his genius and careless of the favor of the great, never accepted invitations to Courts, though accompanied with every mark of respect and regard for the illustrious poet. Before he had taken leave of the society of the nobles and the wealthy of his country, he was induced by flattery and attention to visit the Prince of Yezd; but the cold reception he met

with confirmed his resolution never to see a Court again. He left his native city, which he loved with all the partiality of a Persian, for Yezd, with the hope, so natural to a mind conscious of its vast resources, of being received with the respect due to one of whom Persia might one day boast. But the sovereign, who was not actuated with the feelings of a generous patron, or influenced by a love of polite learning, whose representative the poet was, soon got tired of the company of Hafiz, and behaved towards him with the coldness which is repulsive both to pride and modesty. It is said that Hafiz remarked on taking leave of the Prince : " It seems that Fortune did not wish Kings to be wise."

In the year 1369, he was called to India by the celebrated Gyasoodeen, King of Bengal ; but true to his " resolve," he could not be persuaded to undertake the journey. Gyasoodeen having long laboured under a dangerous illness, his life was despaired of ; but to testify his affection for some of his attendants, he made a request, that three of his favorite wives, whom he called *The Cypress*, *The Rose* and *The Tulip* should wash his body if the disease proved fatal to him. Gyasoodeen, however, recovered from his illness, but his favorites were branded by the ladies of the seraglio with the opprobrious title of " Ghossalayah "—washers of the dead ; in consequence of which a complaint was brought before the King. Gyasoodcen, in his usual gay and convivial disposition, repeated extemporary a hemistich, of which the following is the sense :

" Cupbearer ! let us narrate the praises of the Cypress,
the Rose, and the Tulip. "

The King failed to finish the verse, and his Court poets in vain tried to write an ode on the subject which could meet his approval. At this time, Hafiz was known as the first living lyricist of Persia, and to him Gyasoodeen sent the hemistich, with valuable presents, and with a request that the verse might be finished for the King's pleasure. It is also stated that Gyasoodeen authorised the messenger to invite the poet to India, and to use all efforts to induce him to undertake the journey. When Hafiz received the royal message, without being informed of the facts connected with the origin of the hemistich, he is said to have completed the verse thus :

" Oh cupbearer ! let us sing the praises of the Cypress,
the Rose, and the Tulip. "

Let these tidings be carried to the three beautiful Ghossaleahs. "

The poet's mind fell into a " fine frenzy," and one of the most beautiful Persian odes we have in existence owes its origin to this circumstance. But Hafiz politely declined the invi-

tation of Gyasoodeen, alluding to it in the concluding verse of his Ghuzl with a feeling of frankness so natural to him :

“ Oh Hafiz ! why conceal the desire that possesses you,
of visiting Sultan Gyasoodeen ?

It is your business to complain of the distance that separates you.”

Hafiz died rather young. The tomb of this celebrated poet was built by the munificence of a Vakeel, and is made of beautiful marble. The garden where this sepulchre is situated is called Hafizeen, and is held sacred by pilgrims. The epitaph on the tomb comprises two of his odes, and to the taste of the Vakeel, who had these engraved on the tombstone, the selection reflects the highest credit. Few men were more capable of composing their own epitaphs than Hafiz. Leading a life of unimpeachable purity, in constant communion with his own heart, he alone could do justice to himself. Those who saw but little of him took him for a latitudinarian, and those who enjoyed his intimacy, considered him an enthusiast. The fact is that Hafiz was a deadly enemy to conventionalism, and acted in accordance to those broad and universal moral precepts which are, like the fundamental laws of natural philosophy, the same in every country and every age. It is true, that he loved Shiraz with the partiality which is common to individuals who have confined their attention to *nationality*, but Hafiz was *de facto* a citizen of the world ! He had as great, or as little, respect for the musjid as for the church or the temple. He believed in the great Architect whom the whole world reveres as the great Supreme. Close to the spot where Hafiz reposes, a few Durvesh have taken up their abode, and chaunt daily some of the mystical odes, and visit the sacred tomb of the lyric bard. “ A splendid copy of his odes,” Byron remarks, “ is chained to his monument ;” but we are afraid that either his lordship had been misinformed, or that the book has been removed since 1849. The curious and the superstitious consult his work, to take an omen to ascertain the probability of success or disappointment in their undertakings. It is said that Nadir Shah chose a passage from the odes of Hafiz before undertaking a siege, at the same time remarking, that the saint *this time must be a little puzzled, for he questioned much the sanctity of one who would not exchange his wine and women with the water of Kauser and the Houries of Heaven*. But the admirers of the poet retaliate on Nadir Shah’s impiety by reflecting on his melancholy end.

The verse which procured the poet’s interment is also very singular. We must make due allowance for the fanatical love of the Sufis for the memory of Hafiz, and for the *penchant* of the

Persians for inventing and believing in fables, but we shall narrate the anecdote as it is commonly related. At the time of the death of Hafiz, there were many who considered his works sinful and impious, and condemned them to oblivion. They remonstrated against his being buried in consecrated ground; but his followers maintained that Hafiz never acted contrary to the leading tenets of the Koran, and that his life, though spent in a retreat, deserved every honor that could be bestowed on the life of a saint. His opponents went even so far as to arrest the procession of his funeral. The dispute became hot, and blows were imminent, when it was agreed that a line of his own should settle the dispute. If it were to be in favor of religion, his friends were to proceed with the bier; if the verse were calculated to promote immorality, the corpse was to be removed to such quarters as are intended to receive the remains of the infidels. The odes were produced before a person whose eyes were bound and seven pages were counted back, when the inspired finger pointed to the following couplet:

“Withdraw not your steps from the obsequies of Hafiz,
Though immersed in sin he will rise into Paradise.”

A shout arose: the admirers of the poet took up the bier, and those who had doubted joined them in carrying it for interment. To this day honor is done to the sacred spot, and to the memory of the great bard, by strewing flowers, and pouring out libations of the choicest wines, on his grave.

The works of Sadi are remarkable for the boldness and sublimity of the moral lessons they convey; but the strains of Hafiz, for their music and eloquence, are without an equal in the annals of Persian literature. His whole fame rests upon the creative fancy of his imagination, and the easy flow of his glowing numbers. The very quality which earned him in his connexion with the world the unenviable title of an enthusiast—his scorn for sober thoughts—forms the chief delight of his readers. There is a wildness of fancy in his odes which has made him the first of the favorites of his countrymen; and those passages to which the Persians give their enthusiastic praise, correct taste would be compelled to condemn. It has been wisely observed by a Persian critic, that it was the good fortune of Hafiz to be liked equally by saints and sinners. To youths, to whom love is an instinct, his odes are an inducement to pass the spring of life in the enjoyment of worldly pleasures. To the contemplative sage, whose life is devoted to the service of his Maker, the religious enthusiasm of Hafiz appears the mark of providential favor, and his mystical odes are recited by him with his daily orisons.

By some, Hafiz has been compared to Anacreon, and by others to Horace ; and the critic must acknowledge, that after the perusal of the most refined odes of the Latin poet, the reader may still find pleasure in the songs of the Persian lyrist. Notwithstanding the difference of national manners, he is *the* Oriental writer with those works an European scholar will most wish to become familiar. It has been made a subject of discussion, whether the poems of Hafiz must be taken in a literal or in of figurative sense. We believe, in the year 1805, it was one of the theses at a disputation at the Fort William College, and after all the arguments that we have seen, and which must have been produced then, we consider the question not capable of an easy solution ; but yet far from being an unexplainable enigma, as the Persians suppose. The opinion of Sir William Jones evidently carries the greatest amount of truth, and may be perhaps considered the most plausible judgment on the case. According to him " it appears that the question does not admit of a general answer. The most enthusiastic Sufis allow that there are some passages in the odes of Hafiz which may be understood literally, and which are void of mystery as the words of God ; while there are some entire odes which breathe the very essence of their philosophy, and to the general reader appears confused and obscure." There are yet many respectable authorities who question the justice of this opinion, and advance arguments which, though seemingly rational, are not strong enough to convince us. To affirm that some of the odes of Hafiz may be explained in a literal as well as in a figurative sense, is to destroy for ever the assertion, that " The Sufis *alone* can explain by their mystery the mystic strains of the poet." If once the Sufis grant that there are some odes which a man of the world can explain with as much fidelity as the Sufi himself, the judgment of Sir William Jones is tacitly admitted to be just.

As it is impossible for the reader of Hafiz to appreciate his beauties, or even to understand his sense, without a knowledge of Sufism, we shall, in as few words as possible, lay down the tenets of a sect that numbers among its followers the greatest philosophers, poets and moralists of Persia. The Sufis disregard all religious forms and all religious dogmas ; they claim a direct communion with the great Maker, and tacitly and *de facto* set aside the pretensions of Mahomet as the medium of salvation. They represent themselves as entirely devoted to the search of truth—the ideal truth of Plato—and raising themselves above the pleasures and gratifications resulting from the enjoyment of the senses, they pray for a union with the Almighty Creator. But Providence, according to the Sufis is not confined to any one place or in any one object, but is diffused over the

whole world, and is present in every object that we behold. In this creed the Sufi approaches the Pantheist, and some of the German schools. The soul of man, according to the Sufi, is not *from* God but is *of* God ; and if it were necessary for us to prove the direct opposition of the opinions maintained by the Sufis to the letter and spirit of the Koran, we would observe that no faith can be more antagonistic to the faith of Mahomet, than that which establishes an equality between the created and the Creator. But the Sufi teachers remark, that before a man can obtain that divine beatitude to which his soul continually aspires, he must pass through four stages of life. The first of these consists in compliance with the injunctions of Holy Writ, and in observance of all the rites and precepts of the established religion, which are considered *necessary* to govern the vulgar mass who are incapable of forethought and reflection. This is the first stage, and is called *Nasooth*, and the preachers of the Koran have well remarked, that "if a sect preach in defence of the book by establishing its pretensions only as the leader of a blind multitude, it is better that we should prefer infidels to our ally." We are of the same opinion. If the word of God is only necessary to a state of helplessness, and if we are to obey it only as far as it is expedient, we indirectly deny its divine origin. If a sect of Christians were to maintain, that the commandments of our Saviour are only necessary to protect the ignorant from the influence of demagogues, and that they are not adapted to a higher degree of civilization, it is needless to remark that the opinion saps the foundation of our faith. The second stage leads to Sufism ; it raises its votary above the common herd, and is called the stage of *Thurrakuth*. The devotee now abandons religious forms and ceremonies, and depends on the workings of his own soul. The third stage is obtained only by inspiration. The disciple in this begins to view the world with indifference, and to long after eternity ; he is now a degree above the angels, and is approaching divine beatitude. This is called the stage of *Aruf*. The fourth stage is called *Hukeekuth*, and denotes the arrival of truth ; it implies a complete union with the divine Maker.

In every country, and in every age, Sufism has existed, although under different names. It had its followers in Greece when Plato lectured ; it flourished in Rome when Tully spoke : and it now fights against the light of the gospel in Europe and America, and is variously designated, Transcendentalism and Pantheism. We have given a very concise account of Sufism, and we have tried to derive all our knowledge on the subject from the writings of the Sufis themselves. The Moslem professors, out of a spirit of jea-

lousy or fear, have denied them both justice and fair play. Reverting to Hafiz, we maintain the opinion already expressed, that his odes are not exclusively figurative. Many of his admirers affirm that by *wine* he invariably meant sincere *devotion*, and we have seen more than one dictionary of difficult and obscure terms in his odes, which the Sufis have explained in their own manner. By this means a forced meaning is imposed on the odes, and the finest specimens of Persian poetical compositions have been learnedly obscured by their blind admirers. In one of these vocabularies, to which we now refer, we are sorry to find that the compiler mentions his having edited the odes of Hafiz before he had ventured to explain the "puzzles" of this poet. It is needless to remark, that, as a Sufi, the editor must have taken the precaution to disturb the text to suit his own object, vitiating the taste or obscuring the judgment of those who otherwise would find ample delight in these productions of a lively and a genial fancy. In this glossary we find such far-fetched conceits, that none but the curious will trouble themselves with it after the first perusal. *Goblet*, according to the commentator, means *desire*, and sometimes the *heart*; *gardener is God*, and *rose* is the *gift of Heaven*; *beauty* is the *perfection of God*; *tavern* is an *oratory*, or *this world of sin*, and the *keeper* a religious teacher; a *meeting* is the *union of our soul with our Maker*; *sleep* is *meditation*; *dark nights* express the *horrors of death*; *blood* sometimes means *ecstasy*; the *odour* of a flower garden is the token of *paradise*; *kisses* are the raptures which the Sufi feels when his heart is warmed with the glow of piety in the hour of devotion; *scaphyr* is the messenger who carries intelligence from one heart to another; *infidels* are men who are full of devotion and divine love, and immersed in the praise of the great Maker; *inbriety* means indifference to the world and an abstraction from it; *horn* is the *pain of lust*; a *nightingale* is the *harbinger of good news*; and lastly, *screen* means *modesty* or *chastity*.

The mischief is, that even with the aid of such notes, the reader is at a loss to reconcile the different meanings which the Sufis themselves give to the different mystical odes. Some will explain *wine* as *devotion*, while others will contend that it means the *love of God*. In short, the language of Sufism confounds rather than facilitates the explanation of the mystical odes of Hafiz. And if this mode of explanation be extended to such of the odes as admit of a literal sense, we only make "confusion worse confounded," and leave the book with the feelings of astonishment which none but those who have walked in a labyrinth can feel. We cannot deny that Hafiz has, in some instances, apparently alluded to the mysteries of

the Sufis, and that such passages may be explained by the language of Sufism; but to infer from this that his odes can *only* be explained by such language, is to draw a fallacious inference. Nor would it have been safe for the personal security of Hafiz, in a Mussulman country, and under a Mussulman government, if his zealous admirers had not sheltered his daring flights of imagination by putting on them a forced meaning; a meaning contrary to good sense, but in consonance with the religion, the feelings, and the laws of their countrymen. The very essence of Sufism is poetry, and the extravagant genius of Hafiz allows the Sufis to take such liberty with his odes, as they think necessary to prove that they are only to be explained in their language of mystery. But sometimes the poet has even outraged the lax principles of the Sufis, and his admirers have reluctantly confessed that the meaning is obscure, or that the verse may be an interpolation of his commentators. We trust the reader will judge for himself:

"My destiny has been thrown into a tavern by the Almighty;
If such is the case, tell me, where is my crime, O Teacher!

Again:

"Drink wine; for the priest, the judge, and the reader of the Koran
Deceive you by their professions of piety."

We shall now add a few passages that we believe relate to the mysteries of the Sufis:

"It is a meritorious act, O Hafiz! to worship the glass;
Arise and direct thy attention to virtuous deeds!"

"When fortune shall have made a goblet of my day,
See that my head be filled with wine."

"The Sufi, by the inspiration of wine, discovers hidden mysteries.
This ruby liquor discloses the virtue of every one."

"In eternity, without a beginning, a ray of thy beauty began
to gleam;
When love sprang into being, and cast flames over all nature;"

"The true object of heart and soul is the glory of union with
our beloved:
That object really exists, but without it both heart and soul
would have no existence."

"Dancing with love of his beauty, like a mote in a sunbeam,
Till I reach the spring and fountain of light, whence yon sun
derives all his lustre!"

"Thus spoke the nightingale this morning: what sayest thou,
sweet rose, to his precepts?"

"From the moment, when I heard the divine sentence, 'I have
breathed into man a portion of my spirit ;'

I was assured, that we were His, and He ours."

"Rise, my soul ; that I may pour thee forth on the pencil of that
supreme Artist,
Who comprised in a turn of his compass all this wonderful
scenery !"

"The sum of our transactions, in this universe, is nothing :
Bring us the wine of devotion ; for the possessions of this world
vanish."

"Shed, O Lord, from the cloud of heavenly guidance, one cheer-
ing shower,
Before the moment when I must rise up like a particle of dry
dust !"

"Oh ! the bliss of that day, when I shall depart from this deso-
late mansion ;
Shall seek rest for my soul ; and shall follow the traces of my
beloved."

This mystical poetry, or its incarnation, Sufism, claims our atten-
tion a little longer ; not only because the subject has hitherto
been little attended to, but because our knowledge on this head
can alone enable us to understand, appreciate, and criticise the
works of Hafiz. We have admitted that there are passages
in his odes which can be explained by the "mystery within mys-
tery," but let the reader decide if the strong language of Sufism
can be reconciled with the apparent meaning of a number of
these verses :—

"May the hand never shake, which gathered grapes !
May the foot never slip, which pressed them !"

"That poignant liquor, which the zealots call *the mother of sin*,
Is pleasanter and sweeter to me than the kisses of a maiden !"

"But for a little sanctity the Kaaba and the Temple would be
the same.

There can be no sanctity in a house free from virtue."

"I fear, that in the day of universal justice,
The holy bread of the Sheik will not prove superior to my un-
godly liquor."

In the following couplet the Faithful finds an attack on his re-
ligion ; but the mystery of the Sufis redeemed the poet's honor :—

"The priests who appear so devout before the altar and in the
pulpit, behave far otherwise in private.

Why do not the preachers of repentance repent themselves ;
Perhaps they have no faith in a day of retribution, since their
holy offices are so full of fraud and deceit."

These passages, and a thousand besides these, are explained with perfect ease without the assistance of any mystical philosophy, or of any system of philosophy, save that of common sense. That Hafiz was a Sufi we cannot deny, and that he placed little or no reliance on the words of the Koran we can gather from his works. But we shall prove ourselves sadly ignorant of his works if we admit, what the Sufis have so long and so often affirmed with the confidence, "To understand the songs of Hafiz the reader must dive into the well whence the Sufi alone draws the nectar of Truth." The language of "truth and soberness" is widely different from that of enthusiasm ; there is *beliej* for one, and *contempt* for the other.

The poetry of Hafiz, as has been already remarked, bears little affinity to the productions of his predecessors. Rich in fancy, powerful in imagination, original and sublime, wild and glowing, the Ghuzls of the Persian Anacreon are the best of their kind in the Persian language. Transition, so pleasing in poetry and so intolerable in philosophy, is found in its happiest *forms* in the odes of Hafiz. But to appreciate and understand his works, we should read them before the idiom of a foreign tongue has disfigured and tortured them. It would not be doing justice to the genius of this great poet, to test his merits after they have been sifted through the medium of a strange language and inadequate words.

The odes of Hafiz are both grave and gay ; he either moralises on the degeneracy of his age, on the vanity of the world, on the power of sin ; or dwells with ecstasy on the greatness of the Creator, on the pleasures of "the spring of life," and the enjoyments of this world. When he is grave his thoughts are sublime and religious, but his religion is much more ideal than that of the Koran. It preaches to some extent universal charity ; it proclaims "toleration" and liberty of conscience. The Mollah may fret, the Mussulman may inveigh against the "madness of Sufism," but men of sense will prefer the charity, the sympathy of Sufism, to the sword and the intolerant spirit of the Koran. We shall quote a few instances of that feeling of resignation which is not rare in Hafiz :—

"O Hafiz ! there is some pleasure in abstaining from worldly pursuits ; suppose not the condition of the worldly is to be envied."

"Some labour in the paths of love ; others leave every thing to fate. But place no reliance on the permanency of the world ; it is a tenement liable to many changes."

"O my heart ! defer the pleasures of to-day until to-morrow, and who will ensure your existence to enjoy them ?"

"Be patient, O my heart ! be not vexed ; verily, the morn is succeeded by the night, and the night is succeeded by the day."

"Be not sorry if a day of calamity should come ; pass on, be thankful, lest greater ill betide thee."

These are fair specimens of the religious Odes of Hafiz ; we shall now subjoin some examples of the sportive and the gay :

"Give me wine ! wine that shall subdue the strongest,
That for a time I may forget the anxieties of life."

"Do not calumniate, O pious zealot ! those who delight in mirth ;
You will not answer for the sins of others."

"The songstress hath struck up her lyre,
The dancers are wishing to please ;
My idol excites their desire,
And robs them of comfort and ease.
The place then is safe and retired,
My rivals are, thank God ! at rest ;
Her glances the Sufi hath fired,
And fixed Cupid's dart in his breast."

My breast is filled with roses,
My cup is crown'd with wine ;
And by my side reposes
The maid I hail as mine.
The Monarch, whereso'er he be,
Is but a slave, compared to me !

Oh, Hafiz ! never waste thy hours
Without the cup, the lute, and love !
For 'tis the sweetest time of flowers,
And none these moments shall reprove.
The nightingales around thee sing,
It is the joyous feast of spring.

The reputation of Hafiz has not suffered from time, and his name is still held in the greatest esteem and veneration by his countrymen. It is true, what M. Reviczki has observed, that Hafiz was an *esprit fort*, and ridiculed the Koran ; but such an opinion the Moslem is unwilling to entertain of a poet of whom he is justly proud. It is written in the beautiful "Kitabee Koolsum Nunah :

"The women of Shiraz have a remarkable taste in minstrelsy, and are devoted to the memory of Hafiz." "Every woman should be instructed to play on the tamborine ; and she in turn must teach it to her daughters, that their time may be passed in joy and mirth ; and the songs of Hafiz, above all, must be remembered."

The magic power which Hafiz possessed, is accounted for by the legend of his having quaffed the mysterious cup of immortality. This story is related differently by different authorities.

We follow Mr. Waring, who was long in Shiraz, and was acquainted with all the traditions relating to Persian Poetry :

Hafiz had long been in love with the courtesan Shakh Nubat, and had in course of time amassed a sufficient sum to purchase a return. But having heard a popular superstition, that whoever watched on the Baba Kahee, a hill near Shiraz, for forty nights without sleep, would become an inspired poet, Hafiz resolved to try the adventure. The last night of the vigil was on that appointed for the meeting with Shakh Nubat, and the enraptured Hafiz did not recollect the circumstance, until he had been for a long time in the company of his mistress ; but the moment he discovered the error, he tore himself from her arms, and resigned the reward which a year's parsimony had purchased. The next morning the green old man presented to him the cup of Immortality.

There is no mean or abject spirit in the Odes of Hafiz. There is seldom any attempt at wit, and never any obscure metaphors or an inflated style. The love of liberty, so natural to a free spirit and so befitting a patriot, has never been strained to a disease in his writings ; his natural mirth has never given birth to mad vagaries—nature alone and nature always has been held up by him to admiration. Not so learned as Sadi, less scientific than Jami, Hafiz is yet the most natural and the least egotistical poet of his country. There are some stanzas in his amorous ditties that breathe egotism ; but it is the egotism of an honest heart, of a heart that beheld the fame of rivals unconcerned. At the conclusion of one of his finest Odes he speaks thus of himself :

“ What can the minstrel sing at the banquet of the Prince,
If he singeth not the verses of Hafiz ? ”

Of the conceits of Persian poets much has been said, but Hafiz forms a singular exception to this general rule. There is however a far-fetched idea in one of his light Odes with which we close our review, and which the reader will not consider a blemish so serious as to outweigh the poet's excellences. When referring to the fiction which relates that the tulip first sprung up in the soil which was moistened with the blood of Ferhad, the celebrated lover of Sheran, he says :

“ Perhaps the tulip feared the evils of destiny ;
Hence, while it lives, it bears the wine globet on its stock.”

This we own is a conceit ; but no conceit can be more fanciful, and perhaps, more pardonable in a Persian poet.

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SELECTIONS FROM THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INDIAN EPISCOPATE.

BY SIR JOHN KAYE, K.C.S.I.

1. *Sketch of the Established Church in India; its recent growth, its present state and prospects*; by Edward Whitehead, M. A., Assistant Chaplain, H. E. I. C. Formerly Domestic and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Madras. London: 1848.
2. *Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography*; by Sir James Stephen. London: 1849.

IT was in that spring of 1813, when the sad tidings of the death of Henry Martyn were received and wept over by Simeon and his friends, that a great movement, which had long been gathering strength and consistency, seemed to have acquired an irresistible impetus, which would command for it speedy success. The harvest seemed to be ready for the sickle. The labours of those busy workmen, Grant, Teignmouth, Thornton, Wilberforce, Buchanan and their companions, were now about to meet their reward. They had toiled and striven manfully for years. They had encountered public opposition and private ridicule. They had been shouted at by the timid, and sneered at by the profane. They had been described on the one hand, as dangerous intermeddlers, and upon the other, as imbecile fanatics. They had contended only against the open official suppression of Christianity in India; they had asked only for toleration. They had demanded that, in the midst of opposing creeds, the faith of the Christian might be suffered to walk unveiled and unfettered. They had been seeking this liberty for many years; and now at last the day of emancipation was beginning to dawn upon them.

The "Clapham Sect" were victorious. There was, in truth, everything to make them so. All the wit of Sydney Smith and all the ponderous orientalism of Scott Waring could not long prevail against the steady efforts of that little band of strong-headed and strong-hearted Christians. They were not inexperienced novices, or mere idle dreamers. Grant and Teignmouth had spent their lives, from very boyhood, in India. Wilberforce and Thornton had mixed largely with Anglo-Indians, had deep-

ly studied their writings, and had neglected no practicable means of arriving at just conclusions. They were all practical men—not mere benevolent recluses, or theological students, knowing nothing of the outer world. Three of them were busy members of Parliament; the fourth had been Governor-General of India. They had reason and experience on their side; and Christian England was with them. They had written much, and spoken much, on the subject so near their hearts; and now they were bracing themselves up for a final effort—secure of victory in the end.

The old Charter of the East India Company was expiring. The provisions of a new one were about to be considered and determined by the Parliament of Great Britain. Great changes of a commercial character were about to be introduced; but with these we have nothing here to do. Our concern is with other changes. A battle was to be fought for the establishment of an Anglo-Indian Episcopate, and for the liberty of Christian Missions. There was nothing very alarming in the provisions for the better maintenance of Christianity in India, which it was now proposed to substitute for a system of studied abnegation. But some weak-minded people had taken alarm, and others with stronger heads and worse hearts had pretended to feel it. For many years there had been an outcry against (what was called) “interference with the religious prejudices of the natives of India.” No interference with their religious prejudices had ever been designed; but it suited the purpose of the antagonists of Christian liberty to talk about coercion, as though the millions of Hindústan were about to be converted by a system of general iconoclasm, like that by which Cortes and his followers had made proselytes of the helpless idolators of the Western world. There was, however, supposed to be this difference; that, whereas the Spanish invader had filled with terror, and reduced to prostration, the Mexican heathen, the idol-worshippers of Hindústan would rise up against their Christian conquerors, burn their temples, sacrifice their priests, and involve every white man in the country in a great and indiscriminate slaughter. So was it said; so was it written. So was it said and written in ignorance; so was it said and written with design. Everlasting references to the massacre of Vellore stood instead of other facts, and of all argument. The downfall of the British Empire in India was confidently predicted; and vivid pictures were drawn of mighty multitudes of incensed Brahmin-led Hindús, mingling with fierce bands of insulted Muhammedans, making common cause against the followers of the Nazarene, and driving them into the sea.

Some years before the old Charter expired, there had been

a fierce paper war in England—a strife of pamphlets, prosecuted with some vigour on either side, perhaps with some acrimony—about this great matter of the propagation of Christianity in our British Indian possessions. Ever since Mr. Buchanan published in 1805 his memoir on an Indian Church Establishment, the subject had been prominently before the public ; and in spite of the necessary obtrusion of more exciting topics throughout those stirring times of European war, there were circles in which the progress of that great battle between truth and error was regarded with livelier interest than the contest between the Corsican adventurer and the allied sovereigns of Europe. Having exhumed a considerable number of these long-buried pamphlets, and very carefully and conscientiously examined their contents, we are bound to declare our conviction that they are very heavy affairs. One wonders in these days how so interesting a subject could have been treated in so uninteresting a manner. Marvellously little talent illumined these weighty discourses. If it had not been for the Reviewers the controversy would have been conducted in the dullest manner : but *they* threw a little life into it. A dread of the biting sarcasms of the *Edinburgh Review* extended even to the Northern Provinces of India ; but we would rather have fallen under the hands of Sydney Smith, than have been consigned to the tender mercies of John Foster. The canon of St. Paul's cut sharply with a polished razor ; the dissenting divine clove down with a hatchet. Foster was not a witty man ; but there was a certain dry humour about him, which he turned to profitable account. His sneer was a mighty one. It came down upon its victim, very quietly but very crushingly, like the paw of an elephant. We never rise from the perusal of one of his reviews of Scott Waring, without being haunted by a vision of that unhappy gentleman, flattened and forlorn, like a hat that has been sat upon, gasping in a state of semi-animation, and feebly articulating "quarter!"

Yet this Scott Waring held the chief place in the little army of pamphleteers that fought, with such good will, in defence of genuine Hinduism. On the other side, there was Mr. Owen, Secretary of the Bible Society ; and there was its President, Lord Teignmouth. The latter wrote with most knowledge upon the subject ; but he was not a brilliant writer ; he was in earnest after his kind, but he was not an earnest man. He was not an enthusiast ; he was not a hero. "India House traditions," writes Sir James Stephen, "tell, that when a young aspirant "for distinction there requested one of the Chairs to inform

"him, what was the proper style of writing political despatches," "the Chair made answer 'the style we prefer is the *hum-drum*.' "This preference for the hum-drum, enjoined perhaps by the "same high authority, clung to Lord Teignmouth, even after "his return to Europe. He wrote as if to baffle the critics, "and lived as though to perplex the biographers. He was "in fact, rather a fatiguing man—of a narcotic influence in "general society, with a pen that not rarely dropped truisms; "sedate and satisfied under all the vicissitudes of life: the very "antithesis and contradiction of a hero."* But he was something better than a hero; he was an eminently good and honest man; and at a time when lies were being tossed about so prodigally, the truisms which dropped from his pen, were not without use and significance. It is something, doubtless, to make the printed page sparkle with wit, and glow with eloquence; but we would rather have written the following passage, which we copy from a manuscript letter now before us, dated *Clampham, February 20, 1806*, than all the brilliant essays of Smith, Macaulay, and Stephen:—"There is no other basis of "temporal and eternal happiness than religion, and there is "no other true religion than that which the Gospel teaches. I live "in a society, where these principles are avowed and cultivated, "and with the peculiar advantage of hearing them taught in a "most masterly and impressive style; and the only source of "discomfort which I suffer, is from the recollection of the "mode in which I passed my youthful years in India. In all "other respects I enjoy all the good which this life can afford, "and have not a wish towards opulence and ambition. My "religion has nothing of gloom; its tendency is to make me "cheerful, contented and happy, grateful for what I have, and "anxious to show and feel may gratitude to the Disposer of all "Good. Religion, which does not produce these effects, is professional only." But all this savours of digression.

We have no intention to detain the reader with a long recital of the narcotic details of this war of pamphlets. A few specimens will suffice. Among other pamphleteers was Mr. Thomas Twining, "late Senior Merchant of the Company's Bengal Establishment, whose patronymic has since become familiar to

* The ecclesiastical Biographer's sketch of the career of Lord Teignmouth is not as correct as that of his character. For example, it is said that he was promoted by Warren Hastings to "a seat in his Supreme Council of four." We need not tell any of our Indian readers that Mr. Shore was never a member of the Supreme Council during Mr. Hastings's administration, and that the Governor-General had no power to make any such appointment. Mr. Shore was a member of the Council of Revenue; and it is probable, that by this fact, Sir James Stephen has been misled.

the consumers of tea throughout the whole British world. His letter to the Chairman of the East India Company exploded like a shell in the enemy's camp. It consisted mainly of extracts from the Reports of the Bible Society and the publications of Claudius Buchanan. The original comments were brief, but pungent; and, it was remarked by a controversialist on the other side, not without some show of truth, "that no such letter was ever before written in a Christian country, under a Christian king, by a gentleman professing the Christian religion."

It may be worth our while to exhume, and that of our readers to examine, a few passages of Mr. Twining's pamphlet. There is a fine antiquarian flavour about them. As relics of a by-gone age, as fossil remains indicating a pre-existent condition of the moral world, they will be pored over with wondering curiosity. The establishment of the Bible Society called forth the following explosion of horror and alarm:—

"I must observe, that my fears of attempts to disturb the religious systems of India have been especially excited by my hearing that a Society exists in this country, the *chief* object of which is the '*universal*' dissemination of the Christian faith; particularly among those nations of the East to whom we possess a safe facility of access, and whose minds and doctrines are known to be most obscured by the darkness of infidelity. Upon this topic, so delicate and solemn, I shall for the present make but one observation. I shall only observe, that, if a Society having such objects in view does exist, and if the leading members of that Society are also leading members of the East India Company—and not only of the East India Company, but of the Court of Directors—nay, Sir, not only of the Court of Directors, but of the Board of Control!—if, I say, these alarming hypotheses are true, then, Sir, are our *possessions in the East already in a situation of most eminent and unprecedented peril; and no less a danger than the threatened extermination of our Eastern sovereignty commands us to step forth, and arrest the progress of such rash and unwarrantable proceedings.*

After twenty-two pages of extracts from the Bible Society's Reports and Mr. Buchanan's Memoir (the entire pamphlet consists only of thirty), Mr. Twining thus comments upon the latter:

"Here, Sir, ends the second chapter, which Mr. Buchanan has devoted to this subject, and here, Sir, my extracts from the work must terminate, for *I really cannot cut open the leaves, which contain the sequel sanguinary doctrine.* Again, and again, Sir, I must insist upon the extreme danger to our very existence in India, from the disclosure of such opinions and views to the native inhabitants of that country. Let Mr. Brown, and Mr. Buchanan, and their patrons at Clapham and Leadenhall street, seriously reflect upon the catastrophes of Buenos Ayres, Rosetta, and Vellore; and let them beware how they excite that rage and infatuation, which competent judges describe, as without an example among any other people."

And then we have the following ominous notice relative to the Buchanan Prize Essay, which Mr. Twining describes as a "most improper and a most alarming fact :"—

"What must the natives of India think, when they shall know, as most assuredly they will, that Mr. Buchanan has been permitted to engage the national universities of this country, in discussing and determining the best means of diffusing the Christian religion throughout India? It is a fact, and I think a most improper and a most alarming fact, that the Vice Provost of the Company's College at Fort William, has actually bestowed a prize of £500, at each of the Universities, for the best disputation on the following question, *viz* :—" *What are the best means of civilizing the subjects of British India, and of diffusing the light of the Christian Religion through the Eastern World?*"

The letter to the Chairman concludes with the following magniloquent peroration :—

"As long as we continue to govern India in the mild and tolerant spirit of Christianity, we may govern it with ease ; but if ever the fatal day should arrive, when religious innovation shall set her foot in that country, indignation will spread from one end of Hindústan to the other, and the arms of fifty millions of people will drive us from that portion of the globe, with as much ease as the sand of the desert is scattered by the wind. But I still hope, Sir, that a perseverance in the indiscreet measures I have described, will not be allowed to expose our countrymen in India to the horrors of that dreadful day : but that our native subjects, in every part of the East, will be permitted quietly to follow their own religious opinions, their own religious prejudices and absurdities, until it shall please the Omnipotent Power of Heaven to lead them into the paths of light and truth."

This pamphlet called into the field a small regiment of rejoinders. We have now before us, "Cursory remarks on Mr. Twining's letter"—"A letter in answer to Mr. Richard Twining, Tea-dealer"—"An address to the Chairman of the East India Company, occasioned by Mr. Twining's letter," &c., &c. The last named of these publications was the production of Mr. Owen, one of the Secretaries of the Bible Society, and principally directed to the defence of that institution. In so far, it is a triumphant reply to Mr. Twining's tirade. Mr. Twining had especially commented on the fact, that Lord Teignmouth, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Thornton were on the Committee of the Society—the first being at its head ; Mr. Owen, with reference to this, replied that neither Mr. Grant nor Mr. Thornton had once attended a meeting of the Committee, during the period of three years and a half, for which the Society had existed ; and he successfully exploded a surmise to which some weight was attached, that a certain letter from Mr. Brown was addressed to Mr. Grant, by declaring that it was written to himself. Bishop Porteus followed Mr. Owen ; and Scott Waring having taken the field on

the other side, Lord Teignmouth sat down to write his "considerations" on the duty and expediency of communicating a knowledge of Christianity to the natives of India. It was said at the time, and with undeniable truth, that if this pamphlet had appeared at the beginning of the controversy, no other need have been written. It was sensible, argumentative, and conclusive; and it showed that he had a more prophetic vision than the alarmists with whom he contended.

The Charter of 1793 wore to its close; and now the great question was about to be formally decided. It had virtually been decided before. Public opinion, before the dawn of 1813, had pronounced the doom of the abnegation system. But still that was a great year. The institution of an episcopal establishment in India was about to be formally proposed in Parliament (somewhat unwillingly, for Lord Castlereagh was to be the proposer); but the people of England were declaring so emphatically in favour of a more open recognition of Christianity by a Christian Government, and the concession of greater liberty to Christian ministers in the East, that it was no longer possible to withstand the tide of popular feeling. Petitions began to pour in from all parts of the country; from all classes of men; from all denominations of Protestant Christians. "On the subject of facilitating the diffusion of Christianity in India," wrote Mr. Simeon to his "dear friend and brother" Thomson, "there are going to be petitions from all quarters. Vast opposition is made to it: Lord Castlereagh is adverse to it; examinations are making in relation to it at the bar of the House of Commons; Mr. Hastings, Lord Teignmouth, and others have given their evidence; Hastings is very adverse. Lord Castlereagh's plan is to send out a Bishop and three Archdeacons; but whether it will be approved by Parliament I cannot tell.*" The war was now being waged in earnest. The resolutions had by this time been stated to the House; and,

* Lord Liverpool was at this time Prime Minister. Lord Castlereagh was Foreign Secretary, and leader of the House of Commons. The Earl of Buckinghamshire was President of the Board of Control. It is believed that the Premier was more liberally disposed than his colleagues towards the promotion of Christianity in India. "Be so good," wrote Buchanan in July 1812, "as to tell—and—that I have received a letter from Colonel Macaulay this morning, informing me that a deputation of Messrs. Wilberforce, Grant, Babington, &c., had waited on Lord Liverpool, on the subject of evangelising India, and that his Lordship surprised them by offering almost more than they wished. He intimated his intention to carry the three following important measures—1st. To establish a seminary at each presidency in India for instructing natives for the ministry; 2nd. To grant licenses to Missionaries, not from the Court of Directors, but from the Board of Control; 3rd. To consecrate Bishops for India." It is probable that Lord Castlereagh's pruning knife was applied to this scheme; and thence the modified form, which it assumed in the resolutions.

a few days after Simeon's letter was written, the Protestant Dissenters of the country memorialised Parliament, setting forth that "to represent a system of idolatry and superstition as tending to produce moral virtue and human happiness, is no less contrary to the dictates of sound reason and philosophy, than irreconcilable with the first principles on which our faith is built; and that, entertaining a directly opposite sentiment, the petitioners are anxiously desirous that the light and blessings of Christianity should be gradually diffused over the immense empire of Great Britain in the East, which, instead of being thereby endangered, would, as they believe on the ground of fact and experience, derive additional strength and stability from the spread of the Christian religion; and that the petitioners are fully aware of the mass of ignorance and prejudice to be encountered, and that the progress of knowledge must be proportionably slow; but whilst the means of persuasion only are employed (and all others they utterly deprecate), they are at a loss to discover from whence any such apprehensions of danger can arise, as to induce any wise and good government to discountenance the attempt." Local petitions poured in both from England and Scotland. Glasgow put forth an emphatic appeal, both in behalf of the general dissemination of Christianity throughout India, and through its ministers and elders, of the claims of the Scottish Church to recognition in India. The Synod of Fife embodied both objects in one comprehensive petition. Mr. Whitbread presented a petition from "the Treasurer, Secretaries, and Directors of a certain voluntary Society, known by the name of the *Missionary Society*, instituted in 1795;" but, half ashamed of it, begged to be understood as giving no opinion on the subject. Warrington, Sunderland, Leeds, Weymouth, and other places in the north and south, too numerous to specify, poured in their petitions both to the Upper and the Lower House. And whilst the two Houses were receiving these indications of popular opinion out-of-doors, they were busily engaged in taking the evidence of experienced members of the civil and military services, and of the commercial community, regarding the different points embraced in the Charter of the great Company, which was now about to lose some of its dearest privileges, in spite of the most manful efforts to retain them.

Among the remarkable men, examined by the Parliamentary Committees, were Warren Hastings, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munro, and Lord Teignmouth. When Hastings was asked by the Commons' Committee, whether he recol-

lected any Missionaries in India in his time, he said that he remembered Schwartz, "a very worthy gentleman" in the Carnatic; and another in Calcutta, Kiernander, who might not perhaps be properly described as a Missionary. He stated also, that he remembered one conversion in Calcutta, effected by Kiernander, because it was announced "with great pomp and parade;" and that he remembered a Catholic priest at Dacca, who boasted that he had a number of Christian converts, but did not seem to understand Christianity himself. When he was asked, what would be the consequences, if persons were allowed to employ themselves as Missionaries, "unlicensed and subject to no restraint;" he answered, that he could not suppose such a situation: but, when told that the Committee meant "unrestrained, as to the mode they may think proper to adopt for effecting their object," he said, that if such people had demeaned themselves properly, he should have taken no notice of them; but that, if they had given out, that Government encouraged their designs, he should have exercised his authority in controlling them, or, if necessary, have sent them out of the country. To the question, "What is your opinion as to the political effect of the measure proposed respecting a Church Establishment for India?" he gave this answer:—

"The question is one of great intricacy, and of such delicacy, that I should almost fear to speak to it, but that my respect for this Honorable House enjoins it; because, though it specifically mentions only political effects, yet it intimates no allusion to the nature of the office itself. Of the religious uses, or present necessity, of such a creation I cannot be a judge, and therefore can say nothing to it; and, unless I knew both the circumstances and object of the creation, it would be impossible for me to conjecture in what way they could affect the peace of the country. May I say, without offence, that I wish any other time had been chosen for it? A surmise has gone forth of an intention in this Government to force our religion upon the consciences of the people in India, who are subjected to the authority of the Company. It has pervaded every one of the three Establishments of Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay, and has unhappily impressed itself with peculiar force upon the minds of our native infantry, the men on whom we must depend, in the last resort, for our protection against any disturbances which might be the effect of such surmises. Much would depend upon the temper, conduct, and demeanour of the person devoted to that sacred office. I dare not say all that is in my mind on this subject; but it is one of great hazard.

And thus expressing his fears, the fine old man stood * there,

* We ought to right *sale*. The accommodation of a chair was offered to Mr. Hastings, then in his eighty-first year; and it is on record, that the motion to afford him a seat, whilst delivering his evidence, was received with one of the loudest bursts of acclamation ever heard in the House. His own account of his examination is to be found in a letter addressed to Sir (then Mr.) Charles D'Oyley.

the embodiment of public opinion, as it was in India some twenty years before. Another Governor-General followed him; he spoke also, according to the light that was in him—but how different that light! Lord Teignmouth came forward, as the representative of a more enlightened era, laughing to scorn all these vague fears and idle apprehensions. The Committee seemed to know the kind of man they had to deal with, and assailed him at starting by putting an extreme case:—"Would it be consistent with the security of the British empire in India, that Missionaries should preach publicly, with a view to the conversion of the native Indians, that Mahomet is an impostor, or should speak in opprobrious terms of the Brahmins, or their religious rights?" To this, of course, Lord Teignmouth replied, that there might be danger in such indiscretion; but that no one contemplated the conversion of the natives of India by such means; and when, soon afterwards, the question was put, "Is your Lordship aware that an opinion prevails in India, that it is the intention of the British Government to take means to convert the natives of the country to the Christian religion?" He answered, without a moment's hesitation, "*I never heard it, or suspected it.*" One would have thought that there was little need after this to put the case hypothetically; but the witness was presently asked whether, allowing such an opinion to exist among the natives, the appearance of a Bishop on the stage would not increase the danger. "I should think," said Lord Teignmouth, "it would be viewed with perfect indifference." Determined to work the hypothesis a little more, the Committee asked him whether, "*were* the Hindús possessed with an idea, that we had an intention of changing their religion and converting them into Christians, it would be attended with any bad consequences at all?" "I will expatiate a little in my answer to that question," said Lord Teignmouth; and he then delivered himself of the following explanation, the admirable good sense of which is not to be surpassed by anything to be found in the entire mass of evidence elicited, throughout the enquiry, upon all points of the Company's Charter:—

"Both the Hindús and Muhammedans, subject to the British Government in India, have had the experience of some years, that in all the public acts of that Government, every attention has been paid to their prejudices,

"By the Commons," he said, "I was under examination between three and four hours; and when I was ordered to withdraw, and was retiring, all the members by one simultaneous impulse rose with their heads uncovered, and stood in silence, till I passed the door of their Chamber."—The Duke of Gloucester took him in his carriage to the House of Lords, sat with him in the outer-room till he was called in to be examined, conducted him to the Chamber, and subsequently re-conveyed him home again.—*Gleig's Life of Warren Hastings.*

civil and religious, and that the freest toleration is allowed to them ; that there are many regulations of Government which prove the disposition of Government to leave them perfectly free and unmolested in their religious ordinances ; and that any attempt at an infringement upon their religion or superstitions, would be punished by the Government of India. With that conviction, which arises from experience, I do not apprehend that they would be brought to believe that the Government ever meant to impose upon them the religion of this country."

But the Committee had not yet done with their hypothesis, and were determined not to let the witness, whatever might be his opinion of its absurdity, escape without giving a direct answer ; so they assailed him again, by asking, "*Should the state of things be altered, and we not observe the conduct we have hitherto observed, but introduce new modes and enact new laws, for the carrying into effect the conversion of the natives to Christianity,*" would not that be attended with disagreeable consequences ?" To this, of course, but one answer could be given ; and Lord Teignmouth gave that answer, leaving the Committee to make what use of it they could. " If a law were to be enacted," he said, " for converting the natives of India to Christianity in " such a manner, as to have the appearance of a compulsory law " upon their consciences, I have no hesitation in saying that, in " that case, it would be attended with very great danger." Who ever doubted it ? Who ever contended for anything so preposterous—so insane ? The Committee must have been *in extremis*, indeed, to have fallen back upon such sciomachy as this. They suppose a case, which the warmest advocate of Church-extension and Missionary liberty in India would never have contemplated in their most enthusiastic moments ; and which the leaders of the Christian party, men of eminently sound practical good sense, would, if suggested to them, have repudiated with scorn. Such hypothetical questioning—such fighting with shadows, was quite unworthy of a Committee, whose object ought to have been to direct men's minds to the truth, and not to bewilder and lead them astray. No one ever dreamt of forcing Christianity upon the people of India : but the tendency, if not the object, of such questions as we have cited, was obviously to induce an impression abroad that such intentions had absolutely existed. The Lords' Committee, when they examined Lord Teignmouth, did not touch upon the subject of religion, or Church establishments, at all.*

* But, knowing the kind of answers that would be returned by the two men, they had not shrunk from questioning Hastings on these points, though Teignmouth was discreetly left to himself. Warren Hastings was asked, " Would the introduction " of a Church establishment into the British territories in the East Indies probably be " attended with any consequences, that would be injurious to the stability of the Government of India ? " and he replied, " I have understood that a great fermentation

These samples will suffice. We come now to shew in what manner these questions were discussed in Parliament. It may not be uninteresting thus to exhibit, within a small compass, the conflicting opinions of the pamphleteers, of the witnesses, and of the Senate of Great Britain.

On the 22nd of March, the House having resolved itself into a Committee, the Resolutions were stated by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh. When he came to (what ten years before had been, and still were somewhat irreverently called) the "pious clauses," he seemed somewhat inclined to get over the ground with as much rapidity as possible. "Another resolution," he said, "which he should propose to the House, would be on the subject of religion. He was aware that it was unwise to encroach on the subject of religion generally, and that this, under the circumstances of our Government in India, was a most delicate question. But there was one regulation on the subject necessary, even for the sake of decency. The Company entrusted with the Supreme Government, in this as in other matters, had permitted the free exercise of religion at their settlements; but there was no sort of religious control, and the members of the Church of England could not receive the benefits of those parts of their religion, to which the Episcopal functions were necessary,—for example, the ceremony of Confirmation. He hoped that the House did not think he was coming out with a great ecclesiastical establishment, for it would only amount to one Bishop and three Archdeacons, to superintend the chaplains of the different settlements. The Company, he hoped, would not think it an encroachment on their rights, that while British subjects in India were governed by British laws, they should be permitted to exercise their national religion." Charles Grant and Mr. Wilberforce both spoke (but briefly) on that evening; the latter complaining—"that the resolution of the 14th of May 1793, relative to the religious and moral instruction of India, had

"has arisen in the minds of the natives of India, who are subject to the authority of the British Government, and that not partial, but extending to all our possessions, arising from a belief, however propagated, that there was an intention in this Government to encroach upon the religious rights of the people. From the information of persons, who have recently come from the different establishments of India, your Lordships will easily know whether such apprehensions still subsisted when they left it, or whether the report of them is groundless; but if such apprehensions do exist, every thing, that the irritable minds of the people can connect with that, will make an impression upon them, which they will adopt as certain assurance of it. So far only, considering the question as a political one, I may venture to express my apprehension of the consequences of such an establishment, at this particular season; in no other light, am I permitted to view it. But I can conceive, that, in a proper time and season, it would be advantageous to the interests of religion, and highly creditable to the Company and to the nation, if the Ecclesiastical Establishment in India were rendered complete in all its branches."

"not been attended to." He was unwilling, he said, to leave the same power in the hands of the Directors, for twenty years to come, who had set their face against the introduction of preachers into that country for twenty years past.

On the 9th of April, moving for certain papers, the Marquis of Wellesley, in an able and energetic speech, reviewed the whole question of Indian Government in the House of Lords. When he came to those especial points which we are now considering, he gave his opinion, but not without some qualification, in favour of an extension of the Church establishment, and delivered himself of a well-deserved complimentary tribute to the Missionaries. But he spoke as a man with a hobby of his own, which he was resolutely bestriding; and, thoughtless of any great comprehensive system calculated to advance the real glory of a Christian nation, he looked only to the carrying out his favourite project of an extensive Collegiate establishment, to be presided over by the dignitaries of the Church. The old bugbear of alarming the natives had possession even of his mind:—

"As to the last point," he said, "which regarded the Ecclesiastical establishment in India, he always had thought that our Ecclesiastical establishment there, did not rest on a footing sufficiently respectable. He was of opinion that a suitable Ecclesiastical establishment would tend to elevate the European character in the eyes of the natives. Whether the proper establishment would be a Bishop or Archdeacons, was a matter of detail which could be better discussed out of that House. But if it were intended to place the Ecclesiastical establishment there on a more dignified footing, care should be taken to avoid all collision between the Government and the Church establishment, with respect to their authorities, by means similar to the connection between the Crown and the Church in this country and in Ireland. From recent events which had taken place in India, it would, however, be certainly a matter of considerable delicacy; and, although no mischief might result from it, yet there was a possibility that the introduction of a very considerable novelty of this description in India *might occasion some alarm among the natives.*

He lamented the absence from the scheme of the new Charter of any provision for the education of the civil and military servants of the Company. He expressed his conviction that there could be no better means of disseminating Christianity in India, than by placing the head of the Church establishment there at the head of the Collegiate establishment of Fort William; and he augured much from "the gradual diffusion of knowledge, which would result from this intercourse between learned natives and the dignitaries of our Church in India." He then went on to speak of the Missionaries:—

"With regard to the Missionaries, he must say, that while he was in India, he never knew of any danger arising from them; neither had he heard of any impression made by them, in the way of conversion. The greater number

of them were in the Danish settlements ; but he never heard of any convulsions, or any alarm being produced by them. Some of them, particularly Mr. Carey, were very learned men, and had been employed in the College of Bengal. He had always considered the Missionaries, who were in India during his time, as a quiet, orderly, discreet, and learned body ; and he had employed many of them in the education of youth, and in translating the Scriptures into the Eastern languages. He, however, had issued no order, nor given any authority for the dissemination of those translations among the natives. He had thought it his duty to have the Scriptures translated into the languages of the East, and to give the learned natives, employed in the translation, the advantages of access to the sacred fountains of divine truth. He thought that a Christian Governor could not have done less, and he believed that a British Governor ought not to do more.*

The President of the Board of Control and the Prime Minister spoke upon that evening, and Lord Grenville made a very long and very able speech ; but the religious points of the question were left untouched.

In the meanwhile the Commor: had proceeded in their consideration of the resolutions. On the 31st of March, they had resolved themselves into a Committee of the whole House, (Mr. Lushington in the Chair). A lengthy debate ensued, principally remarkable for a very dull speech by Mr. Bruce, and a

* The influence of Mr. Wilberforce, an intimate, personal friend of Lord Wellesley, had been exerted, in this direction, with good success. With admirable tact and *savoir faire*, he assailed the weak side of his Lordship, appealing to his particular sympathies and predilections, and almost persuading him that the Anti-Christian party were attacking the Ex-Governor-General's own system. "I know not," he wrote "whether your Lordship has heard of the unreasonable clamour, that has been raised by the Anglo-Indians in the House of Commons against all, even the most prudent attempt, to convert the natives of India ; and more especially against Missionaries. Now, let me hope—a hope, which I share with, I am glad to say, a considerable number of men in the House of Commons, and with many more out of it—that your Lordship will to-morrow use your just authority in putting to flight these vain fears ;—the rather, because the alarmists are enemies of the system, *which your Lordship certainly established, and which, I trust, you will confirm and revive*, that, I mean, of diffusing useful knowledge of all sorts among the natives of India ; and I confess, for my own part, that I have always held, and still retain, the opinion, that education, the translation and diffusion of the Scriptures, and advancement in general knowledge, would be far the most powerful agents in the great work of Christianizing the natives of India. Your weight thrown into the right scale will make it preponderate." To this he adds a complaint, too applicable we fear to the Parliament of the present day, of the ignorance of both Houses—"I will only add, that your Lordship can scarcely conceive (if I may judge of the House of Lords from the general condition of the members of the House of Commons) how ignorant their Lordships in general are likely to be regarding India, and therefore how little they are qualified to ask questions in Committee." A wish was also expressed that the Marquis would attend that Committee, of which he was a member, but an ever-absent one. In replying to the speech, from which we have quoted in the text, the Earl of Buckingham, then President of the Board of Control, taunted Lord Wellesley with his non-attendance. A Select Committee had been formed, of which his noble friend was a member, but he never once had attended that Committee ; with all the knowledge and all the information he possessed on that subject, he had not condescended to cast one ray of light on their proceedings, &c., &c. Warren Hastings, Mr. Cowper, and Lord Teignmouth, had all been examined at this time.

very brilliant one by young Charles Grant.* Canning; also spoke, characterising the free admission of Englishmen as traders in India, as a movement, to "allow a few pedlars to travel in the country with a pack of scissors, or other hardware at their backs;" and declared his conviction that "no system could be radically bad, which had produced such able and enlightened statesmen, as had been examined on the part of the Company." But the "pious clauses" were not then touched upon. It was not, indeed, until the 17th of June, that the 12th resolution—"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is expedient that the Church establishment in the British territories should be placed under the superintendence of a Bishop and three Archdeacons, and that adequate provision should be made from the territorial revenues of India, for their maintenance," came under discussion. It passed without a division; but, as that ordinarily minute reporter, Hansard, narrates, "after a long conversation." We confess, that, even at this distance of time, we should value some account of this "conversation." The Missionary clause came next. That was the field, on which the great battle was to be fought between the Christian and the Philo-Hindú parties. The resolution was thus worded—"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted, as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement. That in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law, to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs." A special day was set apart for the discussion of this clause. It was cautiously worded, so as to contain no direct mention of Missionaries and Christianity. The 22nd of June was fixed for the discussion. Wilberforce had girded himself for the conflict, and went down to the House with quite an encyclopædia of authorities in support of his favourite opinions. His whole heart was in the encounter. He spoke long and well, tossing about the testimonies of the learned with a prodigality that was quite overwhelming. He quoted the opinions of all the Governors-General, one after the other, to show that the people of India were the most abandoned people on the face of the earth. He quoted the historians: he quoted the Missionaries; he quoted the civil servants of the Company

* The present Lord Glenelg. It must have been a fine thing to have seen, the two Charles Grants—father and son—fighting side by side on the floor of the House of Commons.

He quoted Orme, Verelst, Scrafton, Bolt, Malcolm, Grant, Mackintosh, Colebrooke, Keir, Marshmen, Carey, Waid, and an infinite number of official reports. He piled up authority upon authority to demonstrate the claims of this unhappy and most benighted people upon the Christian sympathies of the British nation. It was a noble piece of special pleading, not exempt from exaggeration—that exaggeration, which is perhaps seldom absent from the addresses of a man very full of his subject, very earnest and energetic, thoroughly convinced in his own mind, and intensely eager to bring conviction to the minds of others. The grandeur of its aims, the high character and pure sincerity of the speaker, impart a dignity and a purity to the address, which it is impossible not to venerate. It made an impression upon the House, it made an impression throughout the country. “The dogmas of some men,” writes Sir James Stephen, who, in fulfilment of the mandate, *thine own friend and thy Father's friend forsake not*, has borne touching and eloquent tribute to the worth of Wilberforce and his chosen associates, “the dogmas of some men are of incomparably more value (in the House of Commons) than the logic of others; and no member, except the leaders of the great contending parties, addressed the House with an authority equal to that of “Mr. Wilberforce.” Out of the House, too, his name was a tower of strength. Carefully collected by the speaker, the speech, to which we now refer, was published by Hatchard, and found its way into extensive circulation. Its course was successful but not unopposed. The resolution was carried that night by a majority of 89 to 36, but, after a day or two, the question was re-opened in another stage of the business. On the 28th, the elder Grant made a long and able speech in defence of the Company. Mr. Lushington followed with a reply to Mr. Wilberforce, and a defence of the Hindus to be answered by stout William Smith,* who, with Mr. Stephen, the father of the ecclesiastical biographer, had fought the battle of Christianity nobly, as the lieutenants of Mr. Wilberforce. On the 1st of July, the discussion was again resumed, and a very remarkable speech delivered on the wrong side of the question.

The speaker was Mr. Charles Mush. This gentleman had

* Mr. Tierney was the next speaker. Mr. Tierney often said very clever things in a very bad spirit. But it appears to us that the following is a very stupid thing in a very bad spirit. “He now came to the consideration of a clause for the appointment of an Archbishop, who was never to apply himself to trade. Why, what was he to employ himself about? An arduous task—the jurisdiction from the Cape of Good Hope to remote Cape Horn. It would have been well, had any explanation been given, concerning what the Archbishop was to busy himself about. He had no concern with morals and religion: these were confided in a separate clause to the Missionaries. It appeared to him a gross job, the object of which was Church patronage in India.” In such a spirit, and with such an amount of intelligence, was the principal question discussed by independent members of the House of

formerly been a member of the legal profession at Madras. He had taken a conspicuous part in the discussions which had arisen, a few years before, out of the unhappy dissensions at that presidency, during the administration of Sir George Barlow, distinguishing himself by the bitterness with which he assailed that misjudged statesman. He was a writer and speaker of eminent ability; bold, earnest, and impetuous; but he wanted judgment, temper, and consistency. He used strong language, and he used it well. His declamation was forcible, vivid, picturesque. But the impression left upon the minds of his hearers was of a transitory character. They admired his eloquence, but were not convinced by his arguments. The address, which he delivered on the 1st of July 1813—an elaborate protest against Christian liberty in India—even now that a second Charter has nearly expired since it was reported, cannot be read without the strongest feelings of regret, that such fine talents were turned to such bad account. With a more chastened fancy, a more calm and philosophic temperament, with a less dominant self-reliance, with less impatience, and with less intolerance, he might have taken a foremost place among the debaters of that epoch; but he wanted the steadiness and the more useful qualities, without which neither the Senate nor the Forum bestow their honors upon the competitor for distinction.

There was little or nothing in this address that had not been said before; but Mr. Marsh assuredly said it better than it had been said before. He said, indeed, everything that could be said upon the subject; and he said it extremely well. A dexterous allusion to the murder at Blackheath of Mr. and Mrs. Bonar by their footman Nicholson, which was to the year 1813 what the Manning murder was to 1849; and to the still mysterious affair of the alleged attack upon the Duke of Cumberland by his valet Sellis—two incidents which were then exciting the public mind—told with something of novel effect on the House, and must be regarded as an original illustration of the superior virtue of the native servants who sleep at our doors:—

“There is, however, one relation of life on which all its comfort and most of its security depends, and in this the Hindús are punctiliously faithful—I mean that of servants. I cannot help demanding the testimony of those, who have resided in India, to this fact; a fact which pleads for them, I should hope, with the more efficacy, from the dreadful occurrence which have of late destroyed the confidence, and impaired the safety of that most important of the social connections in this country. You entrust your servants in India without apprehension, with money, jewels, plate. You sleep amongst them with open doors. You travel through remote and unfrequented countries, and your life and property are safe under their

protection. Can all this be the fruit of a superstition, which morality and right reason require us to extirpate, as a nuisance and an abomination ? ”

We must give another sample or two of this speech. Here is a picture of the misery resulting from loss of caste :—

“ The loss of caste is the immediate consequence of conversion ; and it is the most dreadful ill with which a Hindu can be visited. It throws upon him every variety of wretchedness. It extinguishes all the wholesome charities and kindly affections. His very kindred desert him. It becomes an abomination to eat with him, even to speak to him. The hand is accursed that ministers to him. All mankind fly from him as from an infection. His only refuge from this overwhelming force of misery is death ; a solitary, friendless, un comforted death, amidst the scoffs and scorn, and revilings of his species.”

It was of course the object of this party to exalt the Hindú character. It must, in all candour, be acknowledged, that Wilberforce and his associates had unduly depreciated it. There was considerable exaggeration on both sides ; but it may be doubted whether the following eloquent picture of Hindúism is not more poetically untrue than anything that emanated from Mr. Marsh's antagonists :—

“ Indeed, when I turn my eyes either to the present condition, or ancient grandeur of that country ; when I contemplate the magnificence of her structures ; her spacious reservoirs, constructed at an immense expense, pouring fertility and plenty over the land, the monuments of a benevolence expanding its cares over remote ages ; when I survey the solid and embellished architecture of her temples ; the elaborate and exquisite skill of her manufactures and fabrics ; her literature, sacred and profane ; her gaudy and enamelled poetry, on which a wild and prodigal fancy has lavished all its opulence ; when I turn to the philosophers, lawyers, and moralists who have left the oracles of political and ethical wisdom to restrain the passions, and to awe the vices which disturb the commonwealth ; when I look at the peaceful and harmonious alliances of families, guarded and secured by the household virtues ; when I see, amongst a cheerful and well-ordered society, the benignant and softening influences of religion and morality, a system of manners founded on a mild and polished obeisance, and preserving the surface of social life smooth and unruddled—I cannot hear without surprise, mingled with horror, of sending out Baptists and Anabaptists to civilize or convert such a people, at a hazard of disturbing or deforming institutions, which appear to have hitherto been the means ordained by Providence of making them virtuous and happy.”

This speech called forth a rejoinder from Wilberforce, distinguished by no common ability. Southey had ransacked his marvellous common-place book to supply illustrations, drawn from Portuguese history, of the little danger that attends interference with the customs of the people of India. And now the speaker, thus fortified by the erudition of the newly-appointed laureate, cited Albuquerque with good effect ; entered into an elaborate explanation of the causes of the massacre of Vellore (an event which Mr. Marsh had of course emphatically dwelt upon, for it was the stock-in-trade of his party) ; spoke of the

suppression of female infanticide by Jonathan Duncan and Colonel Walker, and of the Sagor sacrifices by Lord Wellesley ; rebuked Mr. Marsh for speaking of the Missionaries as Ana-baptists and fanatics ; and compared the present contest with the great struggle, in which he and his friends had so long been engaged, for the suppression of the slave-trade. He was followed by Mr. Forbes, Mr. William Smith, and other speakers, among whom was Whitbread, who spoke out manfully in favour of the resolution : "I am charmed with Whitbread," wrote Buchanan to a friend, a few days afterwards, "when he sounds the right note." The House divided ; and there were fifty-four votes for the clause, and thirty-two against it. A hundred members could not be induced to sit out this important debate. Five hundred had divided a few weeks before on the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. The most important Indian questions were debated in thin Houses. The clause, however, was not carried less surely for that in the Commons. In the House of Lords it passed without a division.

And so the victory was gained. A Charter, embracing the establishment of an Indian Bishopric and the concession of greater liberty to Christian Missions, passed into law ; and those good men, who had fought so valiantly in the libraries of their suburban villas, and on the floor of the Commons' House at Westminster, rejoiced with an exceeding great joy over their success. "In the roll of names," writes Sir James Stephen, "most distinguished in that conflict, scarcely one can be found, which does not also grace the calendar of Clapham. It was a cause emphatically Claphamic." They all lived to see the end of the struggle ; but, the contest over, some soon descended to their graves. "John Venn," says the ecclesiastical biographer, "to whom the whole sect looked up as their pastor and spiritual guide, was at that time on his death-bed. He had been the projector, and one of the original founders of the Society for sending Missionaries of the Anglican communion to Africa and the East—a body, which, under the name of the 'Church Missionary Society,' now commands a wider field of action, and a more princely revenue, than any Protestant association of the same character."* Nor was he the only one of that band

* The Church Missionary Society exerted itself to the utmost in this conjuncture. On the 21st April 1812, a special general meeting of the Society was held, at which 400 gentlemen were present, including several members of Parliament. Lord Gambier was in the Chair. By this meeting a Committee, or Deputation, was appointed to seek for interviews with his Majesty's Ministers, and to use all available means of obtaining a favourable reply to their petition. This deputation held various conferences with the Prime Minister and other leading members of the administration : but their success was mainly owing to the indefatigable labours of the Secretary of the Society the Rev. Josiah Pratt.

He made arrangements for large and influential meetings throughout the country,

of Christian athletes, whose days were well nigh numbered. Henry Thornton did not long survive his honoured friend and pastor; and Claudius Buchanan soon followed his early benefactor to the grave. Neither lived to receive the tidings of the arrival of the first Indian Bishop at the seat of his future labours. In January 1815, Henry Thornton entered into his rest. Claudius Buchanan, whose strength had been for some time visibly declining, came up from the country to attend the funeral of his revered patron and friend. The effort was too much for him. The inclement January weather told with deadly effect upon his decaying constitution, and he returned home only to die.

He was not an old man. He had not, indeed, entered his fiftieth year. But he had brought with him a debilitated constitution from India, and had encountered many severe trials since his return to his native land. The disappointments of worldly ambition were not, however, among them. He was not a 'disappointed man. If he had ever been ambitious, he had long outgrown his ambition. It was of course imputed to him that his zeal in behalf of the establishment of episcopal jurisdiction in India was fostered, if it was not actually generated, by a selfish desire to place the mitre upon his own brows. It would have been marvellous, if this charge had not been brought against him; for in polemics forbearance is a rare quality; but we believe, that there was no more truth in the accusation than in the ordinary shifts of defeated controversialists, who, when argument is lacking, betake themselves to abuse. Before leaving India, he had written to Mr. Grant,—“As to returning “in order to receive episcopal dignity, my soul sinks at the “thought of it. I trust my lines will rather be cast in a curacy. Place the mitre on any head. Never fear; it will do good “among the Hindus. A spiritual Bishop will appear in good “time.” True, this same *Nolo episcopari* has often been uttered before, and with no great amount of sincerity. But we believe that Buchanan was sincere. He had very large views of Episcopal Church government; but we do not believe that they

framed petitions, drew up resolutions, and himself appealed most effectively to the public, both from the platform and through the press; and with the most marked and happy effect, in January 1813, he published the first number of “The Missionary Register.” The admirable and judicious manner in which he brought the claims of the heathen before the public, his own high character, personal influence, and holy zeal in the cause, and the (already) high and well won reputation of the Serampore Missionaries, did much to win the battle. Nor was he, even in this life, without his reward. In one year, after the publication of the Register, the income of the Society rose from £3,000 to £14,000; and, what its subsequent course has been, all Christians know. He lived to see “a spiritual” Bishop: he lived to see his own pupil and friend at the head of the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment; he lived to see his own son (the present Archdeacon of Calcutta) like minded with himself, labouring in the same great field; and he died, lamented by good men of every persuasion, full of years and honour.

embraced his own promotion. He was not the first to cry aloud for the appointment of an Anglo-Indian Bishop. More than a century before, Dean Prideaux had contended for the expediency of such a measure. Long before Buchanan lifted up his voice in behalf of the East, some of our Western settlements had been endowed with Episcopal establishments. The first Bishop of Nova Scotia was appointed in 1787; and in 1793, Quebec was erected into an Episcopal See. Buchanan's grand ideas of a fitting Church establishment for India were regarded forty years ago as the exaggerations of an enthusiast; but we are not now very far from the realisation of his splendid dreams. "One observation I would make," he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "on the proposed ecclesiastical establishment. A partial or half measure will have no useful effect. An Archbishop is wanted for India; a sacred and exalted character, surrounded by his Bishops, of ample revenue and extensive sway; a venerable personage whose name shall be greater than the transitory governors of the land; and whose fame, for piety, and for the will and power to do good, may pass throughout every region." It is not wholly impossible that the next Charter may contain provisions for "an Archbishop, surrounded by his Bishops." We are not very far removed from such a consummation.

What was thought by Claudius Buchanan of the selection, that was made from among the clergy of Great Britain to fill the Episcopal chair, now first planted on Indian soil, his biographer has not informed us. The state of Buchanan's health was a sufficient bar to his promotion, had no other impediments existed. But there is no reason to believe otherwise than that, had his constitution been unimpaired, his claims would equally have been passed over. He was not in good odour in high places. His zeal and ability were admitted; but, rightly or wrongly, he was supposed to be wanting in judgment and discretion. He was not a safe man. A safe man was wanted; and one was found in the parish of St. Pancras.

Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, the only son of a country clergyman, was born in January 1769, at his father's rectory, in the village of Kedleston, Derbyshire. At the age of ten, he was sent to Christ's Hospital (the "Blue Coat School"), whence he emerged in due course to commence, at Pembroke College, Cambridge, his university career. In January 1792, he took his bachelor's degree—standing forth in the list of senior optimes. In the following March, he was ordained Deacon by Dr. Pretyman, Bishop of Lincoln, and entered upon his duties, as a minister of the Gospel, in the quiet curacy of Gainsborough.

Bishop Middleton was one of many eminent men, who have owed their elevation in life merely to their connexion with the Press. At Gainsborough, having sufficient leisure for literary pursuits, he edited a small periodical, entitled the "Country Spectator," which, short-lived as it was, endured sufficiently long to recommend the writer of the principal papers to the good offices of Dr. Pretyman, brother of the Bishop, who took the trouble to lift the anonymous veil, and, having lifted it, was sufficiently well pleased with the result to secure Mr. Middleton's services for the domestic education of his sons. The Pretyman interest seems to have been the making of the young clergyman. It introduced him not merely to ordinary church preferment, but to such scholarly society, as under other circumstances, would not have been within his reach : and, from this attrition of erudite classical minds emanated that work on the Greek article, which laid the broad foundation-stone of his reputation and his success. In those days, a treatise on the Greek article was the surest stepping-stone to a Bishopric. Such, at least, was the received opinion. How far it may have assisted in the elevation of Middleton, we do not undertake to determine ; but his advancement, after that great feat of scholarship, was sufficiently rapid to warrant a conjecture that the Greek article was to some extent, a motive power. The Pretymans, as we have said, were his great patrons. Through them he obtained the livings of Tansor and Bythams, a prebendal stall at Lincoln, the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, the Rectory of Puttenham in Hertfordshire, and the great parish of St. Pancras, London. In the last of these, Dr. Middleton exerted himself to compass the erection of a new parish church. It was deplorably wanted, —but somehow or other he failed. The good work, which he could not achieve, was left to his successor to accomplish ;* and St. Pancras now rejoices in one of the most capacious religious edifices in the metropolis of England.

His removal to London, which took place in 1811, enabled him to take an active part in the proceedings of the Christian Knowledge Society, to form many valuable clerical acquaintances, and to undertake the editorship of the *British Critic*—at that time a periodical of some repute in the literary and religious worlds. He was in a fair way now to the highest honors of the Church, and would, not improbably, have risen to the episcopal dignity in his own country, if the establishment of the Indian Bishopric had not opened the road to more speedy preferment. The nomination of the new Bishop was entrusted to the President

* Dr. Moore succeeded Dr. Middleton, and held the living for nearly five and thirty years. It is now held by Mr. Dale.

of the Board of Controul—then the Earl of Buckinghamshire ; and the choice, upon the recommendation (it would seem) of Dr. Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, fell upon Dr. Middleton, who held a prebendal stall in that diocese. “Overpowered “by the vast magnitude and appalling novelty of such a charge, “he was at first tempted to decline the offer. His maturer “thoughts, however, condemned this determination as unworthy “of a Christian minister ; and he found no peace of mind, until “he had recalled his first decision, and had formed a resolution “to brave the difficulties of the office and the dangers of a tropical climate in the service of his Saviour.”

On the 8th of May 1814, in the chapel attached to that venerable pile of buildings, which imparts something of interest to the dreary tract of river-bank, that lies between Westminster and Vauxhall—the archi-episcopal palace of Lambeth—the first Indian Bishop was formally consecrated. The consecration sermon was preached by Dr. Rennell, Dean of Winchester. The subject was a suggestive one ; but what it suggested, it is not permitted us to write. There is no exhumation of the discourse practicable, search, as we may, in public libraries or old bookshops. It is customary to publish these things ; but good Dr. Rennell’s consecration sermon was *not* published. Christianity had triumphed ; but still, in spite of its triumph, Christianity was compelled to walk with discretion. There were thorns and briars, and broken glass and sharp flint-stones, to be avoided with cautious tread. The Bishopric had been wrung from Parliament ; but it was dangerous to make a noise about it. The least said, the soonest mended. The enemy had been beaten, but not annihilated ; and it was deemed prudent not to invite any new attacks. So the sermon was left to languish in the obscurity of manuscript, secure from the stolid assaults of the Warings, the Twinings, and other ingenious members of the same college of alarmists, who saw a massacre in every thread of the lawn-sleeves, which were now about, for the first time, to form an item of an Indian outfit.

Having been elected a fellow of the Royal Society—having been complimented by the Christian Knowledge Society, who placed £1,000 at his disposal for the promotion of their views in India—and having received from his friends a parting memorial in the shape of a superb silver inkstand, Bishop Middleton embarked for Calcutta. Among the passengers in the *Warren Hastings* were two of the new Archdeacons. It might be thought, and not unreasonably, that a selection for these subordinate offices might have been made from among those minis-

ters, who had long been bearing, in India, "the burden and heat of the day:" but, except in the case of the Madras Archdeaconry, which was bestowed upon Mr. Mousley, a resident chaplain, the appointments fell to the lot of new men—fellows of Oxford. The Simconites were not much in favor in those days. Among the passengers, too, was Dr. Bryce, who had been appointed, under the new charter Scotch Chaplain, and who was destined afterwards to fill no inconsiderable part in the annals of Indian controversial literature.

During the voyage, Bishop Middleton devoted himself to the study of the Persian and Hebrew languages; and drew up a table of rules for his future observance, which are so characteristic of the man, that we cannot refrain from quoting them:—

"Invoke divine aid. Preach frequently and as 'one having authority.' Promote schools, charities, literature, and good taste: nothing great can be accomplished without policy. Persevere against discouragement. Keep your temper. Employ leisure in study, and always have some work in hand. Be punctual and methodical in business, and never procrastinate. Keep up a close connection with friends at home. Attend to forms. Never be in a hurry. Preserve self-possession, and do not be talked out of conviction. Rise early, and be an economist of time. Maintain dignity without the appearance of pride: manner is something with every body, and every thing with some. Be guarded in discourse, attentive, and slow to speak. Never acquiesce in immoral or pernicious opinions. Beware of concessions and pledges. Be not forward to assign reasons to those who have no right to demand them. Be not subservient nor timid in manner, but manly and independent, firm and decided. Think nothing in conduct unimportant and indifferent. Be of no party. Be popular, if possible; but, at any rate, be respected. Remonstrate against abuses, where there is any chance of correcting them. Advise and encourage youth. Rather set, than follow example. Observe a grave economy in domestic affairs. Practise strict temperance. Remember what is expected in England: and, lastly, remember the *final account*."

Middleton's biographer speaks of these, as "*golden maxims*," and it appears to us that they are so, in one sense—

For gold and grace did never yet agree,

as good old George Herbert phrases it. They are rather worldly, and very like the man. It is something that the rules, such as they were, were not lightly departed from; but there is the formalist in every line of them. They might have been written by a respectable pagan.

The voyage out was a prosperous and a pleasant one. Middleton fitted up a library in his cabin, "furnished with more than a hundred volumes, Hebrew, Greek, Persian, Latin, French and English—theological, classical, mathematical, historical and poetical;" he preached, on Sundays, to an orderly and attentive congregation, and was well-pleased with his fellow-passengers and the captain. Stopping at Madeira, he was induced to preach to the Factory there; but, as there was no regularly con-

secrated Church, the mind of the formalist misgave him. "I rather hesitated at first about preaching in such a place; but I recollected that the Bishops in England preach in proprietary chapels, which are not a whit better, and have less excuse; for the Portuguese Government will not allow anything, having the interior of a church, to be built by Protestants." Why, under such circumstances, he should have hesitated to preach "in a room, with seats for the ladies, and a sort of desk for the clergyman," more than in the cuddy, or on the quarter-deck of the *Warren Hastings*, with the dinner-table or the capstan for a pulpit, it is not very easy to discern. And it is still less easy to understand how one, claiming to be a successor of the apostles, can have hesitated at all, about doing what the apostles did of old, and a greater than the apostles did before them.

On the 28th of November 1814, the first Indian Bishop ascended the steps of one of the ghâts of Calcutta. His landing, in his own words, "was without any éclat, for fear of alarming the prejudices of the natives." On Christmas-day, he preached his first sermon, before a congregation of 1,300 persons, and administered the sacrament to 160 communicants, including the judges and the members of Council. "The day," he wrote to his friends in England, "will long be remembered in Calcutta."

And so commenced the episcopal period of Christianity in India. There was no commotion—no excitement at its dawn. Offended Hinduism did not start up in arms; nor indignant Muhammedanism raise a war-cry of death to the infidel. English gentlemen asked each other on the course, or at the dinner-table, if they had seen the Bishop; and officious native sircars pressed their services upon the "Lord Padre Sahib." But the heart of Hindu society beat calmly as was its wont. Brahmanism stood not aghast at the sight of the lawn sleeves of the Bishop; he preached in the Christian temple on the Christian's *bara din*; and that night the Europeans in Calcutta slept securely in their beds: securely next morning they went forth to their accustomed work. There was not a massacre; there was not a rebellion. Chowringhee was not in a blaze; the waters of the *Lall Diggy* did not run crimson with Christian blood. The merchant took his place at his desk; the public servant entered his office; and the native underlings salamed meekly and reverentially as ever. In the Fort, the English captain faced his native company; and the sepoy, whatever his caste, responded to the well-known word of command,

with the ready discipline he had learned under the old Charter. Everything went on according to wonted custom, in spite of the Bishop and his lawn sleeves, and his sermon on Christmas-day. No one looked differently ; no one felt differently ; and it really seemed probable, after all, that British dominion in the East would survive the episcopal blow.

The truth is, that those of the natives—the better educated and more intelligent few—who really thought anything about the matter, thought the better of us for evincing this outward respect for our religion, and have thought the better of us and our faith ever since. All the trash that was written and spoken about alarming the Hindus, and weakening our hold of India ; all the ominous allusions to the Vellore massacre, and anticipations of new catastrophes of the same class, now appeared in their true light, and were valued at their proper worth. Mr. Buchanan's "sanguinary doctrines," as Mr. Twining ludicrously called them in one of his pamphlets, had now been fully reduced to practice ; and yet not a drop of blood had been shed—not a blow struck—not a menace uttered—not a symptom of disquiet had evinced itself. Our empire in India was then "not worth a year's purchase ;" and yet now, for thirty-five years, has it survived that first awful episcopal sermon on Christmas-day.

Of the condition of the Church on the arrival of Bishop Middleton, some idea may be gathered from the article on the "Ante-episcopal period" in a former number of this Review. "The total number of clergy," says Mr. LeBas, "both civil and military, did not, there is reason to believe, in 1814 exceed thirty-two ; in the proportion of fifteen for Bengal, twelve for Madras, and five for Bombay. This number, small as it was, was subject to continual reduction by illness, death, necessary absence, or return to England. Such, for instance, was the amount of these casualties at Bombay on the arrival of Archdeacon Barnes in 1814, that he found at that presidency, only one efficient clergyman on the establishment, and was compelled himself for some time to undertake the ordinary duties of a Chaplain. Mr. Whitehead says that this computation is too high, and makes the following statement on the authority of "Mr. Abbott, the ecclesiastical registrar—"On the arrival of Bishop Middleton in 1814, he found effective resident chaplains in Bengal, eight ; in Madras, five or six ; and in Bombay, one. Missionaries, under episcopal jurisdiction, or licensed by the Bishop, there were none. India then possessed fifteen parochial clergy." We have now in the three presidencies, more than two hundred clergymen of the Church of England.

"The grand evil," writes Mr. LeBas, "next to the want of the regular episcopal superintendence, was the insufficiency of the number of the clergy; it is painful to add that, few as they were, the Churches, or places set apart for divine worship, were still fewer. At each presidency, or seat of the local Governments, there was one Church, and one only: for the second Church at Calcutta was private property, and the chaplain, who officiated there, was especially appointed to that service by the Court." (It was not less a church for all that). "In the country, there were one or two more churches at certain of the more important stations; but, in most of the places, where the clergy were called upon to officiate, no such provision was made. A mess-room, a barrack, or, in some instances, the official court of the magistrate, was the only convenience that could be obtained for the assembling of a Christian congregation, and the public exercise of prayer and praise to the Almighty." Marriages were generally performed by commanding officers, or civil authorities, and the sacrament of baptism was often administered by laymen. But there were worse things still in the opinion of the orthodox biographer; for a minister of the Church of England—on one occasion certainly, perhaps on others—had "ventured on the performance of religious functions in a character higher than that to which he had been ordained!"

The Bishop soon began to busy himself about forms, and to exhibit much orthodox zeal in the matter of church-building, "You will be glad," he wrote to Archdeacon Barnes, "to hear that, including a chapel at the Gaol here, Surat Chapel will be one of four now building in India. *Pray, direct that it be placed with the altar to the East;*" and again, "pray, request Mr. Carr, to take care *that it be built in the proper direction, East and West; so that the altar be Eastward.* The architects in India seem rather to affect variety than uniformity in this particular. *There has been sad irregularity!*" Sad, indeed!—But Brown and Buchanan, Martyn and Thomason, had not been much distressed by it; or, at all events, had borne the affliction patiently and uncomplainingly. Perhaps, they had learnt no lessons in Church architecture at Mr. Simcon's college-rooms. The Simeon and Pretyman schools seem to have somewhat differed.

The Bishop was a martyr to the prickly heat. He complained piteously of it in his letters. "It has ignited," he said, "my whole frame; and what with the sensations of pricking, and burning, and itching, and soreness, and lassitude, and irritability, I am little qualified for anything that requires

"attention." But there was something that irritated even more than the prickly heat ; and that was Dr. Bryce. The same charter, which tolerated a Bishop, tolerated also two Scotch clergymen ; and the same ship, which conveyed the Bishop to Calcutta, carried also the Senior Scotch Chaplain. The ship-mates had not been long landed, before, as it is said, Dr. Bryce applied to the Bishop for the alternate use of the Cathedral ! The application, as might be expected, not proving successful, he obtained the use of the college-hall, and there preached a sermon, in which little quarter was given to the predominance of Episcopalianism ; and he published it as a "Sermon preached at the opening of the Church of Calcutta." And to crown the whole, when the first stone of St. Andrew's Church was laid with great national demonstration and Masonic ceremonies, Bishop Middleton was invited to attend.*

All this was gall and wormwood to the Bishop. It irritated him more than the prickly heat ; and the visitation was kept alive by the 'astounding presumption of the Presbyterian community of Calcutta, who petitioned Parliament for the privilege of being married by their own ministers, and according to the rites of their own Church. They gained their point, too. The Scottish ministers at the presidencies were permitted to perform the ceremony of marriage for members of the Scottish Church ; and "it will easily be imagined," writes Mr. LeBas, "that occurrences of this description were not peculiarly animating or consolatory to Bishop Middleton."† Calcutta, indeed, was found to be a very hot-bed of schism ; and the Bishop thought, as does his biographer, it was very hard that the State should have conspired to disturb the even tenor of the Church's existence at so critical a time.

A new source of inquietude arose from the defective provi-

* Speaking of the appointment of the Scotch Chaplains, and the erection of the Scotch Churches in the three presidencies, Mr. LeBas observes that "it was shown incontestably, that there was no occasion for such a movement, by the fact, that, when the new congregation was formed in Calcutta, it withdrew no more than 100 members from our communion, and that in the other presidencies the defection was still more insignificant." This is very inconclusive. There may have been many others, not withdrawn from Episcopal communion, because never in it. Mr. LeBas should estimate the want by the number, who joined the Scotch congregation, when the Church was erected.

† In the celebrated "steeple" controversy also, the pugnacious Dr. Bryce was again victorious. The vexation of Mr. LeBas, in relating this fresh instance of Presbyterian presumption, is not a little amusing. "St. Andrew's Church in Calcutta," writes he, "is a much more stately fabric than St. John's Cathedral, while the Scotch Church at Madras is, perhaps, the noblest Christian edifice in Hindustan. It was built after the model of a Church in Italy, with two fine domes, and to these was added a spire, which, like that at Calcutta, towers very considerably above the steeple of every English place of worship !" The Bishop's biographer, however, consoles himself with the reflection, that the Court of Directors agreed to erect the Bombay spire as a matter of indifference, not as a matter of right !—p. 247.

sions of the letters patent. He was a Bishop without a clergy. There were clergymen in India, but there was no parochial clergy. There was no clergy, over which he had supreme authority. The chaplains were Government chaplains, amenable to the orders of the secular authorities, sent hither and thither, in general orders, like a Deputy Collector, or a Captain of Engineers. The Bishop had really no power over them; and of this complaint was not unreasonably made. The Governor-General, Lord Moira, decided in favour of the authority of the Bishop; but the Court of Directors repealed the decision; and the Bishop was no longer suffered to be commandant of the regiment of chaplains.*

In July 1815, the office of confirmation was performed for the first time in Calcutta; and December of the same year witnessed the Bishop's first visitation. On the 18th of that month, he left Calcutta for Madras. In the latter presidency, he found church affairs even in a less encouraging condition, than in that which he had just left. In his own words, "within two years, a clergyman of good character was put under arrest by his commanding officer. In another instance, a military officer chose to have notice of the sacrament inserted in regimental orders; and, in a third, an officer ordered a chaplain to do the duty in a place so offensive, that no body could attend." The secular authorities were getting the upper hand sadly. But there was consolation and encouragement for him, at all events, in one circumstance that greeted his arrival at Madras. There was a splendid new church (St. George's) to consecrate. "Yesterday," he wrote, "I consecrated a handsomer church than any, which I recollect in London, supported on eighteen Ionic columns, which no English eye would distinguish from marble; with a lofty and elegant spire, and standing in a field (also to be consecrated) of five or six acres, surrounded with rows of palm trees. The whole conveys a magnificent idea of Christianity in the East. I was assisted, on this occasion, by seven of my clergy, a great number to bring together in this country; and the solemnity seems to have been very gratifying to the inhabitants. This morning I confirmed nearly 300, of whom I rejoiced to find a large portion were adults. . . . A respect for the ordinances of our religion is gaining ground. To-morrow morning, I am to receive, at ten o'clock, a deputation from the Armenian

* A later order of the Court, however, directs the Government to attend to the Bishop's recommendations; and, we believe, that in Bengal and the N.-W. Provinces at least, this is invariably done.

"nation, who are numerous at Madras; and at eleven, no less a person than His Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic, who returns my visit, *and on which occasion, the guns will be fired from the fort.*" At these interviews the Nabob embraced him very affectionately, without, after the manner of Sivaji, sticking a knife into his bowels; and it does not appear that His Highness, or any other potentate of heathendom, felt the least alarm for their hereditary faith, from the appearance of the Lord Padre Sahib of the Feringhis at their gates.

But the secular authorities of Madras were not equally confident. They had not forgotten the Vellore affair. Visions of blood were still floating before their eyes. They thought a Bishop a most dangerous, revolutionary personage—the representative of a pestilential heresy; and they anticipated that his visit to the southward would be the signal for another massacre. But the Bishop started with his family and his suite; visited the seven Pagodas, inspected the Capuchin Church and Jesuit's College at Pondicherry, where the Romanists, with courteous toleration, made him a present of books; halted at Cuddalore, the seat of some of our earliest Protestant labours; proceeded thence to the great Pagodas of Chillumbrum, where the Brahmans pressed forward to look at him, showed him the lions of their temple, and, instead of anticipating that he would demolish it, asked for a little money for its repair. It is not recorded in history, that the episcopal tour produced either a rebellion, or an earthquake.

At Tranquebar, he was received with open arms. The population went out to meet him in the streets, or greeted him from the windows and the housetops. "The place," he wrote, "is in great distress, and the people are living on incomes, which, in this country, appear still smaller by comparison; but I never saw poverty more respectable. The mission there is everything, and the missionaries are the regular clergy of the place." Here he lived with the Governor, entertained him and the municipal officers in turn, contributed, at the expense of the Christian Knowledge Society, two hundred pounds to the Mission; and then pursued his journey towards Tanjore, the seat of the illustrious labours of the apostolic Schwartz. The Rajah, who had been educated by the Missionary, and who still called himself the good man's son, sent his minister to the Christian Bishop, invited him to the palace, where, descending from the musnud, he "received him at the steps of the durbar, embraced him "with the warmest cordiality and courtesy, and, after the customary enquiries respecting his health, expressed the grati-

"fication, with which he saw the chief of our religious establishment in his country and his Court." "He subsequently," says Mr. LeBas, "assured an English officer, that no occurrence, since he had occupied the throne, had given him more lively gratification than this visit of the English prelate; and that, since he must so soon lose his society, he hoped to indemnify him by the pleasure of his correspondence."

At Trichinopoly, the Bishop consecrated a church, licensed the clergyman, confirmed about a hundred persons, including several officers, and preached twice on the Sunday. At Palamcottah, he was visited by a deputation of Brahmans from the Tinnevely Pagodas, who came to pay their respects to the Lord Padre Sahib, and to represent that their church lands yielded so little, after payment of Government demands, that the priests were in danger of starving:—such being their lamentable position, they hailed with delight the arrival of the English Bishop, feeling sure that he would interfere, as a brother, in their behalf. Having dismissed this deputation, he received another of native Christians, who sung a hymn in Tamil; and the two parties then quitted the camp together.

From Cochin, where the Bishop found "the Dutch church shut up for want of a minister; the school in the fort destroyed; the children left unbaptized, and the sick unassisted," and where the Syrian church was in an equally depressed state: he proceeded to Cannanore, and thence to Bombay and Ceylon. There we cannot follow him in detail. In spite of the ominous predictions of people, who ought to have known better, the first Episcopal visitation produced no sort of alarm or irritation throughout India, except in the puckah, well-verandahed houses of a few professing Christians. Native princes received the Christian Bishop with reverence, and embraced him with affection. Native priests came out from their temples to welcome him, and implored his assistance in their behalf. He came back to Calcutta again, as sound as he had quitted it. Not a hand had been lifted up against him; not a stone had been cast at him; not an affront had been put upon him. The natives of India thought the better of us and our religion, and the great question, which had been discussed in scores of pamphlets and speeches, was now set at rest for ever.

But the Bishop's troubles, which were of a different class, were not yet quieted. There was much—in Calcutta above all other places—to vex and to irritate one of his peculiar frame of mind. Schism and informality were the banes of his existence. It is melancholy to read his complaints, and to think how much cause of rejoicing there was, in at least some of the

circumstances which caused him so much annoyance. Unhappily, in the affections of Bishop Middleton, the Church was before the Gospel. Nay, even the Church itself was a source of vexation to him, where there was not proper episcopal control. The Church Missionaries were thorns in his flesh; he talked of either licensing or silencing them, but he found it was beyond him to do either. He tolerated the missionaries in remote regions; he could even rejoice in their appearances upon the outskirts of civilisation; but it was a different thing, when they toiled at the very seat of the Supreme Government, and preached the gospel without a license from any one but Christ, under the shadow of the episcopal residence itself. He did not recognise the value of the work done by Protestant ministers out of the pale of his own ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It was not Establishment work. It had not the stamp of the mitre upon it. It was not made legitimate by letters patent, or rendered lovely by lawn.

It was not likely that such men as Corrie and Thomason should regard these episcopal peculiarities without feelings of lively concern. That they differed from him, on many points, is well known; but, situated as they were, it was only decorous that they should express themselves with moderation. "I was led," wrote the former in a letter to his brother, "last Thursday into a long conversation with the Bishop, respecting missionary proceedings in which the Church Missionary Society and its views were brought forward and discussed. The Bishop's chief objection was, that the sending out of English clergyman, as missionaries, would prevent the East India Company from making such a provision of chaplains as they ought to make. As far as it goes, the argument is just; but I think he ought rather to adopt such missionaries, and, by pointing out to Government the benefits produced by them, to draw forth Government support, which otherwise may not be afforded in any way."*

* See also the Bishop's own letters *passim*. "But the missionaries, in orders, of the Church Missionary Society," he complains in one case, "are coming out continually. Three arrived very lately; and they will become in a few years the parochial clergy. In one place the Society have lately built a neat church, and appointed their minister; and who can say anything against it? . . . Other cases of the same sort may be expected every day, and if the Church Missionary Society will supply ordained

to my recognising the
"a body of ordained clergyman, nearly half as numerous as the Company's chaplains; and I must either license them, or silence them—there is no alternative. (The Italics are the Bishop's own). But how can I silence men, who come to India under the authority of a clause in the Charter?" It does not seem to have occurred to Bishop Middleton, that they came to India, not merely under the authority of a clause in the Company's Charter, but under the authority of a clause in the great Gospel Charter of Christianity.

Mr. Corrie had returned to England for the benefit of his health, a few weeks after the arrival of Bishop Middleton. Towards the close of the rainy season of 1817, he was again at his post. The Bishop had returned in the preceding cold weather. There being no vacancy at the Presidency, on Corrie's arrival, he was ordered to proceed to Benares.* At that time Brown and Martyn were dead; Buchanan was in England; Thomason was at Calcutta. At Benares, as at Chunar, he employed himself diligently: founding schools; correcting translations of the Scriptures; and doing incidentally as much missionary work as could be done without impairing his efficiency as a chaplain. Nothing could be more correct than Corrie's views of the relative claims to his services of the chaplaincy and of the mission. "If I were professedly a missionary," he wrote to Mr. Simeon, "and had the same prospect of entrance into this very citadel of idolatry, I should consider it a call to live and die in this place; but, as a chaplain of the Government, am I not to consider the disposal of Government, as the voice of Providence to me? I can truly say that, in the prospect of leaving this place, I am oppressed; O Lord undertake for me."

In the cold weather of 1818-19, Mr. Corrie was summoned to Calcutta, to take his place there as a presidency chaplain. There the characteristic kindness and hospitality of his nature found such vent, as was denied to them in the mofussil. The social charities were largely cultivated by him. His doors were ever open to the stranger. He was continually surrounded by his friends. To the young he was especially acceptable; and it was said of him "as long as he lives, and wherever he lives, he will have as many people about him as fall in his way, until every corner is occupied, and he himself left without a corner."

It was about this time, that the Missionary zeal of Bishop

* On his way to Benares, he kept a journal, in which we find an entry, illustrative of the barbarity of those Ghat murders, to which we devoted a recent article:—"During the 19th and 20th, we had an opportunity of witnessing two distressing instances of the unfeeling conduct of the Hindus towards the sick and dying. On one occasion, two women were employed at the river side, filling the mouth of a child with mud. Miss B. asked them, if the child were ill? One of them answered 'Yes;' Miss B. said:—'You are going to kill it outright.' On which they began to laugh, and talk with each other; and prosecuted their work of death. Further on, a sick man was laid, with several people sitting round. A young and handsome Brahmin was attempting to bind a weight round his neck, in order to sink him in the river, which the sick man was resisting, with marks of much remaining strength. Abdullah called out—'take him into some warm place, and he will recover;' to which the Brahmin answered with a significant nod: 'Aye, aye; we will put him into a warm place; on which the persons around laughed aloud."

Middleton began astonishingly to develop itself. The Archbishop of Canterbury had, in that year 1818, as President of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, made a vigorous movement in favor of Indian Missions, by proposing to place £5,000 at the disposal of the Bishop of Calcutta, to enable him to carry out the objects of the institution—good hope being entertained of the result, now that the affairs of the Society were to be placed under “proper Diocesan control.” A Royal letter had been obtained on application to the Prince Regent, and large collections made on the strength of it. The biographer of Bishop Middleton says, that “this intelligence” was as the breath of life to him, as it showed that his urgent “representations had at last succeeded in communicating a powerful impulse to the public feeling in England.” It appears to us, that it would have been more correct, if it had been stated that public feeling in England communicated a powerful impulse to Bishop Middleton.

These “splendid manifestations,” says Mr. LeBas, “confirmed him in the resolution to attempt the foundation of a Mission College at Calcutta.” Here was a noble commencement of the Fund, which he had long wished to accumulate, for the establishment of a Collegiate Institution under Episcopal superintendence. The project was soon sketched out and sent Home to the Propagation Society, the objects of the proposed college being thus represented :—

1. For instructing native, and other, Christian youths in the doctrines and discipline of the Church, in order to their becoming preachers, catechists, and school-masters.
2. For teaching the elements of useful knowledge, and the English language, to Mussulmans or Hindus, having no object in such attainments beyond secular advantage.
3. For translating the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and moral and religious tracts.
4. For the reception of English Missionaries, to be sent out by the Society, on their first arrival in India.

The proposal was readily accepted by the Propagation Society, and the promised £5,000 were placed at the Bishop's disposal. The Christian Knowledge Society also contributed £5,000 towards the undertaking. Other large sums flowed in from other quarters. Government granted a plot of ground for the erection of the building—as noble a site as could have been found in the whole country—and the work of construction was speedily commenced. It has now been completed for more than a quarter of a century, during which time it has

been in its comely "Collegiate Gothic," an ornament to the river-bank upon which it stands. There is not perhaps a nobler monument of an unaccomplished purpose in any part of the world.

Having devoted a special article, in a former number, to the consideration of this costly and most mortifying failure, we need but briefly allude to it in this place. On the 15th of October 1820, the first stone of Bishop's College was laid, "with all due and impressive solemnity." It appears that the nature of the undertaking was not very clearly understood. One party "a sensible man, and a Churchman, too," much scandalized the Bishop, by asking him if his new college was a branch of the Baptist establishment at Serampore! Mr. Jones, the contractor, died suddenly, whilst the edifice was in course of erection; but, after a brief pause, it sprung up, none the less rapidly for this, under the superintendence of Captain (now Colonel) Hutchinson of the Engineers. But they were getting on still further at Serampore, and this made the Bishop a little anxious and impatient.

In 1821, Bishop Middleton went forth on a visitation-tour to Bombay and Ceylon. He arrived at the former place, towards the end of February, and remained there about five weeks; during which he held his visitation, consecrated two or three burial grounds, visited the caves of Elephanta, and received a vast number of visits of ceremony and invitations to dinner. Here he began to feel, more sensibly than before, that the climate was "telling" upon his constitution, and, in more than one letter, he complained of the lassitude which beset him, and of other distressing sensations, "symptomatic of decay." It was whilst at Bombay, that he received intelligence of the attempt made at Queen Caroline's trial to make light of the imputation that she had been present during an indecorous exhibition of dancing by a mountebank named Mahomet, on the plea that Bishop Middleton and his family had attended a natch at the Governor-General's:—the witness being a gentleman, who was a guest of the Bishop's at the time. The Bishop wrote to a friend, requesting him to deny the assertion in a London paper. "As his (the witness's) topic," he wrote, "was no better than that Mahomet must have danced 'decently before the Queen, because a Hindú woman had 'danced decently at Calcutta, his evidence might have been 'spared. *The fact*, however, of my being there is utterly untrue. He did me the favour of taking charge of the ladies of my family, while I remained with my books and business at

"home. I am not quite sure that I was asked ; but I could "safely swear that I was not there." The Governor-General, also, it would appear, thought it worth his while to deny the imputation—in a very curious manner, too, according to a statement in another letter from the Bishop :—"Lord Hastings "was very indignant at the dragging in of the subject of Gov-
ernment house ; and immediately wrote to the Lord Chan-
cellor, explaining, as was the truth, that there was no *dance* at
his house—the mere movement of the woman's feet whilst she
was singing, not deserving the name." It may be a question
whether the singing, in such performances, accompanies the
dancing, or the dancing the singing ; but there are both singing
and dancing ; and it is generally supposed that the latter which
gives the name to the exhibition is, as grammarians say, "the
worthier" of the two. There are different styles of dancing ;
a native natch-girl does not dance like Carlotta Grisi ; but if
"movement of woman's feet" to music, under such circum-
stances, does not constitute dancing, we do not know what
does.

Touching on his way at Cochin, to glance at the Syrian
churches there, the Bishop proceeded from Bombay to Ceylon,
where he was hospitably entertained by Sir Edward Barnes,
whose sublime intentions were, however, somewhat frustrated
by the eccentricities of the weather. A magnificent fête had
been prepared, some miles out of Colombo, and a gorgeous
edifice, in the style of a large gothic Cathedral, had been
erected, "after the Cingalese fashion of embellishment," in
honour of the Bishop. Divers other preparations were made
on an equally grand scale for the occasion ; but, on the even-
ing before the fête, when the Bishop was dining at Govern-
ment house, a tremendous storm arose, and entirely demo-
lished the noble structure. Foreshadowing the destiny of
Bishop's College, the gorgeous gothic edifice, erected at so
much expense, proved nothing but a magnificent failure.
The Governor did the best he could under such circumstances ;
he substituted another kind of entertainment, but the disappoint-
ment was great and general. Better things, however, were done.
"During my stay," wrote the Bishop, after his departure, "I
"had a visitation—two confirmations—three consecrations of
churches, or burying-grounds ; I preached four times, and re-
suscitated the Promoting of Christian Knowledge District Com-
mittee, and looked into the state of the schools ; and, what is of
most consequence, I got together a body of information res-
pecting ecclesiastical affairs, which will furnish matter for a

"paper to be addressed to His Majesty's Government." * In June he sailed again for Calcutta.

On his arrival there, he found that Mr. Mill, Principal of the new College, and Mr. Alt, one of the professors, had already made their appearance on the scene of their future labors. The walls of the College had risen to an assuming height during his absence; and so far there was much to cheer him. But there were sources of inquietude too. Rammohun Roy was entering boldly the field of controversy: the press—"that monstrous despotism, and tremendous instrument of corruption, which some call the liberty of the Press"—was growing audacious; and he was troubled about the question of precedence, the authorities having given to the Chief Justices of the three presidencies, a place, on the social ladder, higher up than that assigned to the Bishop of Calcutta. Serampore, moreover, was flourishing in its rank soil of heterodoxy; and a body of Christians had actually built a chapel at Howrah, open to the ministration of Protestant divines of all persuasions. His correspondents, too, in England were very lax. Anxiously expected communications, public and private, did not arrive. All these evils—real and imaginary—preyed upon his spirits, and affected his health. The hot weather of 1822 found him in an irritable state, both of body and of mind. On the 2nd of July, he visited the College at an early hour of the afternoon; and, on the following day, went out with Mrs. Middleton, before the sun was down, for an evening drive. The slant rays of the sun shone full upon him, dazzled his eyes, and sickened him. He said, that he was struck; and returned home. He passed that night, and the following, in a state of extreme anxiety and irritability: but it was not until the 4th, that the fever having increased to an alarming height, Dr. Nicolson was called in. It was then too late. All the skill of that eminent practitioner could not save him. At one time certain favourable symptoms developed themselves; but they were only those delusive signs which so often are the precursors of immediate death. And so it was. On the evening of the 8th of July, those favourable symptoms were

* Besides this he ordained Mr. Armour, of whom an interesting account is to be found in Mr. LeBas's book. "This extraordinary man," he says, "originally came out to Ceylon, as a private soldier; but subsequently he took upon himself almost the work of an evangelist among the natives, who maintained a mere nominal profession of Christianity, always conducting his ministrations in strict conformity with the services and doctrines of the established Church. . . . His heart's desire was that at some time he might be thought worthy to be received as an ordained missionary. . . . His whole soul was devoted to the service of God, and his truly Christian demeanour had won for him the cordial esteem of all ranks of men."

followed by an alarming paroxysm of fever, attended with the most appalling agitation of mind. About nine o'clock, he was in a state of violent delirium; "his thoughts wandering, his articulation gone; his faculties,—in short, a melancholy wreck, at the mercy of the tempest that had shattered them." To this succeeded a state of perfect serenity; and, a little before midnight, he died.

Such, briefly narrated, was the career of the first Indian Bishop. It will be gathered, perhaps, from the manner of our narration, that we are not among the most ardent admirers of the prelate, whom Mr. Le Bas, with no great felicity of expression, describes as "the father and the founder of the Protestant Episcopal Church of our Asiatic Empire." He was the father of Protestant Episcopacy in India, but he was not the father, and most assuredly he was not the founder, of the Episcopal Church. We do not know that he was the founder of anything, but Bishop's College.

With every disposition to speak charitably of the prelatical character of Bishop Middleton, we are constrained to express our opinion that he was a cold and stately formalist. There may have been something in this very fact, especially to recommend him for employment, at a time, when it was apprehended that Christian zeal would bring down upon us a sanguinary revolution, involving the forfeiture of our Indian Empire. The alarmed party may have been somewhat appeased by the appointment of so safe a man as Bishop Middleton; and his subsequent episcopal proceedings must have greatly confirmed the sense of security, which his nomination induced. Nothing was to be apprehended from the burning zeal of the first Bishop of Calcutta. He was the man, of all others, to uphold the dignity of our ecclesiastical establishment, without exciting the fears, or offending the prejudices, of the natives of India. He took little interest in conversion-work; and would have silenced the whole Missionary body, if he could. Brahmanism was scarcely more offensive to him than Protestant sectarianism; and even a minister of the Church of England, not on the Company's establishment, was a thorn in his episcopal flesh. Puseyism and Tractarianism were not known by those names, when Bishop Middleton went out to India; but he was of the number of those, who esteem the Church before the Gospel, who have an overflowing faith in the efficacy of certain forms of brick-and-mortar, and who believe that a peculiar odour of sanctity ascends from prayers, offered up in an edifice, constructed with due regard to the points of the compass. No

man could have had a higher sense of the external importance of his office, or stickled more rigidly for the due observance of the ceremonials which he conceived to belong to it. He had a decided taste for salutes, and struggled manfully for precedence. In all this he was sincere. It was not personal vanity that inflated him. Self was not dominant over all. But he had an overweening sense of the dignity and importance of his office. He believed that it was his first duty to suffer nothing to lower the standard of episcopal authority, or to obscure its exterior glories. His zeal as a Bishop shot ever in advance of his fervour as a Christian. This peculiarity was not without its uses. The externals of religion had been too much neglected in India. It was desirable that something more of dignity should be imparted to the priestly character. Lord Wellesley was described by Sir James Mackintosh as a *Sultanised* Anglo-Indian; Bishop Middleton would have *Sultanised* the episcopal office. He was not without a motive—and a good one—in this. But we would fain have seen in his career a little less of the Bishop, and a little more of Catholic Christianity. He was an able and an active labourer in his way, blameless in the relations of private life, and, as a man, to be greatly respected. In Mr. Whitehead's book he stands labelled as "India's first and greatest Bishop." India's greatest Bishop is her *last*; and we thank God that he yet remains to labour amongst us.

ORIENTAL ASTRONOMY.

BY REV. T. SMITH, D.D.

The Oriental Astronomer;—being a complete system of Hindu Astronomy, accompanied with a translation and numerous explanatory notes. With an appendix. Jaffna, 1848.

THE subject of the Hindu Astronomy is one, which, both on the ground of its intrinsic importance, and on account of the many curious questions that have originated in connexion with the study of it by the Western philosophers, claimed a prominent place in our pages. The claim was allowed; and it was one of the earliest subjects that we thought proper to bring to the notice of our readers, in the days when the *Calcutta Review* was very young—*animosus infans*. (See vol. I, p. 257). In the article to which we now refer, we treated the subject, and various questions connected with it, at considerable length; and our present purpose is not to go afresh over the ground that we then traversed, or to renew the discussion of any of the disputable matters, that we then either considered at length, or barely hinted at;—but simply, and *bonâ fide*, to give a notice, and not a very long one, of the volume now before us.

The *Oriental Astronomer*—our typographical resources do not enable us to present the alternative title in the Tamil language—is a work, or more properly a collection of works in Tamil, with an English translation and numerous explanatory and corrective notes, by the Rev. H. R. Hoisington, an American Missionary, who has long been at the head of an important Educational Institution established at Batticotta in Ceylon. The work has been prepared for the use of the students in that institution; and, at the outset of this notice, we cannot but congratulate them on the privilege they enjoy—of being directed in the study of this important science by so capable an instructor, as Mr. Hoisington's annotations in the volume before us evince him to be. One of the very questions, as we remember, that we considered in the course of the article to which we have just referred, was the suitability of native works on astronomy to occupy the place of text-books in the educational establishments designed for the education of native youth. We shall, however, strenuously adhere to the promise we have made, and not re-open that question on the present occasion. In fact, it does not legitimately come before us at present, as Mr. Hoisington's object, as stated by himself, is a very different one from the system advocated by Mr. L. Wilkinson, which we then controverted. The purpose of the present volume is not to serve as a text-book, to the super-

cession of European treatises ; but to furnish those who have made good proficiency in the European system, with the means of instituting a comparison between that system and the native one. This we reckon not only a legitimate object, but a highly desirable one.

But, apart altogether from the merits of the work as an educational manual, and from any consideration of the place that its study should occupy in an academical course, we feel it due to Mr. Hoisington to express our cordial thanks, in which we are sure that many who take an interest in the study of a highly important subject, will as cordially concur, for the achievement of a laborious task. We cannot but think that he has laid the scientific world under no small obligation, by rendering accessible one of a class of works, that have been hitherto almost unknown ; and by presenting in so clear a form the merits and demerits of a system, that has been extravagantly lauded on the one hand, and unduly depreciated on the other, by those who had not the means of estimating it aright. Mr. Hoisington has well merited a place in the honorable list of those who, having come to India for the purpose of proclaiming the blessed gospel, and elevating the minds of the people of the land, have done much to diffuse, amongst their own countrymen, correct and important information respecting the people amongst whom it has been their lot to labour, their religions, their languages, their customs, their history, and their sciences.

The volume before us consists of four parts :—1. An introduction in Tamil and English. 2. A treatise on Astronomy, according to the system of Ullamudian, with an English version. The epoch of the treatise is A.D. 1234. 3. A modern treatise on Eclipses, by a native astronomer, with an English translation. 4. An appendix, containing certain tables, astronomical problems, and a glossary of Hindu astronomical terms. We cannot do better than take a cursory review of these parts in their order, briefly noticing any thing that strikes us as meriting attention. And, at the outset, we must so far violate editorial etiquette as to confess ignorance—total ignorance of the Tamil language. It is with the translation only that we can occupy ourselves ; and we shall take for granted, as in such a case we may pretty safely do, that, when any passage in the translation contains *sense*, it is *the* sense of the original.

The introduction is chiefly historical, and contains a very brief notice, abridged from Bentley, of the various eras in Hindu Astronomy. Although we agree in the main with Mr. Bentley, as to the comparatively recent date of this branch of

Oriental Science, and the utter groundlessness of the pretensions advanced on behalf of the Hindu treatises and tables, to a remote antiquity ; yet we do not feel our sympathies quite going along with Mr. Hoisington, when he states didactically, as if they were unquestioned and unquestionable verities, the conclusions which Bentley deduces from most ingenious, and generally very convincing, reasonings. We would not have recommended that, in such a work, matters should have been introduced controversially ; but we think that the actual state of our knowledge of the subject scarcely warrants so dogmatical a statement of various chronological matters, as Mr. Hoisington has made.

We shall refer to one passage in the sketch of the history of the Hindu astronomy, which will at once illustrate our meaning, as to the too dogmatical character of the statements, and will give us an opportunity of pointing out what we conceive to be a misapprehension on Mr. Hoisington's part of Mr. Bentley's meaning. We shall first give at length the passage from Bentley, and make a few remarks upon it ; and then we shall give Mr. Hoisington's abstract of it, and make a few more remarks upon it.

The passage in Bentley is as follows :—

"Early in this period, that is to say, about the year A.D. 51, Christianity was preached in India by St. Thomas. This circumstance introduced new light into India, in respect of the history and opinions of the people of the West, and concerning the time of the Creation, in which the Hindus found they were far behind in point of antiquity, (their account of the Creation going back only to the year 2352 B. C. which was the year of the Mosaic flood) ; and that, therefore, they would be considered a modern people in respect of the rest of the world. To avoid this imputation, and to make the world believe they were the most ancient people on the face of the earth, they resolved to change the time of the creation, and carry it back to the year 4225 B. C.—thereby making it older than the Mosaic account, and making it appear, by means of false history written on purpose, that all men sprang from them. But to give the whole the appearance of reality, they divided the Hindu history into other periods, carrying the first of them back to the autumnal equinox in the year 4225 B. C. These periods they called *Manwantaras*, or patriarchal periods, and fixed the dates of their respective commencements by the computed conjunctions of Saturn with the sun, in the same manner as those of the former ages, already given, were fixed by the conjunctions of Jupiter and the sun. This, no doubt,

"was done with a view of making the world believe, that such conjunctions were noticed by the people, who lived in the respective periods; and therefore might be considered as real, genuine, and indisputable periods of history, founded on actual observations.

"The following table contains the periods, with their respective dates of commencement, &c.

<i>Patriarchal Periods, or Manwantaras.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>	<i>Moon's age.</i>	<i>Errors in the Tables used.</i>
1st	25th Oct. 4225 B.C.	9th Tithi of Aswin ...	30° 58' 42"—
2nd	13th Nov. 3841 "	12th do. of Kartik ...	28 12 17 —
3rd	11th Apr. 3358 "	3rd do. of Chaitra ...	24 43 14 —
4th	29th Aug. 2877 "	3rd do. of Bhadra ...	21 14 38 —
5th	25th Mar. 2388 "	30th do. of Falgun ...	17 42 55 —
6th	23rd Dec. 2043 "	11th do. of Pausa ...	15 13 6 —
7th	2nd July 1528 "	10th do. of Ashadh ...	11 30 8 —
8th	8th Jan. 1040 "	7th do. of Magh ...	7 58 22 —
9th	28th July 555 "	23rd do. of Sraban ...	4 28 28 —
Do. ended.	23rd June 31 A.D.	15th do. of Asadha ...	0 13 34 —

"The mean annual motion of Saturn was $0^{\circ} 22' 14'' 2'' 48''$, "and the error in the mean annual motion = $26'' +$; therefore "the year, in which there would be no error in the position of "Saturn, would be A.D. 64; shewing the time when this division "of the Hindu history was invented."

We have various remarks to make upon this extract. First of all, we do not reckon it an ascertained point that the Apostle Thomas was ever in India. It is certain that the gospel was preached in India at an early period by one Thomas; but it is not certain, that that period was the first century, or that that Thomas was the Apostle. To us it appears, that the preponderance of evidence is in favor of another Thomas, a Nestorian of the fifth century. And then, supposing the fact to be as stated, and that the extension of the Hindu chronology was made for the purpose indicated, is it at all likely that the Hindus would have been contented with extending it only two centuries beyond the period assigned by the Mosaic account to the creation? Would it not have been much more in accordance with Hindu usage, to have thrown it back to an overwhelmingly remote period, as, according to Mr. Bentley's own shewing, was done five centuries later, when he says, "the Creation was thrown back 1,972,947,101 years before the Christian era?"

* So in *Bentley*; a misprint for 12° .

Now, let us turn to Mr. Hoisington's abstract of the above passage. It is as follows:—

"About A. D. 51, Christianity was preached in India by "St. Thomas. This gave rise to the periods called *Manwan-taras*, or patriarchal periods; the dates of their respective "commencements being fixed by the computed conjunction of "Saturn with the Sun, in the same manner as those of the "four ages given above were fixed by the conjunction of "Jupiter and the Sun.

"This was done in order to extend the numbers in the Hindu "chronology beyond those of the Christian."

Now this abstract is liable to both the exceptions that we have taken to the passage from which it is abstracted, and to one or two more. Be the reason of the extension of the Hindu chronology what it might, Bentley gives a reason—which can scarcely fail (his data being admitted) to commend itself to all who are capable of appreciating such evidence,—for believing that the extension took place at the period stated, *viz.*, near the beginning of the latter half of the first century. The only uncertainty is as to the correctness of the estimate of Saturn's mean annual motion. We question whether, even now, it is so accurately ascertained as to serve as the basis of so delicate an argument. But as Mr. Hoisington states the matter, we have nothing for it but a bare assertion. It would no doubt have extended his introduction too far, had he given a full statement of the reasons on which his historical assertions are based; but he might at least have introduced them with such a phrase as—"There is good reason to believe,"—or "Mr. Bentley has shewn,"—or words to the same effect.

We suspect also that Mr. Hoisington has considerably misapprehended Mr. Bentley's meaning. At all events, he has stated the matter so, that all his readers, who do not refer to Bentley's work for themselves, will certainly misapprehend it. Mr. Bentley states, that the Hindu chronology was extended in order to evince that the Hindus existed as a people, and had a history, before the period assigned to the Creation by the Mosaic chronology; and that, *this extension being made*, the astronomers determined the commencement of nine epochs, by calculating the times of certain conjunctions of Saturn with the Sun. But, as Mr. Hoisington states it, it would appear that the substitution of Saturn for Jupiter was made with the view of *effecting this extension*: as if the Synodic period of Saturn, or the time between two of his conjunctions with the Sun, were longer than that of Jupiter, whereas it is in reality

shorter, in the proportion of 378 to 399. Probably, however, this may be an inadvertence, not an inaccuracy ; and we are sure that if our present notice should fall into Mr. Hoisington's hands, he will regard as a kindness our pointing it out.

We have dwelt at greater length than we intended upon the introduction to the volume, which occupies only 19 pages in both Tamil and English. It is, therefore, full time that we should proceed to notice the next department of the work,—the PARAKITHAM, or system of Hindu astronomy.

As the main object of the Hindu astronomy was the rectification of the calendar, and the ascertainment of chronological epochs, the present work, as might be expected, sets out with rules for the calculation of various periods of time ; and, indeed, this seems to be the main object that has been in the author's mind throughout. There is an apparent inconsistency in the second and third problems, of which not only the third assumes the result of the second to be known, but the second seems, in like manner, to proceed upon the result of the third. Thus the second teaches to find what year of the "Salivakana era" any given year is : and the rule is to multiply by sixty the number of "cycles of sixty years," passed from the introduction of that cycle, to add the number expressing the given year's place in the current cycle of sixty ; and then to add 349, the year of the *Salivakana* era corresponding to the introduction of the cycle of sixty. Thus, the present year 1850, is the forty-third year of the twenty-fourth cycle of sixty. Hence, its place in the *Salivakana* era is $23 \times 60 + 43 + 349 = 1772$. By the converse process, the place of a given year in the current cycle appears to be found from its place in the *Salivakana* reckoning. But this, as we have stated, is not the case. The third problem is not merely the converse of the second ; for, the "cycle of sixty" years, spoken of in the third, differs very materially from "the cycle of sixty" years spoken of in the second. That employed in the second is a cycle of sixty *solar years*, commencing with A. D. 427, or the 349th year of the *Salivakana* period : while that spoken of in the third is a cycle of sixty *mean periods of Jupiter's remaining in a sign of the Zodiac*, (or sixty twelfth-parts of his revolution) commencing two years three months and thirteen days before the *Salivakana* era, or A.D. 78. We know not whether in the original these two cycles are called by precisely the same name. The translator, in a note, furnishes us with a hint of the difference ; but so obscurely expressed, that it required no small expenditure of thought to enable us to reconcile what seemed so glaring an inconsistency at the very outset of the system. It is well worthy of remark, that these

years, (or rather twelfth-parts of Jovian years) are taken, as implied in the technical rule, to be to Solar years as 1875 to 1897; in other words, 1897 of these are equal to 1875 Solar years. Now, taking the Solar year at $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, this makes Jupiter's revolution be performed in 4,332.2 days nearly, whereas Laplace gives it at 4,332.6 *à fort peu près*. This, it must be acknowledged, is a tolerable approximation to correctness on the part of the Hindu Astronomers, and creditable to them withal, when we consider the paucity of instrumental aids that they enjoyed in the ascertainment.

We are next instructed to ascertain the place that we have reached in the Kali Yuga, which dates from 3179 before the *Salivakana*, or from B.C. 3101. Here, also, we have an opportunity afforded us of testing the accuracy of the Hindu determinations. We are directed to reduce years into days by multiplying the number of years by 1,416,106, and dividing the result by 3,877. This gives us the length of the year = $\frac{1,416,106}{3,877}$ days = 365*d.* 6*h.* 11*m.* 47½*s.* Now as the Hindu year is determined by the entrance of the Sun into a sidereal sign, we must compare this, not with the tropical, but with the sidereal year, the length of which, as given by Laplace, is 365*d.* 6*h.* 9*m.* 11½*s.* nearly. Hence, supposing the most accurate European determination to be correct, the Hindu errs by 2*m.* 36*s.* in excess. Another method makes 576 years equal to 210,389 days; but this is less accurate than the preceding, and is probably meant only as a rough approximation. It should be stated, however, that the sidereal year is subject to a very small secular variation, so that it may have been somewhat longer in 3101 B. C. than at present.

The next subject is the method of finding the moon's true longitude for any given day. As this is a very fair specimen of the Hindu methods of proceeding, we shall explain it at length; and this, we believe, will be best accomplished by means of an example. Let it be required, then, to find the moon's true longitude for the two millionth day of the Kali Yuga. It is first assumed that the moon's mean motion in longitude is 13° 10' 35" per day, and that the mean daily motion in longitude of her apogee is 6' 41"; the difference of these = 13° 3' 54" is the mean daily motion of the moon from her apogee. Now it is assumed that, at the instant of the Kali Yuga, the moon was in the first point of Aries, and that her apogee was in longitude 6 29° 43'. The next assumption is, that, after a period of 1,565,411 days, the moon and her apogee return to the same position with reference to each other and the ecliptic. Consequently, at the end of this period, we have the longitudes of the

moon and apogee precisely the same as at the beginning. We have therefore now only to find the change of longitude in $(2,000,000 - 1,565,411 =) 434,589$ days. Next, we find that, at the mean daily rate of motion of the moon and her apogee, the former in a period of 3,031 days passes over 110 complete revolutions, and $11^{\circ} 7' 38'' 5''$; and that, during the same period, the apogee passes over $11^{\circ} 7' 37'' 11''$. They therefore, at the end of this period, come within $54''$ of the same relative position, which they occupied at the beginning. Now this small difference may be neglected, and we may consider that they return to the same relative position at the end of each successive period of 3,031 days. In 434,589 days there are contained 143 such periods, and 1,156 days over. Consequently 1,156 days before the two millionth day of the Kali Yuga, the *relative* positions of the moon and her apogee were the same as at the beginning of the Kali Yuga; although their *actual* position differed by upwards of 11'. Once more, we find that in 248 days the moon goes through 9 complete revolutions, and $27^{\circ} 44' 40''$, while her apogee passes over $27^{\circ} 37' 28''$. These differ by $7' 12''$ —a considerable difference certainly—but this is neglected, and we consider that the moon and her apogee return to the same relative position, after each successive period of 248 days. In 1,156 days there are contained four such periods, and 164 days more. Hence we conclude, that 164 days before the given day, the moon was at the same distance in longitude from her apogee that she was at the beginning of the Kali Yuga. Now we have a table giving the true motion in longitude of the moon in any number of days up to 248—her mean motion corrected by the equation of her centre. Referring to this table, we find that in 164 days the moon gains $2^{\circ} 25'$ of longitude. As the difference of longitude at the Kali Yuga was $6^{\circ} 29' 43''$, we have the actual distance of the moon at the two millionth day thereafter, from the apogee at the $(2,000,000 - 164 =) 1,990,816$ th day $= 6^{\circ} 27' 18''$, the moon being by that amount behind its apogee. We have now to find the actual longitude. Now the longitude of the apogee at the Kali Yuga, and at the 1,565,411th day thereafter, was $6^{\circ} 29' 43''$. In 3,031 days the apogee advances $11^{\circ} 7' 38'' 5''$ of longitude; multiplying this by 143, and rejecting the complete revolutions, we get an advance of the longitude of the apogee of $1^{\circ} 11' 46''$. Again, in 248 days the apogee is supposed to advance $27^{\circ} 44' 40''$; and consequently in four such periods it advances $3^{\circ} 20' 58'' 40''$. These three quantities added together will give the longitude of the apogee 164 days before the two millionth day of the Kali Yuga; thus, $6^{\circ} 29' 43'' + 1^{\circ} 11' 46'' + 3^{\circ} 20' 59'' = (\text{re-})$

jecting a complete circle) $0^{\circ} 28'$. From this we have now to subtract $6^{\circ} 27' 18''$, above found; and the result is $5^{\circ} 5' 10''$, the true longitude of the moon on the given day. Although the process seems tedious, when thus explained in detail, it is in reality very short in practice.

The question naturally suggests itself, what is the use of making so many successive rejections of complete periods, since it would evidently be a much neater operation to calculate the motion at once, by multiplying the mean daily motion by the number of days elapsed? But the periods rejected serve the purpose of corrections; inasmuch as it appears from the example, that the first and third periods differ from the numbers that would be deduced from the assumed rates.

We may notice, in passing, the following estimates of various important elements in the moon's revolution, comparing them with the European determinations of the same quantities.

	<i>Ullamudian.</i>	<i>Laplace.</i>
Moon's Anomalistic period	27d. 13h. 18m. 8s.	27d. 13h. 18m. 49s.
—Tropical revolution	27d. 7h. 43m. 6s.	27d. 7h. 43m. 11s.
Revolution of Apsides	3231d. 22h. 5m. 5s.	3232d. 13h. 48m. 53s.*
Greatest equation of centre	$5^{\circ} 3'$	$6^{\circ} 17' 54''$.

The latter column of the table we have calculated from the data furnished in Laplace's *Système du monde*. It has been ascertained that the moon moves more rapidly now than she did formerly—the acceleration amounting to nearly 11 seconds in a century. At this rate the Hindu tables are very considerably in error. It is to Lagrange that we owe the important knowledge that this acceleration is secular, and that it will ere long reach its maximum. As to the third item in the above table, we have deduced the Hindu estimate of it from the mean daily rate of the motion of the moon's apogee ($6' 41''$): but we have already stated that various corrections are introduced; and in a subsequent part of the work, we find these corrections comprehended in a single one, the application of which makes the revolution of the Apsides to be accomplished in 3232d. 13h. 48m. 29s.; differing from Laplace's estimate by only twenty-four seconds. There is a large error in the maximum equation of the moon's centre, which will affect all the equations, and will render the determination of the moon's place erroneous, at all times, except at apogee and perigee. This will of course render the determination of eclipses erroneous, excepting when they

* Sir J. Herschell makes it 3232d. 13h. 48m. 29s.—agreeing exactly with the estimate of the Hindus.

occur very near the apogee or perigee of the moon. This error proceeds from under-estimating the eccentricity of the moon's orbit.

We have next rules and tables for determining the longitude of the sun and the planets, corresponding with those that we have spoken of for the moon. As the principles of all these are identical, it is not necessary to say aught about them. We shall only state a few of the elements assumed. The greatest equation of the sun's centre is taken at $2^{\circ} 10\frac{1}{2}'$: at the beginning of the present century it was $1^{\circ} 55' 16''$. It diminishes at the rate of about $17''$ in a century; so that it would correspond with the Hindu estimate about 50 centuries ago. But it were too rash to conclude that this is the period when the equation was ascertained; as it is much more likely that the ascertainment was made at a much later period, and made erroneously. The sidereal period of Mars is taken at 687 days; but a correction is introduced of $46'$ of arc in 230 years, or $12''$ a year, which will reduce it by a very minute period. Laplace gives it as 687 days *à fort peu près*. Mercury's sidereal period is reduced by a correction to 87.9621 days, which is very accurate. The period of Jupiter's revolution has been already stated, and compared with the corresponding period as given by Laplace. The periods of Venus and Saturn are also sufficiently correct.

We must pass over all else relating to the planets, the nodes of the moon's orbit, and several other subjects, and reserve what remains of our space for some notice of the methods given for calculating eclipses, the grand *terminus ad quem* of Hindu Astronomy.

There are three methods given in the volume before us, for calculating an eclipse, whether of the sun or moon. They do not differ very widely from each other; but as the last, while it is essentially native in its method, is yet very considerably improved, in consequence of the knowledge of the European system that its author had picked up in the course of intercourse with individuals connected with the Batticotta seminary, we shall confine our attention to it. It may be regarded as a very fair specimen of the mode in which Mr. Hoisington expects the influence of the seminary to operate, in stirring up its students to enquire into the *reasons* of the empiric rules contained in the native treatises, and so to discover in what respects these are defective or erroneous, and to introduce the necessary improvements and corrections. The treatise, to which we now refer, is that of which we have formerly spoken, as forming the third part of the volume before us. It is compiled by Visvanatha Sastri, son of Narayana Sastoir,

Batticotta, near Jaffna, Ceylon. It is for the epoch 1759 A. D., which seems to have been the year of its author's birth, although it was not actually composed until 1788; and seems to have been constantly improved, as its author acquired more accurate information, up to the time of his death in 1845. Like all other native treatises, this consists of detached rules, or precepts, each directing merely the performance of an arithmetical process, without the slightest hint of the reason why the process should be performed. Mr. Hoisington has, by his notes, generally made the matter pretty intelligible; and we believe we shall do an acceptable service to some of our readers by sketching a detail of the process prescribed.

The treatise consists of thirty-three of these precepts, of which the first twelve relate to principles common to eclipses of the sun and moon, fourteen to solar, and seven to lunar eclipses. We shall give these precepts in detail with such explanations, as may seem necessary for making them intelligible to those who possess a moderate amount of knowledge of astronomical subjects.

1. An eclipse may be expected in those months, when the sun is in or near to the sign in which Rahu or Kethu is. If, in those months, a conjunction of the sun and moon occur in the day time, there may be a solar eclipse; but if an opposition occur at night, there may be a lunar eclipse.

Rahu and Kethu are the ascending and descending nodes of the moon's orbit. From this precept, we see, what will appear more clearly hereafter, that the treatise takes account only of eclipses visible at the place for which it is composed. European astronomers first ascertain whether an eclipse will occur, and then, whether it will be visible at a given place, or, more generally, over what portion of the earth's surface it will be visible. But the Hindus proceed strictly on the principle, *De non apparentibus, ac de non existentibus, eadem est ratio*.

2. Set down the *Sutta Tinam* to the time of sun-rising on the day in which the conjunction or opposition of the sun and moon occurs. From this subtract 1,774,192; the remainder is called *Kandam*. This *Kandam* should be considered as beginning on Monday.

The *Sutta Tinam* is the number of days, hours, minutes, &c., from the commencement of the Kali Yuga. The 1,774,192 is the *Sutta Tinam* of the epoch for which the treatise is composed, *viz.*, some Monday in 1756; for which day the places of the sun, moon, and moon's nodes are known, and from which their motions up to the given day are to be ascertained.

3. Divide the *Kandam* successively by 12,372; 3,031 and 248; and set down the quotients, marking also their respective divisors. The last

remainder will be the *Kethu Vakya*, i.e., an argument for the *Panchanku Vakya*.

Multiply by the quotients (found above) the following numbers respectively, viz., $9^{\circ} 27' 48'' 10''$; $11^{\circ} 7' 31'' 1''$, and $27^{\circ} 44' 6''$

Take the sum of these three results, and add it to $2^{\circ} 1^{\circ} 14' 27''$ (which is the *Mula Druvam*, or moon's epoch longitude) and you obtain *Sasi Druvam*, i.e., the longitude of the moon's apogee at the beginning of the *Panchanku Vakya*.

This is precisely the process which we have already explained and illustrated by an example, for finding the longitude of the moon's apogee for a given time; the only difference is that another divisor (12,372) is introduced, but exactly on the same principle on which the other divisors are used.

4. To the *Sasi Druvam* add the *Attei Vakya*, (the moon's tabular longitude,) and the correction, called *Maniyathi*; the sum will be the moon's longitude.

The *Sasi Druvam*, being the longitude of the moon's apogee for an ascertained number of days, less than 248, before the given time, the *Attei Vakya* is the progress that the moon makes in that number of days. The correction is for the difference of meridians. The result of this precept will be the moon's longitude, when the sun rises at the first meridian. The table gives the correction for the place where the system was constructed. It will not be difficult to form a table for any other place, whose longitude is known.

5. To make the correction called *Senakala*.

As this correction is merely on account of the numbers 12,372; 3,031 and 248, not being strictly accurate multiples of the period of the moon's anomalistic revolution, we need not give the precept at length, nor make any remark upon it. The result is of course the moon's true longitude at sunrise on the first meridian, called *Sutta Santiran*.

6. To calculate the sun's longitude;

Set down the number of months passed, and the day of the month, as so many signs and degrees. From this sum subtract the *Sankrama Nalikeis*, and *Vinalikeis*, considering them as minutes and seconds, if the beginning of the month happen in the day time; but if the month begin at night, add to that sum the difference between these *Nalikeis*, &c., and sixty *Nalikeis*.

From the *Yokyathi Vakya* take the equation corresponding to the given day, and subtract it from the above result, if it falls within seven signs of *Pisces*; but if it be within five signs of *Libra*, it must be added to the same. The result obtained will be the sun's *Pudam*, or true longitude.

A month is the period of the sun's continuance in a sign;

the number of months passed is the number of months passed in the *Kandam*. The *Saukrama* is the precise period elapsed between sun-rise of the given day, and the beginning of the month. The *Yokyathi* is a table containing the correction of the sun's daily motion, which is to be added or subtracted, according as the motion for the given day is greater or less than the mean motion of 1° .

7. Subtract the sun's true longitude from the *Sutta Santiran* (see No. 5), and find the number of complete *Tithis* passed; reduce the remainder to minutes, and multiply them by 60. Divide this product by the difference of the daily motions of the sun and moon, and the quotient will be *Nalikeis*. Multiply the remainder by 60, and divide by the same divisor, for *Vinalikeis*. The *Nadis* and *Vinadis*, thus obtained, are called *Pratham Nadi* and *Vinadi*. The difference between this result and 60 *Nalikeis*, will be *Satta Purava Nadi* and *Vinadi*; i. e., the time of conjunction or opposition of the sun and moon.

This precept requires little or no explanation. A *tithi* is a lunar day, or a thirtieth-part of a lunation. The precept therefore amounts simply to this;—divide the difference of the true longitude by the difference of motion in longitude; the result will be the time elapsed since last conjunction or opposition; and the complement to a lunation will be the time to elapse till the next.

8. To calculate the longitude of Rahu, i. e., the ascending node :

Divide the *Kandam* in No. 2 by 6795, and reject the quotient. Multiply the remainder by twelve, and divide by the same divisor; the quotient will be signs. Reduce the remainder to degrees and minutes by multiplying by thirty and sixty, and dividing by the same divisor. Divide the same *Kandam* by 813, and the quotient will be minutes. These minutes must be added to the above found result.

Take the sum of this quantity, and $7^{\circ} 18' 45''$, which is Rahu's epoch longitude, and subtract it from 12° ; the remainder will be Rahu's longitude for sun-rise of the given day.

Divide by 19 the number of *Nalikeis*, intervening between the time of sun-rise and the time of conjunction or opposition; the result will be minutes. Subtract these minutes from the longitude above found; the remainder will be the longitude of Rahu for the instant of conjunction or opposition.

This precept is sufficiently distinct. The period of revolution of the moon's nodes is assumed at 6795 days; and a correction is applied, which reduces it to 6792.37;—as thus, a being any number of days, we have, for the number of revolu-

tions $\frac{a}{6795} + \frac{a}{813 \times 60 \times 360} = \frac{1 \cdot 367595 a}{119 \cdot 25636000}$ Hence we have, for the length of a revolution, $\frac{119 \cdot 25636000}{17567595} = 6792 \cdot 37$ days. At the commencement of the present century, it was, according to Laplace, 6793³⁹ days : but it is subject to great variation. As it is an important element in the determination of eclipses according to the present method, its erroneous estimate must considerably vitiate the results. As the motion of the nodes is retrograde, it is the complement of the fraction of a revolution that is to be taken. The motion of the nodes is assumed to be 1' in 19 Nadis.

9. To calculate the precession of the equinoxes :—

Divide the number of years passed in Kali Yuga by 615, and the quotient will be signs. Multiply the remainder by thirty and sixty successively, and divide each product by the same divisor ; the result will be degrees and minutes.

Reduce the signs, &c., to *Bhujā** as usual ; and take out the equation from *Yutta Nathi Vakya*.

This equation, raised to the higher denominations, will be the *Ayana Pudan*, i. e., the precession of the equinoxes.

YUTTA NATHI VAKYA.

3° 45'.	Precession.	3° 45'.	Precession.	3° 45'.	Precession.
1	91'	9	783'	17	1284'
2	182	10	859	18	1324
3	274	11	933	19	1359
4	362	12	1002	20	1388
5	450	13	1068	21	1410
6	537	14	1129	22	1436
7	621	15	1185	23	1436
8	703	16	1238	24	1449

On a comparison of the precept with the table it will be observed that the precession of the equinoxes is made to be (1440' =) 24° in (615 × 3 =) 1845 years. This gives the mean annual precession = 46".8.

Now it ought, according to Laplace, to be 50".1. The error has been introduced, we doubt not, in this way. The *Surya Siddhanta* proceeded on the supposition that the Zodiacal and Sidereal signs coincided at the beginning of the Kali Yuga :

* It is elsewhere explained that *Bhujā* means the first or third quadrant, and *Kādi* the second or fourth. To reduce the result, we have therefore, if it be in the second quadrant, to subtract from 180° ; if in the third quadrant, to subtract 180° from it ; and, if in the fourth quadrant, to subtract it from 360°. The table embraces a quadrant of the epicycle, or 1845 years, taking 3° 45' as the unit : thus 3° 45' × 24 = 90.

but this was not the case. The author of that treatise, in order to absorb the error, supposed the annual precession to be 54," which gave him the correct position of the equinox for his own epoch. Now the author of the present treatise, finding that an error would accrue if he calculated the position of the equinox at the rate of 54," set himself to correct the rate. He must have assumed that the increase in precession, which he found to exist, had accumulated from the Kali Yuga, whereas it had in reality accumulated only from the era of the Surya Siddhanta ; accordingly he made the rate too small.

10. To calculate the ascensional difference :—

To the sun's longitude (No. 6) add the precession of the equinoxes above found, and ascertain whether this quantity falls within six signs of Aries or Libra, and reduce it to *Bhuja*, if it be in *Kodi*.

If this reduced quantity be less than a sign, multiply it by 48 ; then reduced the product to the higher denomination, and divide by 30. The resulting quotient is called *Sara Vinadi*, or ascensional difference.

When the reduced quantity is greater than one sign, but less than two, multiply the degrees and minutes of the same by 38, and find out the *Sara Vinadi*, as before, remembering to increase the result by 48 *Vinadis*. When it exceeds two signs, the degrees and minutes of the same must be multiplied by the 16, and the result, found as before, must be added to 86 *Vinadis*.

The ascensional difference is the quantity by which the semi-diurnal arc of the sun is greater or less than a quadrant. As this depends upon the latitude of the place, as well as the sun's declination, the numbers given in the text are therefore applicable only to the place for which the system is constructed, or places of the same latitude. It is not the ascensional difference, but double of that quantity, that the precept directs us to find.

11. For the duration of the day.—To 30 *Nalikeis* add the ascensional difference found, if the sun's longitude be within six signs of Aries ; but subtract the same, when it is otherwise. The sum, or difference, will be the duration of the day, called *Tivamanam*.

This requires no explanation. The length of a day is equal to 30 *Nalikeis* (12 hours), increased or diminished by twice the ascensional difference, according as the sun is to the north or south of the equator. This confirms the correction, that we noticed under the preceding precept.

12. Multiply the *Sara Vinadi*, found as in No. 10, by the true daily motions of the sun and moon, and divide each of the products twice by 60 successively. Add the last found quantities respectively to the true

longitudes of the sun and moon. The sums are called the *Samakkrakam* of the sun and moon.

On reference to No. 6, it will be seen that an element in the determination of the sun's longitude is the *Sankrama*, or time from sun-rise to the beginning of a month. In that article the sunrise is considered to be at 6 o'clock; and the present is a correction to reduce the longitude to its value at actual sun-rise.

SOLAR ECLIPSES.

13. Take the difference between the time of conjunction and half the duration of the day, and with it, as an argument, take out the equation from the *Lampitha Vakya*, and divide it by 60; the result will be *Nalikeis* and *Vinalikeis*. To the time of conjunction apply the equation, by addition, or subtraction, according as it is in the afternoon, or forenoon. The result will be *Lampana Puruvam*, or the apparent time of conjunction.*

The *Lampitha Vakya* is a table of the moon's parallax in longitude, reduced to time; that is, the equation, contained in the table, is the difference between the time, when the moon appears to be in a given longitude, and the time, when she is there. The parallax of the sun is neglected. The rule seems to proceed on the supposition that, on the day of conjunction, the moon is on the meridian at noon; and consequently, her parallax depending on her altitude, the parallax at conjunction will be a function of the time of the conjunction before or after noon.

14. Apply the same equation, as directed in the preceding article, to the *Samakkrakam*, regarding the *Nalikeis* as minutes, and the *Vinalikeis* as seconds. The result is called *Lampana Ravi*, or the sun's apparent longitude for the time of conjunction.

Rather, the sun's longitude at the time of apparent conjunction. This is evident. The *Samakkrakam*, being the longitude of the sun and moon at the time of actual conjunction, must be corrected by the amount of the parallax of the moon, in order to give the longitude at the time of apparent conjunction.

15. Take the difference between half the duration of the day and the time of apparent conjunction, and convert the remainder into degrees, &c., by multiplying by 6, and dividing by 60 and 30. Subtract the result from *Lampana Ravi*, if the time of conjunction occur in the forenoon; but, if it occur in the afternoon, add it to the same. The sum of this result and the precession of the equinoxes, is called *Sayani Ravi*, i.e., the longitude of the Nonagesimal.

* Rather, time of apparent conjunction. — ED.

The reason of this is evident. The sum, or difference, of the sun's apparent longitude at a given time and his distance from the Nonagesimal, or intersection of the ecliptic with the meridian of the place, is of course the longitude of the Nonagesimal.

16. If the *Sayana Ravi* be within six signs of Aries, mark it as northern ; but if it be within six signs of Libra, mark it as southern.

Having reduced the *Sayana Ravi* to *Bhuja*, as usual, find out the equation from the sun's *Manta Jya Vakya*, and divide it by 7 ; the quotient will be *Ankulas*. Multiply the remainder by 60, and divide the product by the same divisor ; the quotient will be *Viankulas*. These *Ankulas* and *Viankulas* are called the northern, or southern, (as the case may be *Ravi Vikshepan*.)

This is the moon's parallax in latitude, which is assumed, for no good reason that we can imagine, to be equal to one-seventh part of the equation of the sun's centre.

17. Multiply by 13 the quotient found in art. 13 ; and the product divided by 60, will be minutes and seconds. Subtract this result from the *Samakrakam*, if the time of conjunction be in the forenoon, but if it be in the afternoon, it must be added. The last result is called *Lampana Sama Santiran*, i.e., the apparent longitude of the moon at conjunction. (*Long. of D at app. conj.*)

This corresponds exactly with the precept No. 14, assuming that the moon's motion in longitude is 13 times that of the sun.

18. From *Lampana Sama Santiran*, subtract the longitude of Rahu, and mark the remainder as northern or southern, according as it is less or greater than six signs.

Reduce the same remainder to *Bhuja*, if it be in *Kodi*, and bring it to minutes. Divide these minutes by 13 ; the quotient will be *Ankulas* ; multiply the remainder by 60, and divide by the same divisor, and the quotient will be *Viankulas*. The result is the moon's *Vikshepan*, or latitude, either north or south, according as before marked.

This is on the supposition that the moon's latitude, when very near her node, is one-thirteenth part of her distance in longitude from the node. It were much more nearly correct to make it one-eleventh part. To find the latitude accurately requires nothing more than the solution of the right angled spherical triangle, of which the sides are the distance of the moon from her node along the orbit, the difference in longitude of the moon and node, and the latitude. The first of these sides is the hypotenuse of the right angled triangle : and the angle, contained by the moon's orbit and the ecliptic, is known, being = $5^{\circ}8'$ nearly, according to Laplace. Hence we have, by Napier's rule,

Sin. of diff. of long. = tan. of lat. \times cot. $5^{\circ} 8'$;
or tan. of lat. = Sin. of diff. of long. \times tan. $5^{\circ} 8'$.

But, both the latitude and the difference of longitude, being necessarily so small at the time of a solar eclipse, we may consider the tangent of the one, and the sine of the other to be equal to the arcs themselves; hence we yet

lat. = diff. of long. \times tan. $5^{\circ} 8' = .09 \times$ diff. of long. = $\frac{1}{11} \times$ diff. of long. nearly.

The error of the author proceeds from under-estimating the inclination of the moon's orbit, and taking the sine of that inclination instead of the tangent. He makes the inclination of the moon's orbit to the ecliptic only $4^{\circ} 30'$ which is fully $38'$ too little.

19. The *Nitya Vikshepam* is always south, being equal to $8'$.

We are indebted to the translator for the explanation of this precept, which otherwise we should not have been able to understand, as we do not think we have previously been told the meaning of the term *Nitya Vikshepam*. With Mr. Hoisington's help, however, we make out that it is a correction for reducing the moon's equatoreal parallax to the parallax for the place for which the treatise is composed. This place being in northern latitude, the moon's apparent place is always further south, than if viewed from the equator. It corresponds to $9^{\circ} 45'$ north.

20. If the three *Vikshepams* be of one kind, *i. e.*, either northern or southern, add them together; but, if they be of different kinds, take their difference. The sum, or difference found is called *Pada Vikshepam*, being northern or southern, according to the quality of the greater of the *Vikshepams*.

The three *Vikshepams* to be added (algebraically) being the moon's latitude (No. 18), the moon's parallax in latitude (No. 16), and the correction of this parallax for the place of observation (No. 19), the result must be the moon's apparent latitude.

21. Multiply the sun's true daily motion by 5, and divide the product by 18; the quotient will be *Ankulas*. Multiply the remainder by 60, and divide the product by the same divisor, for *Viankulas*. The result will be the *Ravi Mandalarttam*, *i. e.*, the sun's apparent semi-diameter.

As the sun's daily motion is greatest in perigee, and least in apogee, and as his apparent diameter is greatest and least at the same times respectively, and as both the daily motion and the apparent diameter increase from apogee to perigee, and decrease from perigee to apogee, it appears that the one of these quantities may be regarded as a function of the other. The average daily motion being $1''$, the rule will give the mean semi-diameter = $16\frac{3}{4}$. According to Laplace, the mean diameter is $32' 3'' .3$, or the semi-diameter = $16' 1'' .6$.

22. Divide the moon's true daily motion by 50; the quotient will be *Ankulas*; reduce the remainder to *Viankulas*. The result will be the *antira Mandalarttam*, i. e., the moon's apparent semi-diameter.

This is precisely on the same principle with the preceding. The average daily motion of the moon being $13^{\circ} 10' 35''$, the rule gives the mean semi-diameter = $15' 48''$. Calculating from the data furnished by Laplace, we make it $15' 43''$.

23. The sum of the apparent semi-diameters of the sun and moon is called *Sampatkarttam*. If from this the *Puda Vikshepam* cannot be subtracted there will be no eclipse. But if it can, then subtract the *Puda Vikshepam* from the *Sampatkarttam*; and the remainder is called *Krasangulam*, being northern or southern, as is *Puda Vikshepam*.

This requires no explanation. If the sum of the apparent semi-diameters of the sun and moon be not greater than the distance of their centres, they will not overlap each other. It should be noticed that the latitude of the sun is not taken into account. As it never exceeds $1''$, it was not appreciable by the Hindu observers. The neglect of it will not produce any material error.

24. From the *Krasangulam*, subtract successively 1, 2, 3, 6, 8 and 12. The number of subtractions will be *Nalikeis*. Multiply the remainder by 60, and divide the product by the number next greater than the one subtracted, the quotient will be *Vianlikeis*. The result is called *Tithi Nalikeis* and *Vianlikeis*. Half of this result is called *Tithiarttam*.

This is an empirical rule, most probably, founded on observation. The *Tithiarttam* is half the duration of the eclipse. A *tithi* is a lunar day, or thirtieth part of a lunation. A *nalikei* is a sixtieth part of a day, consequently a *tithi nalikei* is a sixtieth part of a lunar day, or an eighteen hundredth part of a lunation. It is assumed that when the disks overlap by $1'$, the duration of the eclipse is one *tithi nalikei*.

When they overlap by $3'$, the duration of the eclipse is 2 *Nalike*.

6'	3
12'	4
20'	5
32'	6

These results, as we have said, have probably been derived from the observation of one or two eclipses. The supposition that two eclipses will necessarily last precisely the same time, if they be of precisely the same magnitude, is not quite correct. However, the error will not be great.

25. Add *Tithiarttam* to *Lampana Ravi* for the beginning, and subtract the same for the end, of the eclipse. *Lampana Paruvam* is the time of the middle of the eclipse.

This is surely a mistake. The processes for finding the beginning and end respectively of the eclipse are the reverse of those stated.

26. The sun's apparent semi-diameter doubled will be the apparent diameter of the sun. Ascertain what part of this is the *Krasankulam*; and it will give the magnitude of the eclipse. If $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the sun's disk is eclipsed, while the *Krasankulam* is northern, the eclipse will commence on the north-west limb of the sun, and end on the north-east limb. But if the *Krasankulam* be southern, it will commence on the south-west, and end on the south-east limb. If the eclipse be total, it will begin on the western, and end on the eastern limb.

This requires no explanation.

LUNAR ECLIPSES.

27. The same as 18.

28. The same as 22.

29. Multiply the moon's apparent semi-diameter by five, and take half the product for *Rahu Mandalarttam*, the apparent semi-diameter of the shadow.

This is on the assumption that the diameter of the earth's shadow, at the distance of the moon, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the diameter of the moon. This is but a rude approximation, assuming that the earth's distance from the sun has a constant ratio to her distance from the moon.

30. The sum of the semi-diameters of the moon and shadow is called *Sampatkarttam*.

If this be less than the moon's latitude, there will be no eclipse. But if greater, subtract the latitude from the *Sampatkarttam*, and the remainder will be *Krasankulam*; which is to be considered northern, when the moon's latitude is south, and southern, when that is north.

This requires no remark.

31. From the *Krasankulam*, subtract successively 1, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 7 and 16. If any of these numbers cannot be subtracted, the remainder must be multiplied by 60, and divided by the number next to the last subtracted; the quotient will be *Vianlikeis*. The number of the above subtractions will be *Nalikeis*. These *Nalikeis* and *Vianlikeis* express the duration of the eclipse. Half of this is called *Tithiarttam*.

For the beginning of the eclipse, subtract *Tithiarttam* from the true time of opposition, and for the end, add the same to it. The true time of opposition is that of the middle of the eclipse. In order to ascertain the time from sunset, the duration of the day must be subtracted from the time of the eclipse.

The remark, we have made on No. 24, is equally applicable to this.

32. Multiply the apparent semi-diameter of the moon by 2, and ascertain what part of this is the *Krasankulam*. The result will be the magnitude of the eclipse.

This is evident.

33. If the *Krasankulam* is northern, while the eclipse is partial, the eclipse will commence on the north-eastern limb, and end on the north-western. If southern, it will begin on the south-eastern, and end on the south-western. If total, it will begin on the eastern, and end on the western limb.

This also is evident.

Thus have we gone over the treatise, and commented upon it at length. We trust that this labor will not have been mis-spent. Although we do not expect any considerable proportion of our readers to honour this article with a perusal, yet we hope that those who have patience to go through with it, will acquire a definite knowledge of a subject, of which they have hitherto had but a vague notion. The operation is much shorter than the most improved European method, as shewn in Mr. Woolhouse's treatise, appended to the Nautical Almanac for 1836; but the greater complication of that process is due only to its greater accuracy. The Hindu method will not give a result that can be confidently depended upon. There may be a small eclipse, when this method will indicate none; or there may be none, when this method will indicate a small one; and, in every case, the eclipse may be greater or less than indicated. And this is in strict accordance with the fact, as ascertained by the comparison of the Native almanacs, with the eclipses that actually occur. But still, with all its imperfections, we cannot but regard the method as highly creditable to the ingenuity of those who devised it. To calculate an eclipse, without the aid of those tables, which furnish the data, and that Spherical Trigonometry, which is the great instrument in the hand of the European Astronomer, is a "pursuit of knowledge under difficulties," in which it is no discredit to be occasionally "thrown out."

It is quite unnecessary to say a word as to the concluding part of Mr. Hoisington's volume. We shall therefore end, as we began, by expressing our conviction that the work is fitted to be useful, not only for the purpose for which the translator intends it, but also for the purpose of making known the state of astronomy amongst the Hindus, more accurately than it has hitherto been known to the Astronomers of the West. In order that it may be more useful for this purpose we would recommend that Mr. Hoisington, who is now in America, should reprint the translation apart from the Tamul original. This would not occupy more than 100 pages of letter press, and would not fail to be acceptable to many.

EARLY BENGALI LITERATURE AND NEWSPAPERS.

By REV. J. LONG.

1. *Samāchar Darpan*. Serampore. 1318.
2. *Sambād Kaumadi*. Sanskrit Press. 1821.
3. *Brāhman Sebadi*. Calcutta. 1821.
4. *Samāchar Chandrikā*. Calcutta. 1822.
5. *Bangā Dut*. Calcutta. 1829.
6. *Gyādnāneshwan*. Calcutta. 1831.

THE publication of Elliot's Muhammadan Historians of India, and of Du Tassy's History of Hindustani Literature, together with other valuable works of a similar class issued of late years, indicates that a taste is springing up for bibliographical studies, and that the statistics of literature are considered to be worthy of investigation, even in this age so fond of seeking after mere material objects. In this field, as in others, France and Germany have taken the lead. What works has England ever produced of a bibliographical kind, equal to the writings of Mabillon and the Fathers of St. Maur?

While notice has been taken at different periods of Sanskrit and Arabic works, very little attention has been paid to a history of the rise and progress of the different vernacular literatures in India. We should be glad, for instance, to see a synopsis and sketch of the books published in Tamul, Canarese, and Mahratta. Monsieur du Tassy has supplied the desideratum for Hindustani; and we are glad to learn that his work is being translated from French into Urdu; it will form as excellent a guide for the study of Hindustani, as Horne's Introduction does for Biblical pursuits. We purpose in the present article to take a cursory range over the state of early Bengali literature, particularly with reference to the periodical press, which is indirectly exercising a considerable influence on the Hindu mind; we shall also give a short notice of Bengali works, printed previously to the era of the Bengali newspapers.

It is difficult to gain any precise information respecting the language that was used at the Courts of Gaur and Nadiya; nor is this surprising, when we reflect on the cloud of obscurity that hangs over the ancient history of Bengal. It is true, we have certain landmarks. Dacca and Satgan flourished, as commercial emporia, in the days of Pliny; Gaur, according to Rennel, was the capital of Bengal, 750 B. C.; Tamluk, or Tamralipta, was the Benares of Buddhism

in Bengal, eighteen centuries ago;* and a temple was erected in honor of Kapil Muni in Sagar Island, as far back as A. D. 430. We therefore conclude, on this and various other grounds, that the hypothesis, started by Ram Komul Sen in the very able preface to his Dictionary, is utterly without foundation, *viz.*, that a considerable portion of Bengal, as for instance, the district of Jessore, has been reclaimed from the sea within the last three centuries. So far from the Sunderbund districts being of such recent origin, we believe, that evidence can be adduced to shew that they formed a cultivated tract of country, at a period when England was only emerging from a state of barbarism. We ourselves saw a couple of years ago, in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, through the kindness of Monsieur Jomard, a map of Bengal, made in the fifteenth century, in which we observed five large cities marked off on the borders of the sea, in what are now the Sunderbunds: but these have been subsequently laid waste through Portuguese buccaneering, the effects of inundations, and a sinking of the land owing to volcanic agency. We conclude, therefore, that Bengal was a civilised country long before the light of refinement dawned on Britain. And there are various data to confirm this position; for instance, the notice of Bengal in the *Raghuvansa*—the long standing fame of Tribeni, near Hugly, as a place of pilgrimage—and the mention of Gunga Sagar in the Ramayana and Mahabharat. Kali Ghát is referred to as existing in the days of King Bhagirath. The *Vrihat Katha* alludes to various events of a very ancient date connected with Bengal; and, in one of the stories contained in that highly interesting work, the scene is laid in Tamluk, and one of the chief dramatis personæ is a Buddhist priest.

Mention is also made of Bengal in the *Raghuvansa*. At the period of the composition of that work, probably the whole body of the Ganges flowed down by way of Satgan, Sankhrál Reach, and Báripur to the sea, instead of taking its present course, *viz.*,

* In proof of this, we would refer to an excellent volume, published under the patronage of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, "The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian, from the French, with additional notes. Calcutta. 1848." Professor Wilson has commented very favourably on this work in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Colonel Sykes in his valuable "Notes on the Ante-Muhammadan period of India." In Fa Hian's days, *viz.*, A. D. 399, Tamluk is described as near the sea, and as a place of great traffic; 1,000 Buddhist monks lived in it. At the close of the 5th century before the Christian era, Dharmasoka, sovereign of all Jambudwipa, is said to have sent to the King of Ceylon an ambassador, who embarked from Tamluk; and, as late as the 7th century, it was a town of considerable importance. We have a lively recollection of the danger we encountered lately in passing it, owing to the sands and shallows, with which the river is now filled. Like Satgan, it has fallen into decay, partly owing to that silting process of the river, which may eventually block up even the port of Calcutta.

the Padma. From these, and various other data, we infer that Bengal may have been a comparatively civilised country for, perhaps, 2,500 years. Whether the aboriginal tribes ever occupied the plains of Bengal, we know not; perhaps the researches, which Mr. Hodgson is making respecting the aborigines, may throw light on this point: but these facts are well ascertained;—that, Tamluk, in the third century, was famous for its Buddhist colleges, in which Fa Hian, a Chinese priest, spent two years; that one of the towers of Asoka stood there; that, as late as the 12th century, the Pal Kings of Gaur were Buddhists; that Adisur brought Brahmans from Kanauj to Bengal in the 10th century, as Buddhism had infected the Hindu priesthood in the latter country; and that the Jains, whose system is a scion of Buddhism, were formerly very numerous in Bengal. They were probably a lingering remnant of the Buddhists.

We offer the following suggestion as a point for inquiry. Considering that the Pali language is as invariable an accompaniment of the Buddhist rulers and priests, as Latin is of the Romish, or Sanskrit of the Brahminical hierarchy; and that the Pali bears as close an affinity to Sanskrit, as the Bengali does,—is it not probable, that the ancient language, spoken on the plains of Bengal, was a mixture of the Páli Prákrit, which might then have served, like the Prákrit, or Apabhransa, generally, as a kind of transition-dialect between the ancient Sanskrit and the modern Bengali, or the Gauriya Bháshá? The Páli was pre-eminently the language of the people. It was the organ of the itinerant preaching system of the Buddhist priests:* it was once the vernacular of Magadha, or Bahar; and it bears the same relation to the Sanskrit, as the Dutch does to the German, or the Italian to the Latin.

In support of the assertion, that Páli, or Prákrit has been the language of the people, while Sanskrit was used by the Brahminical class, we have the authority of Dr. Muller, in his "Relation of the Bengali to the Arian and aboriginal languages of India." He remarks, "The author of the most famous Prákrit Grammar, Katyayana, was the same who wrote additional notes on the great work on the Sanskrit Grammar by Panini, his contemporary, or immediate predecessor: and we find in one branch of Sanskrit literature, which was more than any other destined for the higher, as well as the lower, classes, *vis.*, in the dramatic compositions, a constant mixture of Sanskrit and Prákrit dialects, which unfold there an un-

* Buddhist Missionaries employed in China, Nipal, and the Eastern Archipelago, the machinery of the vernaculars and itinerant preaching for diffusing their doctrines.

expected wealth of melodious poetry. Strange as such a combination of similar dialects may seem, we find a similar fact in Italy where each of the masked persons in the *Commedie dell'arte* was originally intended as a kind of characteristic representation of some particular Italian district or town." Dr. Muller, however thinks, that, "while other modern dialects of India are of Prakrit origin, the Bengali is almost a direct off-shoot from the Sanskrit, superseding the simple and concise forms of ancient declensions and conjugations by modern paraphrastic formations." *

What the language of Bengal was 1200 years ago, when Gaur, its capital, was in the zenith of its glory, with its two millions of inhabitants and its princely buildings, we know not. Some suppose it to have been the Sanskrit, not in its present highly artificial form, but in a simpler one; others consider that there was an aboriginal language, traces of which remain still in such words, as *ultá, eman, ekhan, chál, chhari, dhámó, pet, bhari, sojá, holá*. In the admirable preface to his Bengali dictionary, Ram Komal Sen gives a list of 128 original Bengali words, derived from no other language, "which must have been peculiar to the aborigines," and are still in general use among the lower classes; he also appends sixty-five words, spoken among the Koles, and which may be heard at present in the Thakurpúkur and other districts to the South of Calcutta.

Previous to the introduction of Bengali typography into this country in 1778, there were about forty works composed in the Bengali language. Among these the chief were the *Chaitanya Charita Amrita*, a work popular among the Vaishnavas, written in 1557, by Krishna Das Kabiraj, a follower of Chaitanya; † the *Mansa Mangal* by Khemananda; the *Dharma Gana* published by order of Layu Shen, a Raja near Burdwan; the *Mahabharat, Ramayan, Subankara*, and *Guru Dakhina*; the *Bhandi*,

* The Bengali characters according to Colebrooke, "is nothing else but Devanagari deformed, for the sake of expeditious writing." See a valuable paper of the late James Prinsep on this subject, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

† Ram Komul Sen, in the preface to his Dictionary, p. 14, states, "The composition of bibliographical and historical works in Bengali commenced on the appearance of Chaitanya in Nadiya, about 307 years ago; his disciples wrote various books on the doctrines of the Vaishnava sect. In 1557, Krishna Das wrote the *Chaitanya Charita Amrita*: his brethren also produced several works on mythology and theology; their dramatic works are moreover excellent." One-fifth of the population of Bengal have embraced the doctrines of Chaitanya: and one cause of the rapid spread of this sect was probably owing to the activity with which they availed themselves of Bengali literature to disseminate their tenets. We have no account of any Bengali work previous to the period of Chaitanya: and yet it is singular that in Telugu, certainly not superior to the Bengali in richness and expressiveness, we have books, still extant, which were composed previous to the Moslem invasion.

by Kabikankan, and the *Annada Mangal*, by Bharat Chandra, both written under the patronage of the Mæcenas of Hindu literature, the illustrious Raja Krishna Ray of Naba-dwip.

Though the Musalmans in other countries came with the Koran in one hand, and the sword in the other, yet in Bengal they generally granted toleration: but like the English, when they conquered Ireland, they acted with a depressing weight on every effort to create a national literature; and hence, though there are many MSS. extant, yet a search, in order to obtain any clue to ascertain the early formation of the language, or to procure any historical information respecting Bengal in the Ante-Muhammadan period, ends in complete disappointment. Either the Hindus were afraid to write, or the Muhammadans destroyed their documents.

It may not perhaps prove uninteresting to some of our readers to peruse the following curious extract, relative to the early settlement of the Muhammadans in Bengal at Pandúa, a place 15 miles from Hugly on the road to Burdwan, given by the correspondent of an old periodical, now very scarce, the *Calcutta Asiatic Observer* for 1824.

"Traditional Account of the Minaret at Pandúa."

The minaret at Pandúa is certainly one of the most ancient monuments of Muhammadan bigotry in Bengal. I was given to understand by the people of Pandúa, that, about 600 years since, Shah-Suff-uddîn Khan Shahîd, undertook the invasion of Bengal, pursuant to the representation made by a certain Mussulman, who had a little before been invited over by the Hindu rajahs to reside there, for the purpose of interpreting to them the messages, or mandates, of the Emperor of Hindustan, respecting the politics of the times. This man being childless, he made a vow, "that should God grant him a son, he would make a splendid sacrifice to his honour." His prayer was granted; and he proceeded to celebrate the happy event, in the first instance, by slaughtering a cow by way of sacrifice, in fulfilment of his vow. This circumstance gave great offence to the Hindus, and exasperated them to such a degree, that, by the orders of their rajahs, they not only punished him in the severest manner imaginable, but they also brought forth the son of his vow, and offered him up a sacrifice to appease their deities. A short time after this cruel affair had transpired, the Mussulman escaped to Delhi, and petitioned the Emperor to revenge him, by punishing the murderers of his son. The Emperor, shocked at the circumstance, immediately issued a proclamation throughout his dominions, offering a magnificent reward to any person that would undertake to lead an army, and proceed to Bengal to revenge the outrage.

"Prince Shah-Suff-uddîn Khan volunteered his services; and, having assembled an army of the most devout Mussulmans, marched towards Bengal, carrying fire and desolation wherever he came. Having subdued all the rajahs of the intermediate places, he came to Pandúa, a strong fortified place, the residence of a powerful rajah, called Pundtāja, and besieged it. This rajah was aided by the rajah of Munad, who was a powerful ally. But what, above all things, according to tradition, tended to the success of

the besieged in repelling the attacks of the invaders for a long time, was a wonderful pool at Munad, called Jhínch-khúnd. It is said, that this pool had the virtue of restoring the dead to life again, and of healing the wounds of those, who were engaged in the war with the Mussulmans. The latter made repeated assaults on the besieged, but were invariably repulsed with great slaughter. Shah-Suff (being a little surprised to find, that after so many battles had been fought, and thousands of the enemy carried out of the field dead or wounded, their numbers still suffered no diminution,) offered a handsome reward to any person who would trace out the cause of such a circumstance in favour of the besieged. A certain person undertook to procure him the requisite information, and, approaching the neighbourhood of some of the enemy's stations in disguise, found out the secret relative to the miraculous efficacy of the Jhínch-khúnd. Next, taking upon himself the disguise of a Hindu jogí, he arrived at Munad, where was the celebrated pool, and begged permission to bathe in it. Having obtained his request, and while in the act of performing his ablutions, he threw a piece of cow's flesh in the pool undiscovered, which at once destroyed the virtues of Jhínch-khúnd for ever. Having achieved this enterprise, he returned, not a little elated at the success he had met with, and informed the General of the circumstance. The news soon spread through the army, and elated them to such a degree, that they took up their arms immediately, and rushed upon their enemies. The conflict was dreadful. That the healing virtues of the pool had been destroyed was a disastrous event to the Hindus, who in vain cast into it their dead and dying; for as they were cast in one after another, so they remained. Struck with atonishment and shame at this circumstance, and appalled with fear, they were no longer able to withstand the impetuosity of the Mussulman troops, and were routed with a dreadful slaughter. Thus the Mussulmans got possession of Pandúa, and its adjacent towns. They next erected a fortress at Pandúa, and built a minaret to perpetuate the signal victory they had obtained over the infidels. Many Hindus were compelled to be circumcised, and to embrace the Muhammadan religion.

"The conquerors having established themselves in the country, built a large mosque at Pandúa within the walls of the fort, which they had previously erected. This mosque has sixty domes, supported upon two rows of dark grey coloured stones, carved in a very curious style. The outer walls are ornamented with a kind of Mosaic architecture. The bricks, of which they are built, are neatly and curiously moulded into a variety of checquered-work flowers and leaves. The domes, however, are not lofty. They increase the sound of the voice greatly; as a person speaking at one end of the wall enables those who stand on the opposite side, a distance of upwards of a hundred feet, to hear every word distinctly, though spoken with a voice but moderately elevated.

"The minaret is the most worthy of notice. It is upwards of 80 cubits in height by actual measurement. To arrive at its summit, a person is obliged to ascend by means of a narrow, dark, spiral flight of stairs. In the days of the prosperity of this place, the Muazzin, or inviter to prayers, used to ascend to the highest standing place of this minaret, and proclaim the *uzan*, or invitation to prayers.

"During a former visit, which I had paid to this place, I was told of a circumstance of a most lamentable nature, which had taken place a short time before my arrival. The particulars were related by a resident of the place. It is usual for multitudes of Mussulmans to come to this place on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Martyr Shah-Suff, from the remotest parts of Bengal. At such times (January and April,) extensive fairs are held

for the accommodation of the pilgrims. It is an invariable practice of the visitors to ascend to the highest stage of the minaret, for the purpose of seeing an iron bar, which runs evidently through the middle of the spiral steps from top to bottom. This, the pilgrims say, was the walking staff of the martyr. Hundreds ascend at the same time, and throng each other in a miserable manner. On one of these occasions, while multitudes were pressing through this spiral staircase, a person stumbled midway up the steps, and fell upon those who attempted to push on ; and these again being propelled upwards by others following hard at their heels, could not avoid trampling on the person who had fallen, and, as is supposed, killed him on the spot. This created great confusion and uproar, but the cause could not be ascertained, either at the foot of the steps, or at the top. Both those below, and those above, heard the noise, but knew not the reason of it. Struck with alarm, those, who were uppermost, essayed to descend as fast as possible ; and those, who were at the foot of the steps, or a little above, being shoved upwards by a multitude following from below, a most distressing struggle ensued in the middle of the stairs, in which upwards of seventy persons were crushed to death.

"Shah-Suff, the conqueror of Pandúa, was celebrated for the sanctity of his life. It is said, that on a certain day, he went to sleep, after having ordered one of his slaves to wake him precisely at an hour specified, perhaps the hour of prayer. The slave fell asleep likewise, but awoke after the appointed hour had elapsed. Filled with dread at the neglect of which he had been guilty, and his lord being yet in bed, he drew his sword, plunged it into his heart, and killed him ; but immediately killed himself likewise. Thus Shah-Suff became a martyr : since which he has been held in great veneration ; and his shrine, which is always kept in repair, is annually visited by multitudes of pilgrims, as related above. In and about Pandúa, there are also the shrines of the heroes that fell in the battles against the infidels, and who are also held in a degree of respect, next to adoration, by the Mussulmans. They are all martyrs ; so that when a person visits Pandúa, he treads holy ground. The sanctity of the place is made the means of great pecuniary emolument to thousands of fukís, and to the mútu-wullís, or successors of the representatives of Shah-Suff, in whose hands the lands attached to the religious institution are retained, as well as the amounts of sacrifices collected at the fairs ; which they dispose of to such purposes, as best suit their views and inclinations."

Religious reformers in all ages, whether we refer to Luther in Germany, Wicliffe in England, St. Patrick in Ireland, Marot in France, or Sankar-Acharjya in India, have always availed themselves of the vernaculars, as the media for influencing the masses ; and, in so doing, have refined the "vulgar tongue," and rendered it a more powerful vehicle for inculcating new ideas. We observe a similar process in Bengal, which may be divided into four stages ; that of Chaitanya about A. D. 1500, when the first Bengali works were composed ; that of Raja Krishna Ray of Nadiya, about A. D. 1750 ;* that of

* This Raja aspired to be a second Vikramaditya, and to make Nadiya another Ujjain. He gave an immense stimulus to native literature. Under his patronage, Kabikankan wrote the *Chandi*, a highly popular work in praise of Durga ; and Bharatchandra composed the *Annada Mangal*. Learned men from all parts of the country were collected at Nadiya, and supported by rich endowments granted by the Raja, who made Nadiya as

Dr. Carey and his Serampore contemporaries ; and that of Ram Mohan Ray, and the Tatwabodhini Sabha.*

Muhammadan influence had exerted itself in checking every development of a national literature. The officers of the revenue courts under the Mogul regime, as a general rule, would not even receive a petition in Bengali : it had to be written in Persian, which was the avenue to all places of trust and emolument. Yet it is surprising that, even under the British Government, the Persian held its ground, until the memorable 1st of January 1839, when, by the orders of the authorities, the Bengali was substituted for the Persian in all the courts of the Lower Provinces, and this Moslem language was deposed from its unjust ascendancy. On the other hand, though the Pandits (like those subtle trainers of the intellect, the school-men of the middle ages) kept the Hindu mind in a certain state of activity—yet it was the activity of a *class*, not of a nation ; and no man dared to encroach on the preserves

celebrated for logic as Oxford now is—the Raja being very partial to Nyaya studies, which still retain the ascendancy at Nadiya. The Raja set an example of correct diction, “which encouraged the people to study Bengali with unusual diligence.” He is said to have once, on the occasion of the Durga Puja, offered a sacrifice of goats and sheep to the goddess ; he commenced with one, and, doubling it by the process of geometrical progression, at the end of sixteen days, he had slaughtered 65,535 animals. He sent the carcasses as presents to the Brahmins. He was a regular Alva in defence of his own religion, and once put a Sudra to death for having intermarried into the family of a Brahman. Such was caste ! Even as recently as forty years ago a case occurred near Calcutta, when a Brahman, as a punishment for having received a gift from a goldsmith (one of the lower castes), was sentenced to fast two days, to repeat a holy text 100,000 times, and to have his mouth, which had been polluted through the food received from the goldsmith, purified by filling it with cow-dung.

The grandson of the Raja was equally superstitious. Mr. Ward relates the following anecdote of him :—“About twenty years ago (1790), Ishwara-Chandru, the Raja of Nadiya, spent 100,000 rupees in marrying two monkeys, when all the parade common at Hindu marriages was exhibited. In the marriage procession were seen elephants, camels, horses, richly caparisoned palanqueens, lamps and flambeaus. The male monkey was fastened in a fine palanqueen, having a crown upon his head, with men standing by his side to fan him : then followed singing and dancing-girls in carriages ; every kind of Hindu music ; a grand display of fireworks, &c. Dancing, music, singing, and every degree of low mirth, were exhibited at the bridegroom’s palace for twelve days together. At the time of the marriage ceremony, learned Brahmins were employed in reading the formulas from the Shastras !” At that period none of these monkeys were to be seen about Nadiya ; now they are so numerous, that they devour almost all the fruit of the orchards, as the inhabitants are afraid of hurting them.

Those, who are anxious to know any further particulars respecting the Raja, will find various interesting details in a little work published at the Serampore press, and sold for eight annas, called *Raja Krishna Chandru Ray Charitra*. The author, Rajib Lochan, on account of the purity and polish of his Bengali style, is well entitled to be called the Addison of Bengal.

* Ram Mohan Ray professed to be a follower of Sankar Acharjya. His acquaintance with Sanskrit contributed very much to polish his Bengali style. His writing, as well as those of his followers in the Brahma Sabha, have given a powerful impulse to the study of classical Bengali, and have imparted nerve and expressiveness to the language. To those, who wish to know what the expressiveness of the Bengali language means, we would recommend the perusal of the *Tatwabodhini Patrika*, a monthly publication in Bengali, which yields to scarcely any English publication in India, for the ability and originality of its articles.

of the twice born castes.* The vernacular was consequently neglected by both, and even despised, while the saying was strictly acted on, that "ignorance is the mother of devotion." Hence a writer, well acquainted with native attainments, forty years ago, states :—

"If they can *write* at all, each character, to say nothing of orthography, is made in so irregular and indistinct a manner, that comparatively few of them can read what is written by another; and some of them can scarcely wade through what has been written by themselves, after any lapse of time. If they have learned to *read*, they can seldom read five words together without stopping to make out the syllables, and often scarcely two, even when the hand writing is legible. The case is precisely the same with their knowledge of *figures*."—*Friend of India*, vol. ii. p. 392.

In tracing back the progress of improvement during the last half century in Bengal, there is nothing more striking than the development and finish given to the language of the people during that period. It was contemned by the Pandits as a *Pra-krit* dialect, fit only for "demons and women," though "it arose from the tomb of the Sanskrit." And, even in the early days of Fort William College, it was so despised, that the attention of students could with difficulty be directed to its study, so that Dr. Carey could scarcely muster a class there. Yet it has burst through all these obstacles: and the era of Missionary enterprise has been also the era, when the rich resources of the

* We quote the following anecdotes as illustrative of the thralldom of the *profanum vulgus*. "It came to our knowledge, that the dust from the feet of a thousand Brahmans, and even of a lakh, has actually been collected, and drachms of it disposed of, from time to time, as a specific against various diseases. There is now living at Calcutta, a soap-seller named Vishnu-sah, who believes that, by a pinch of the dust shaken from the feet of a lakh of Brahmans, worn as a charm, he was cured of the leprosy; and this poor infatuated man comes into the street (at Chitpore) daily, both in the forenoon, and afternoon, and stands and bows in the most reverential manner to every Brahman who passes by him. Should a Brahman pass by without receiving this honour, he calls out to him, and says, "Oh! Sir, receive my salām." He has now for years paid these honours to this tribe, firmly believing that he owes his deliverance from the most dreadful of diseases to the virtues imparted by them to the dust shaken from their feet. Amongst others, who have gathered and preserved the dust from the feet of a lakh of Brahmans, are mentioned the names of Gunga Govinda-sing, and of Lala-babú, his grandson. The former, preserving this dust in a large sheet, as often as he was visited by Brahmans, took them aside, and made them shake the dust from their feet upon this sheet for the good of mankind. Even the dust collected from the feet of single Brahmans is given away in pinches, and is inclosed in gold, silver, and brass packets, worn on the body, and carried about as a charm against diseases, evil spirits, &c. When a poor Hindu leaves his house to proceed on some difficult business, he rubs a little of this dust on his forehead; and if it remain on his forehead till he arrive at the place, where the affair is to be adjusted, he feels certain of success. In addition to this mark of superstitious devotion to this tribe, we have heard that it is common, six days after the birth of a child, to rub the dust from the feet of the Brahman guests, upon the forehead, the breast, and other parts of the child's body, as a security against disease. The Sudra is even taught to believe, that by eating constantly from the plantain leaves, which have been used at meals by Brahmans, he shall lose the degradation of continuing a Sudra, and in the next birth be infallibly born a Brahman.—*Quarterly Friend of India*, vol. ii., pp. 69-70-71.

Bengali have been developed, in spite of the genius of Brahmanism, which excludes the masses from the temple of knowledge.* It is a singular contrast, that while Buddhism encourages the study of the Pali among its votaries, and Islam the study of the Arabic—among the Hindus, the Sudra's sole prospect of acquiring knowledge lies in being born a Brahman in another birth.† “The separation of the soul from intellect, which the Hindu philosophers have for ages attempted to establish in theory, they practically accomplished in the case of the Sudra.” But as the press, in the hands of Voltaire, Condorcet, Rousseau, and the encyclopedists, shook the fabric of despotism, both priestly and aristocratic in France, so it is destined to discharge a similar office in this country. Already the people are less dependent on the oral instruction of the Brahmans, who feel as strong an aversion as Free Masons to have their arcana disclosed to the vulgar gaze. An able writer in the *Quarterly Friend of India*, vol. iv., p. 152, makes the following judicious remarks on this subject :—

“As the priesthood derived all their importance from the general ignorance of the people, it became their interest to neglect their language. A pandit, who twenty years ago, should have written the Bengalee language with accuracy, would have been treated with contempt. So far indeed did the literati carry their contempt for their own mother tongue, that, while they cultivated the learned language with the greatest assiduity, they, in many instances, prided themselves on writing the language of the people with inaccuracy. They even discouraged the use of it among the people, and set their face against its improvement. When Kirtibas, about sixty years ago, translated the Ramayana into Bengali, the literary conclave at the Court of Raja Krishna Chundra Raya, is said to have denounced it in the following rescript, copied from the Sangskrit. “As it is not the work of a Pandit, let it not be read.”‡ As the Bengali language is totally dependent on its parent for philological strength and beauty, and even for the principles of orthography, this system was fatal to every prospect of its improvement.

The most ancient specimen of printing in Bengali, that we

* We are happy to state that, of late years, the Pandits have rendered their knowledge of Sanskrit eminently conducive to forming a standard of style and orthography for the Bengali. We have just received a work, translated by a Pandit of the Sanskrit College, Ishwar Chandra Sarma, from Chambers's Biography, containing the lives of Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, Herschell, Grotius, Linnæus, &c. This translation reflects the highest credit on the ability of the translator; and, we hope, that he will proceed with a series of works on the same plan.

† Young Bengal seems to retain a spice of this old leaven still. No Kulin frowns with deeper indignation at the notion of imparting knowledge to the *people*, than he does at communicating information through the *vernacular*.

‡ Budyunath, who translated an indelicate work into the popular dialect, apologizes in the preface for the use of it, which he ascribes to the imperious necessity created by his pecuniary embarrassments. He is in fact so greatly ashamed of countenancing such an innovation, that he blushes to name his ancestry whom he has disgraced. He then proceeds to compare the Bengali language to the hideous notes of a crow, sounding amidst the melody of the kukil,

have, is Halhed's Grammar, printed at Hugly in 1778. Halhed was so remarkable for his proficiency in colloquial Bengali, that he has been known to disguise himself in a native dress, and to pass as a Bengali in assemblies of Hindus. The types for this Grammar were prepared by the hands of Sir C. Wilkins, who by his perseverance amid many difficulties, deserves the title of the Caxton of Bengal. He instructed a native blacksmith, named Panchanan, in type cutting, and all the native knowledge of type cutting was derived from him. He was the editor of the *Bhagavat Gita* and of a Sanskrit Grammar, and was one of our first Sanskrit scholars.

One of the earliest works printed in Bengali, was Carey's translation of the New Testament, published in 1801. Though written according to the English idiom, and in a Bengali style, that would be considered disreputable in the present day, yet it was a great work for its time, considering the few books in the language. He received considerable assistance in the translation from one Ram Basu, who had been recommended to him by Mr. W. Chambers. This man was the author of the life of Raja Pratapaditya, and was a good Persian scholar. To Carey the Bengali language is as much indebted, as the Urdu was to the untiring zeal of Gilchrist. He published a useful grammar of the language: and his dictionary, in three volumes quarto, containing 80,000 words, will long remain as a monument of his skill and industry in investigating the resources of the Bengali tongue. He had in fact to pioneer his own way; and Bengali then lay before him as shapeless as was Italian, when the plastic hand of Dante undertook the moulding it into form and beauty. The clumsy Bengali characters of this Testament present a marked contrast to the beauty of the existing Bengali typography.

The life of Raja Pratapaditya, "the last king of Sagur," published in 1801, at Serampur, was one of the first works written in Bengali prose. Its style, a kind of Mosaic, half Persian, half Bengali, indicates the pernicious influence which the Muhamadans had exercised over the Sanskrit-derived languages of India. Raja Pratapaditya lived in the reign of Akbar at Dhumghat near Kalna in the Sunderbunds: his city, now abandoned to the tiger and wild boar, was then the abode of luxury, and the scene of revelry. Like the *Seer Mutakherim*, this work throws some light on the phases of native society, and enables us to look behind the curtain. The following is a summary of the contents of this interesting work.

Ram Chandra was a Bengali Kayastha from the East of Bengal, who obtained employment in an office at Satgan, where he

had three sons, Bhabananda, Gunananda and Shibananda, who, in consequence of a quarrel, retired to Gaur, which was then flourishing under Suliman, where Shibananda obtained influence and employment. Daud, the son of Suliman, succeeded to the Musnud ; but, puffed up by prosperity, he determined not to pay tribute any longer to Delhi. Ram Chandra's family saw the storm impending, and quitted Gaur for a retirement in Jessore, a place full of swamps and wild beasts, which they soon reclaimed. After a few years they erected a city there. In the meantime Akbar sent an army of 200,000 men against Gaur under Raja Tarmahal, and Daud was defeated. Daud gave orders to remove the most valuable property in Gaur to Jessore, and fled, with his family, to the Rajmahal hills, while his two brothers assumed the garb of Vairagis. In the meantime, the Mussulman Generals, Tarmahal, and Amra Sing, entered Gaur, and plundered it of whatever was left. Daud's two brothers, induced by bribes, surrendered themselves, and gave information respecting the revenue papers that had been concealed ; and one of them received as a recompense the zemindary of Jessore.

Daud himself was betrayed by his Khansamah to Amra Sing, who cut his head off. Vikramaditya then obtained a firman to be Raja of Jessore, and went and settled there. He gave on his arrival a lac of rupees to the poor, and fed a lakh of Brahmans. Many Kayastas came and lived in the place, who obtained large grants of land, extending from Dhakka to Halishar ; and the Raja established a Samaj, unequalled in the country for the number of learned men attached to it, while Chaubaris and Patshalas were formed in the different villages, as well as inspectors to dispense charity every month to the poor. To this king a son was born, named Pratapaditya, who, as the astrologers predicted, would revolt against his father. He was instructed in the Persian and Sanskrit languages, music, wrestling, &c., but the king, becoming jealous of Pratapaditya, sent him to Delhi, where he received a khelat from Akbar on account of his skill in poetry. After a residence of three years there, the Raja of Jessore not paying his tribute, Akbar ordered him to be deposed, and Pratapaditya was appointed by Akbar as his successor. Pratapaditya finding Jessore too small selected a spot at Dhumghat, south-west of Jessore, where he built a city on a magnificent scale, and a palace furnished with every convenience of luxury, several miles in extent ; the gates were so high, that an elephant and howda could enter without stooping. At his inauguration, the nobles from Rarhi, Gaur, and all parts of the country, were present. There

came also hundreds of palankins, filled with high caste females from Jessore, attended by their dancing-girls. An elaborate account is given of the magnificence of the city, and the munificence of its founder. Undeterred by the fate of his father, he too rebelled against Akbar. A Mussulman army was sent against him, which came as far as Sulkea, and Rajah Pratapaditya, being warned by his tutelar goddess, that destruction was near, surrendered himself to the Mussulman General, and was put to death. The work concludes with an account of his descendants.

On the list of early benefactors to vernacular literature may be enrolled the name of a man, little known to fame, but whose deeds are recorded in the memory of thousands—the late John Ellerton of Malda. Though following an occupation (indigo planting), which at that time led men too generally to regard the natives as little better than a herd of cattle, he was the first European who established Bengali schools; and, as the school-master requires the press as his artillery, he commenced a translation of the New Testament into Bengali, which he discontinued for a time, on learning that Dr. Carey contemplated the same. In 1810, however, his translation of the Gospels was printed at the expense of the Calcutta Bible Society. The Gospel of John had been previously printed at the expense of the Countess of Loudon, for the use of a school, founded and endowed by her Ladyship at Barrackpore. In 1820, Ellerton's New Testament was published, and has been greatly valued for the simplicity of its style; though the Bengali language has since that period acquired such a finish and polish, that his version has been superseded by that of Dr. Yates. Mr. Ellerton has rendered valuable service by his publishing a work called *Guru Shishya* or conversations between a disciple and scholar, which has been very useful both for its matter and style. The author attained a standard of proficiency in Bengali, which very few Europeans have reached—he thought in the vernacular.

Among the institutions, which, by their employment of the press, and by pecuniary encouragement, gave an impetus to Bengali literature and to translations, we would give a prominent place to Fort William College, founded the 4th of May in 1800, by the Marquis of Wellesley, whose masterly minute on the subject* points out the importance of an oriental training for the servants of Government, and its reaction on the vernaculars; for, as the noble Marquis remarks, “the

* Roebuck's Annals of the College of Fort William.

Sanskrit dialect being the source and root of the principal vernacular dialects prevalent in the Peninsula, a knowledge of the Sanskrit must form the base of a correct and perfect knowledge of those vernacular dialects." Hence patronage was afforded to several eminent Pandits, among whom appears the name of Mritunjay Vidyalkar.

In the work, called *Primitivæ Orientales*, we have the theses of the students, delivered in Persian, Arabic, Urdu, &c., at the public disputations. We give an extract from one, delivered by Mr. Hunter in 1803, in Bengali, on the subject of caste.—

“অন্য শাস্ত্র যদি ভাষাতে তর্জমা করে তবে সংস্কৃত শাস্ত্রের গৌরব হানি প্রযুক্ত তাহার অখ্যাতি হয় যেমন মহাভারতের তর্জমা ভাষাতে কাশী দাস নামে এক শূদ্র করিয়াছিল সেই দোষেতে ব্রাহ্মণেরা তাহাকে শাপ দিয়াছিল, সেই ভয়েতে অন্য কেহ এখন সে কর্ম করে না।

“হিন্দুলোকেরা যদি ও আপন শাস্ত্রের নিশ্চয়েতে থাকে তবে অন্য দেশের বিদ্যা ও ব্যবহার যদি ভালও হয় তবু তাহা গ্রহণ করিতে পারে না যদি অন্য দেশের বিদ্যা ও ব্যবহার দেখে কিঞ্চিৎ ভুলে তথাপি তুচ্ছ করিয়া আদর করে না অতএব অন্য লোকের ব্যবহারেতে তাহাদের জ্ঞান লাভ হইতে পারিবে না।

“অন্য দেশের গমন ও অন্যদেশের ব্যবহার দর্শন ও অন্য দেশের বিদ্যাভ্যাসেতে লোকের বুদ্ধিবুদ্ধি হয় হিন্দু লোকেরদের শাস্ত্রের মতে পশ্চিমে আটক নদী পার হইলে জাতি যায় উত্তরে ভোটারের এবং গ্রেফ্‌দেগে ও সেই মত এবং ব্রহ্মপুত্র পার হইলে পূর্বদক্ষিণ নষ্ট হয়. দক্ষিণে সমুদ্র পথে জাহাজে থাকিয়া ভোজন পান করিলে জাতি যায়. হিন্দু শাস্ত্রের মতে গোখাদকের সংসর্গ করিলেও দোষ; হিন্দু ছাড়া যত লোক সকলেই গোমাংস খায় অতএব হিন্দুরা তাহাদের সহিত সহবাদ করিতে পারে না এবং যেমত নির্জন উপদ্বীপে কোন ব্যক্তি একাকী থাকে সেই মত এই একসাড়িয়া বীতিতে তাহাদের বুদ্ধিপ্রতিভা জড়িত হইয়াছে এবং তাহাদের উদ্দেশ্যগ শিথিল হইয়া অবিনীততা স্তব্ধতা হইয়াছে; এই ইউরোপীয়েরদের মধ্যে দক্ষা প্রভৃতি অধম লোক হইতে ও অধম; কেননা ইহারা স্বস্থান ত্যাগ করিয়া সুক্রিয়ান্বিত হইলে তাহাদের সুখ্যাতি পুনর্বার হইতে পারে কিন্তু ইহাদের কখন ভাল হইতে পারে না হিন্দুরা শাস্ত্র ব্যবস্থা বিধা মান্য লোকেরা যাদৃচ্ছিক আজ্ঞা লম্বন করিলেই অপার দুঃস্থ সাগরে পড়ে” ॥

The following is a translation of this passage :—

"Again, the Hindu, who translates any part of the Shastras, is considered as insulting the sacred volumes, and is punished accordingly. It is well known, that a Sudra named Ka-f Ram Das, translated the Mahabharat, and that the Brahmans immediately issued a curse against him and his family to all eternity. This has proved sufficient to deter a: other from following his example.

Further, no Hindu can appropriate to his use the sciences and customs of another country; since his Shastras not only pre-judices his mind against any thing foreign, but absolutely shuts up from him that fund of improvement and knowledge, which might be obtained from travelling. It confines him on the West by the River of Attock; on the North by Bhtan and the country of the Mlechhas; to the Eastward by the Brahmaputra, and to the South by the Great Ocean. It also forbids all intercourse with the eaters of beef: though they are found in every other country in the world. And in this unsocial state, like a solitary being in a desert isle, his energies are cramped, his industry becomes relaxed, and apathy and indifference naturally succeed. More wretched than the most gulfy criminals of European nations, who expiate their crime, and often retrieve their character, by a salutary absence for a given period from their mother country, the Hindu, who has committed no crime, but only transgressed the laws of regularity, or the injunctions of arbitrary power, must undergo an endless banishment, and be for ever tantalized by the sight of those, who were once his equals or inferiors."

The visitor of 1815, in remarking on the encouragement held out by the college to the study of the leading oriental languages, observes, that, previously to the foundation of the college, "the language of Bengal was generally neglected and unknown." And even in its early days, as we have already observed, the Bengali language was so despised, that Dr. Carey could scarcely form a class; however, in 1816, Lord Moira congratulated the college on an altered state of things; attributing as one reason for the change the attention paid at Hertford to the Bengali. In fact, Persian and Urdu had been the languages studied, to the most unwarrantable neglect of the language of thirty millions of people; and this neglect has hung as an incubas over our mofussil courts in Bengal ever since. The civilians, from the tone given to their education, interlard all their documents and phraseology with Persian terms to such a degree, that the language of the courts is not now the language of the peasantry, but has become a jargon suited to the purposes of the Amlas, who wish to mystify every thing for their own advantage.

A list of oriental books, published under the patronage of Fort William College between 1800 and 1818, comprises besides thirty-one in Urdu, twenty in Arabic, twenty-one in Persian, and twenty-four in Sanskrit, the following Bengali works—Carey's *Bengali Grammar and Dictionary*; *Pratāpāditya Charitra*, the last Raja of the Island of Sagar, by

Rámram Basu, 1801 : *Rajah Krishna Chandra Ray Charitra*, by Rájib Lochan, 1801 : *Rájávalí*, by Mritanjaya Vidyálinkar; *Hita-pádeshu*, by Goluk Natna, 1801 ; the same work. by Ramakishorí Tarkalankar, 1808 ; *Butrish Singhásan*, by Mritanjaya Vidyálinkar, 1808 ; *Íotú Ítíhás*, by Chandi Charan, 1805 ; *Purush Parikhá*, by Hara Prasad Ray. 1815 ; *Lipi Múhá*, by Ramram Basu. 1802 ; *Bengali Dialogues*, 1801. In 1808, Mr. Serjeant, a student of the College, translated the first four books of the Æneid into Bengali : Mr. Monckton, another student, translated the Tempest of Shakespear. The first book of the Mahabharat was printed in 1802, and the Ramayan in 1801. Various works, such as Carey's Dictionary, &c. &c., were issued from the Scrampore press, which would never have seen the light, were it not for the liberal patronage afforded by the authorities of Fort William College ; though, in consequence of the indefatigable exertions of Dr. Gilchrist, Urdu works obtained an undue share of patronage.

In 1811 the Calcutta Bible Society originated. This Society, by the stimulus it gave to the cause of vernacular translation and verbal criticism, elicited at an early period the well-merited eulogium of the Asiatic Society of Paris. It issued from its Calcutta Depository (between 1811 and 1849,) 602,266 copies of *Vernacular Scriptures*, in whole or in part ; of which about one-fourth were in the Bengali language. Whoever compares Ellerton's and Carey's Bengali New Testament, published and circulated by this Society, with the finished and elegant composition of Yates, will see the important influence of Bible criticism on a language generally ; while the ideas of the Bible elevate the notions of the readers, the languages of it accustoms them to the disuse of a vulgar *patois*. What Wicliffe has done for the English language, and Luther for the German, in point of craning up their respective tongues to a certain status, the patronage of the Bible Society has done for Bengali. In Campbell's Preliminary Dissertations, and Henry Martyn's Journals, we see the philological qualifications required in a good translator, involving the highest critical powers on intricate questions relative to the standard of style ; to interpretation ; to the transferring or translating technical terms ; the spelling of proper names, &c. All the resources of a language, grammatical and lexicographical are called out, in order to express ideas so foreign to the Bengali mind, as those of the Jews : the language itself is elevated along with the new ideas it has to express ; new words have to be coined, and thus a larger infusion of Sanskrit terms takes place. It was thus, that Luther by his

version of the Bible, raised a provincial dialect to be the language of Germany. Typography has of late been improved; and prices also have been very much cheapened: a Bengali Bible cost in 1811, 24 rupees; in 1849, only six.

With a vernacular education, such as is represented in Adam's Reports, we could expect little from a vernacular press; to use the language of Douglas of Cavers, "without education, printing can effect nothing; the former is to the latter, what the female deities of India (Shaktis) were to the gods with whom they were mated; the recipients of their power, and the medium by which their energy flowed into operation." The following ratio, deduced from Adam's Reports, shews the proportion which the various classes of readers in Bengal bear to one another:—

The proportion of Musalman to Hindu youths, under instruction, is as 1 to about 10½. Of the educated (i. e., reading) adult population, the proportion of Musalmans to Hindus is about 1 to 7½. Taking the mean of these two data, we find that, in Bengal generally, there are to every educated Musalman about 9 educated Hindus.*

The proportion of readers of the Persian character to readers of the Bengálí is about 1 to 12½ or 12½ †

The proportion of Musalman readers of Persian to Hindu readers of Bengali is as 1 to 19 or 19½.

The proportion of Musulman readers of Bengali to Hindu readers of Bengálí is as 1 to 23½ or 24.

The proportion of Musalman readers of Persian to Hindu readers of Persian is about 1½ to 1.

The proportion of Musalman readers of Persian to Musalman readers of Bengálí is as 1½ to 1.

The proportion of Hindu readers of Persian to Hindu readers of Bengálí is as 1 to about 31½ or 32½.

The dawn of improvement, in this respect, dates from 1814, when Mr. May had flourishing schools around Chinsura, for the support of which the Marquis of Hastings allowed 600 Rs. monthly—the *first* grant made by Government in Bengal.

*The Report does not afford data for estimating the entire proportion of these two great classes of the community to each other throughout Bengal. In page 105, Mr. A. gives the following table:

In the city of Murshedabad there are 100 Hindus...	to 48 4 Musalmans.
In tháná Daulat bázár (Murshedabad Zillá,.....	to 86.8 ditto
In tháná Nángliá (Bírblhúm Zillá).....	to 20.5 ditto
In tháná Culná (Burdwan Zillá).....	to 23.9 ditto

"These proportions," however, he adds, "must be considered as strictly limited to the localities mentioned—because the proportions differ, not only in different districts, but in different thánás of the same district."

† This latter estimate is on the supposition that the *Hindu* readers of Persian are also acquainted with Bengálí, which is very likely, as it is their own vernacular.

for the promotion of vernacular education. In 1816, the Serampore Institution for native schools was formed.

The press and the school both stood in need of each other :—

“ Most disastrous would it be, if the schemes of education now on foot should serve only to create readers for idolatrous publications, from a lack of more useful works : yet this is likely to be the case, if we permit year after year to elapse without multiplying treatises, which may serve to fill the vacant hours of students after the season of elementary instruction is closed. We owe it therefore to the consistency of our character ; we owe it to our superior civilisation, and to the plans of improvement which have been commenced under British influence, not to suffer minds which have been partly enlightened at school, to relapse into the grossness of superstition. * * * In four years more perhaps thirty thousand additional volumes will be thrown into circulation, and unless their influence be corrected by books of a higher description, the thousands of youth, to whom the numerous schools are now imparting the faculty of reading, will have gained little by our efforts, and must grow up with an increasing attachment to idolatry.”

The Calcutta School Book Society, which has contributed so much to infuse a healthy tone into native literature, was established in 1817,* chiefly by the Marchioness of Hastings ;† who herself prepared and sent to press several elementary works, at a period when it is stated that “the country itself could not supply a single native child’s book, although schools, in almost every considerable village, had existed for ages.” This is too sweeping a remark, as we have now before us a list of sixty-five indigenous works, which had issued from the native presses previous to 1819 : half of these are on mythological and amatory subjects, but the other half contain matter for more useful reading. Works of fiction are of benefit to society in a certain stage ; indeed, one of the greatest orientalists of the time, the late Dr. A. Clarke, acknowledges how much he was indebted to the reading of “the Arabian Nights.”

Among the early contributors to the book list of the Society was Captain Stewart, the founder of the Burdwan Church Mission. He compiled *Elementary Bengali Tables*, the *Upadesh Kathā*, and contributed very much, by his example and influence, to raise the standard of vernacular education in the Burdwan district, by the introduction of such subjects as natural history and geography into the schools.

* The year 1817 was a memorable year : while on the one hand, this Society then came into existence, on the other hand, the Hindus, in order to avert the pestilence of Cholera, which broke out for the first time that year, added *Ula Bibi*, or the goddess of Cholera, to the catalogue of their Divinities.

† The Marquis of Hastings gave a donation of 1,000 Rs. and subscription of 500 Rs. to the Institution, and patronised it in other ways also.

Mr. May, the active superintendant of vernacular schools at Chinsura, wrote arithmetical tables for the Society. He laboured enthusiastically in the cause of popular education in the villages on the banks of the Hugly; and very probably the desire for studying English, which is now so strong there, received its first stimulus from his labours. Mr. Pearson, also of Chinsura, compiled for the Society a collection of easy Bengali lessons, and the *Bakya Bali*: the latter work has been one of very great utility to those anxious to acquire the colloquial idioms of Bengal.

The name of Ram Komul Sen stands foremost, as one of the early co-operators with the School Book Society, and as a warm friend to vernacular translation. His dictionary—the result of 20 years labour—will long remain as a monument of his diligence and critical acumen, and entitles him to the epithet of the Johnson of Bengal. He commenced his studies, at a period when “the Tales of a Parrot,” and the Arabian Nights, were the chief class books in schools. He began his career, as compositor, on a salary of eight rupees a month, in the Hindustani press of Dr. Hunter. At the close of life he was in the receipt of 1,500 Rs. a month, as Dewan of the Bank of Bengal,* and bequeathed ten lakhs to his family. Brougham like, he was a most zealous friend to the diffusion of useful knowledge. He planned the Sanskrit College, and the Patshalá; and, with the view to diffuse medical knowledge through the vernacular, he composed, and published at his own expense, the *Ausadabali*. Rajah Radhakant Deb also compiled a spelling book, part of the *Niti Katha*, and a treatise on Female Education. In common with several other leading natives, he was a warm friend to the institution. Out of 200 subscribers in 1818, no less than eighty were Babus: but, a few years subsequently, there was a great falling off in this respect.

Previously to 1821, the following works in Bengali had been printed by this Society:—

- Stewart's Elementary Tables, 10 Nos. in sets, 3,850 copies.
- Pearson's ditto. or Introductory Lessons, (cards,) 3,000 ditto.
- Keith's Bengali Grammar, (by Question and Answer), 500 ditto.
- Pathsalár Bibarán, or Pearson's School-master's Manual, 500 ditto.
- Bengali Vocabulary, of Ram Chandra Sarma, (Abhidhan,) 4,400 ditto.
- Pearson's Familiar Letters, (Patrikaumádyá,) 1,000 ditto.
- Arithmetic, Native model (May's Ganita,) 2,000 ditto.
- Harle's Arithmetic (mixed model.) 1,000 ditto.
- Nitikatha, or Moral Tales, Part I., 7,000 ditto.

* The Babus of Calcutta are generally *parvenus*, and have, for the most part, risen from humble circumstances. One of our *millionaires* began life on a salary of 10 rupees monthly, and the father of another on 5 !

Nirikatha ditto, Part II. (Pearson's Reading Lessons,) 4,000 ditto.
 Nitikatha ditto, Part III (Ram Comul Sen's ditto,) 5,000 ditto.
 Tarachund Dutt's Pleasing Tales, (Manaranjan Itihas,) 2,000 ditto.
 Stewart's Tales of History, (Apodes-katha, &c.,) 2,000 ditto.
 History of England (Goldsmith's), by F. Carey, 500 ditto.
 Pearce's Geography, in Nos. (1 to 5 printed—6th in press,) long form,
 10,000 ditto.

Account of the Lion, &c. (Singher Bibaran.) 2,000 ditto.

It has taken the lead in being *the* society for diffusing useful knowledge among the Bengali-speaking population. To appreciate the value of its labours, it is only necessary to examine Adam's reports on vernacular education, or to look into the class of books, which have been used by Hindus, either as translations from the Shastras, or adapted for the occupiers of a bazar.

In 1818, the *Digdarshan* in Bengali was commenced at Scram-pore. Its plan was similar to that of the Penny and Saturday Magazines of late days. It embraced subjects of the following kind; the discovery of America; the Load Stone and Compass; Columbus; the Commerce and Productions of India; Ancient History; Sketches; Steam; Notices of England; Metals; Natural History, &c. It was continued for 3 years; and has proved a very useful work, calculated to open and expand the minds of young Hindus. We have at present no work of a similar class.

When we contrast the improvement in euphony and expressiveness, that has taken place in the Bengali language within the last thirty years, though it has had no Dante to raise it at once to its full powers—we must ascribe much of this progress to the periodical press, which has afforded such scope to young writers. Compare the *Pratpāditya Charitra* of 1802, and its semi-Persian style, with the exquisite beauty and elegance of the *Betāl Panchabingsati*, published by a Pandit of Fort William College, and one would scarcely suppose that it is the same language: or contrast the grammars of Halhed and Yates, and a similar observation can be made. In the days of Halhed, people “scarcely believed that Bengal ever possessed a native and peculiar dialect of its own, distinct from that idiom, which, under the name of *Moors*, has been supposed to prevail over India.” And to the perpetuation of this error the influence and untiring advocacy of the Urdu language by Gilchrist greatly contributed. He published his Urdu dictionary in Calcutta in 1787; and, by editing a series of useful works, he gave the impression that the Bengali was a mere patois, and that the Urdu was to be the only medium of literary and social intercourse between natives and Europeans.

The present may be characterised as the age of “the Press,”

as contrasted with former days, when in Bengal, as well as in Europe, knowledge was doled out to a few through the costly channel of MSS. : and so scarce had even these become in this country, that of the *Rajtarangini*, which enshrines so much historical information concerning the early settlement of the Brahmans in *Ariavarta*, only two copies escaped destruction. The days of Vikramaditya and of Raja Krishna Ray—though called an Augustan age,—were, like the oasis of the desert, or the time of Louis Quatorze, surrounded by blackness and desolation as far as the masses were concerned. We look therefore to the vernacular press as a grand means for working on the *masses* in this country, and quite concur in the following sentiments of Douglas in his *Advancement of Society* :—

“ Newspapers communicate to a whole country the advantage, which was formerly peculiar to a city ; and spread the same impulse from province to province with as much rapidity, and more precision, than it could formerly have been circulated from one quarter of a large town to another. But the power of newspapers consists, not only in the rapidity of the transmission, but in the reiteration of their statements. Burke, thirty-years ago, had the sagacity to perceive, that they, who can gain the public ear from day to day, must, in the end, become the masters of public opinion : and the rapid increase of the numbers, and of the influence, of newspapers more than justifies his prediction. It was no bad observation of Fletcher of Salton, that, whoever made the laws of a nation he cared not, provided he had the making of their ballads. But now that nations are less addicted to ballad-singing, and more to the reading of newspapers, the high office of moulding institutions and amending manners, is devolving upon the editors of daily or weekly journals.”

When we consider that the vernacular press continues the instruction of the school ; that it is, in fact, an adult school-master ; that even in the poorest of the Bengali newspapers there is a considerable amount of geographical, political, and historical information imparted, which must form an intellectual link between Hindustan and the land of the Mlechhas ; and that the editorials, though very feeble, yet, by the process of perpetual reiteration, are producing a strong and deep impression on the native mind, and are moulding the opinions of thousands of intelligent and influential Hindus ;—we cannot consider it an uninteresting subject to trace the rise and progress of this new power, which seems destined hereafter to play an important part on the stage of Indian society. It presents no stirring events, such as the cases of Buckingham and Arnott, who, in defence of what they considered the freedom of the press, braved the strong arm of Government. The editorials of the native papers are never noticed by the authorities ; yet they work their own way quietly and gently, forming a public opinion among na-

tives, but, we must say this, there has been far less of personality, railing against Government, scandal, and scurrilous remark in the native press of Calcutta, than there has been in the Calcutta English journals.

We believe the native newspaper press is destined to have a mighty influence hereafter in this country, and that the language of Bulwer will be applicable to it: "The newspaper is the chronicle of civilisation—the common reservoir into which every stream pours its living waters, and at which every man may come to drink. The newspaper informs legislation of public opinion, and it informs the people of the acts of legislation. The newspaper is the familiar bond that binds together man and man—no matter what may be the distance of climate, or the difference of race. The newspaper is a law-book for the indolent, a sermon for the thoughtless, and a library for the poor. It may stimulate the most indifferent: it may instruct the most profound."

The first Bengali newspaper, that broke in on the slumber of ages, and roused the natives from the torpor of selfishness, was the *Darpan* of Serampore, which began its career on the 23rd of May 1818.* The Marquis of Hastings, instead of yielding to the imaginary fears of the enemies to a free press, or continuing the previous policy of Government by withholding political knowledge from the people, gave every aid to the *Darpan*.† On the publication of the first number, he wrote a letter with his own hand to the editor, expressing his entire approval of the paper: a considerable number was subscribed for, and sent at the public expense, to different native courts; and the editor was encouraged to publish a Persian edition to circulate for one-fourth of the postage charged to English papers. The Marquis avowed in public, that "it is salutary for the Supreme authority to look to the control of public scrutiny."

The plan of the *Darpan* embraced news (both Indian and English) likely to be interesting to natives, as well as local descriptions. The Bengali style was simple. When we consider the

* The year 1818 was remarkable in various respects. The School Society was formed, which introduced a new class of vernacular books into its schools; and Serampore College was founded. As long as it continued in operation, it gave a considerable stimulus to the study of Bengali, by making it the medium for conveying information on various subjects.

† Under the regime of the Marquis, the first impulse was given to the vernacular newspaper press. He himself afforded every encouragement to native education, as he was not one of those who thought the safety of British India depended on keeping the natives immersed in ignorance. He was a man that did not shrink in 1816, when addressing the students of Fort William College, from avowing the noble sentiment, "It is humane, it is generous to protect the feeble; it is meritorious to redress the injured. but it is a godlike bounty to bestow expansion of intellect, to infuse the promethean spark into the statue, and waken it into a man."

amount of historical, political, and geographical information, that this, along with other Bengali papers, poured in on the Hindu mind, which previously seldom extended its range of inquiry beyond the affairs of the neighbouring pergunna, or at furthest beyond the land bounded by the Indus, and "within the antelope's range," we must assign a very prominent position to the native newspapers, and to the *Darpan* in particular, in having roused the adult mind from its long continued state of apathy. We have perused the *Darpan* with much pleasure, and quite concur in the following eulogium passed on it; "through means of its correspondence, it elicited a great deal of valuable information regarding the state of the country in the interior. An aggrieved man felt half his burden removed, when he had sent a statement of the oppressions he lay under to the *Darpan*, and thus brought them to the knowledge of the public. The native officers of Government felt it as a check on their misconduct, and dreaded its exposures. It was also the only channel of information to the natives in the interior, and has in its day done some service to Government, by counteracting unfavorable rumours, and strengthening the principle of loyalty." Religious controversies were avoided.

In the early volumes we have various topographical notices: as a specimen, we insert the following account of Sagar island. We give the original, in hopes that some of our antiquarian friends may be able to throw light on this difficult but interesting subject:—

“গঙ্গাসাগর উপদ্বীপ।

পূর্বের সমাচার দর্পণে লিখা গিয়াছে যে গঙ্গাসাগর উপদ্বীপে লোক বসতি ছিল এমত অনুমান হয়। এইক্ষণে পদ্ম পুরাণের অন্তর্গত ক্রিয়াযোগগারে দেখা গেল যে গঙ্গাসাগরে চন্দ্রবংশীয় সুবেণ নামে রাজা রাজধানী করিয়াছিলেন। তাহাতে দিব্যন্তো নামে নগরের গুণাকর রাজার কন্যা সুলোচনা দায়গ্রস্তা হইয়া ঐ রাজার আশ্রয়ে পুরুষ বেশে কাল কেপণ করিয়াছিল। পরে তালধ্বজ নগরের রাজা বিক্রমের পুত্র মাধব পূর্ব সুত্র ক্রমে সেই স্থানে আসিয়া সুলোচনাকে বিবাহ করিয়া এবং ঐ চন্দ্রবংশীয় সুবেণ রাজার এক কন্যাকে বিবাহ করিয়া ঐ রাজ্যের অর্দ্ধ প্রাপ্ত হইয়া ঐ গঙ্গাসাগরে রাজধানী করিলেন ও অনেক কালপর্যন্ত বসতি করিয়া পরে পুত্রাদি রাখিয়া মরিলেন”।।

The meaning is to the following effect; that Ganga Sagar was formerly inhabited; that the Padma Purana mentions that Sushen, a King of the Lunar race, erected his metropolis on it;

and that Sulochona, the daughter of the king of Dibyanti, being oppressed with misfortune, disguised herself as a man, and went there ; where she afterwards married the son of the king of Táladiya, who also made it his residence.

Ram Mohun Roy commenced in 1821, a Bengali periodical, the BRAHMANICAL MAGAZINE. " Its career was rapid, fiery, meteoric. And both from want of solid substance, and through excess of inflammation, it soon exploded, and disappeared." It was mainly an attack on Missionaries ; thus p. 10 it states—" that it is ungenerous to do, as Genghis Khan " and the Arracanese did—abuse the religion of the conquered. In consideration of the small huts in which Brahmins of learning generally reside, and the simple food, such " as vegetables, &c., which they are accustomed to eat, and " the poverty which obliges them to live upon charity, the " missionary Gentleman may not, I hope, abstain from controversy through contempt of them ; for truth and true religion do " not always belong to wealth and power, to high names, or lofty " palaces." He endeavours to argue for human responsibility on the following grounds :—" As the reflections of the sun, though " without light proper to themselves, appear splendid from their " connexion with the illuminating sun, so the soul, though not " true intellect, seems intellectual, and acts as it if were real " spirit, from its actual relation to the universal intellect : and, " as from the particular relations of the sun to the water placed " in different pots, various reflections appear, resembling the " same sun in nature, and differing from it in qualities ; and " again, as these cease to appear on the removal of the water, " so, through the peculiar relation of various material objects to " one supreme spirit, numerous souls appear, and seem as performing good and evil works, and also receiving their consequences ; and, as soon as that relation ceases, they at that very " minute cease to appear distinctly from their original. Hence " God is one ; and the soul, although it is not in fact of a " different origin from God, yet is liable to experience the " consequences of good and evil works ; but this liability of the " soul to reward or punishment cannot render God liable to " either." He next proceeds to argue, that though God created the world by *máyá*, as the wind raises the Lubbles on the water, yet that God is not subject to *máyá* : for, " though God pardons the sins of those that sincerely repent through his attribute of mercy, this cannot be taken as an admission of the Deity's subjection to his own mercy. The followers of the Vedant say that *máyá* is opposed to knowledge ; for when a true knowledge of God is obtained, the effect of *máyá*, which makes

"the soul appear distinct from God, does immediately cease." He then reasons that the Hindu incarnations are as little opposed to our notion of God, as the Christian incarnation ; and that " if we admit that the worship of spirit possessed of a material body (i. e., of Jesus Christ) is worship in spirit, we must not any longer impute idolatry to any religious sect."

The lamentable defects of the Native Vernacular Schools excited the attention of various friends of education, and gave rise to the Calcutta School Society. The following remarks of one, who well knew the state of the country, will shew the need for such a Society ; he observes respecting the Hindus :—

" If they can *write* at all, each character, to say nothing of orthography, is made in so irregular and indistinct a manner, that comparatively few of them can read what is written by another, and some of them can scarcely wade through what has been written by themselves, after any lapse of time. If they have learned to *read*, they can seldom read five words together, without stopping to make out the syllables, and often scarcely two, even when the handwriting is legible. The case is precisely the same with their knowledge of *figures*.

The first Annual Meeting of the Calcutta School Society was held in 1820 ; the report was read both in English and Persian. At that period the total number of indigenous schools in Calcutta amounted to 188, containing 4,146 children ; the subscriptions and donations reached 15,910 Rs. The Society continued in operation for several years.

The *Friend of India* gives the following list of works that were printed previously to 1821 :—

Ganga-bhakti-tarangini, History of the descent of Gunga.

Jaya deva, History of Krishna.

Annada-mangal, Exploits of several of the gods.

Rasa-manjari, Description of the three kinds of men and women in the world.

Rati-manjari, On the same subject.

Karana nidan bilas, Account of a new god recently created by an opulent native.

Vilwa mangal, Exploits of Krishna.

Daya bhag, A treatise on law.

Jyotish, An astronomical treatise.

Chanakya, A work containing instructions for youth.

Sabda-sinda, A dictionary.

Abhidhan, ditto.

————— A treatise on the materia medica of India.

Rag-mala, A treatise on music.

Batrish-singhasan, The thirty-two-imaged throne.

Betel Pachisi, Account of Raja Vikramaditya.

Vidya-ninda, A treatise ridiculing physicians.

Bhagavat gita, A translation in Bengali of the work formerly translated into English by Wilkins.

Mahimani-stava, The praises of Shiva.

Ganga-stava, The praises of Gunga.

Shucht charitra, The duties of men.

Saṁt satuk, On contempt of the world.

Shringar-utak, A treatise on women.

Usuḥa-pāṇchali, A treatise on the days termed impure by the Smṛiti.

Adi ras, A treatise on women.

Chandi, The praises of Durga, &c.

Chaitanya-charitamrita, Account of Chaitanya.—*Quarterly Friend of India*, vol. 1, p. 124.

He makes the following observations on the subject :—

"If we admit that 400 copies have been printed of each of these works, including the second and third editions of some (and this will be considerably within the mark), we shall have *Sixteen Thousand volumes printed and sold among the natives within the last ten years*—a phenomenon, to which the country has been a stranger since the formation of the first, the incommunicable, letters of the Vedas. Many of these works have been accompanied with plates, which add an amazing value to them in the opinion of the majority of native readers and purchasers. Both the design and execution of the plates have been exclusively the effort of native genius; and had they been printed on less perishable materials than Patna paper, the future Wests and Laurences, and Wilkies of India, might feel some pride in comparing their productions with the rude delineations of their barbaric forefathers. The figures are still and uncouth, without the slightest expression of mind in the countenance, or the least approach to symmetry of form. They are in general intended to represent some powerful action of the story; and happy is it for the reader that this action of the hero or heroine is mentioned at the foot of the plate: for without it the design would be unintelligible. The plates cost in general a goldmohur, designing, engraving, and all; for in the infancy of this art, as of many others, one man is obliged to act many parts. Thus Mr. Hari Har Banerjya, who lives at Jorasanka, performs all the requisite offices, from the original outline, to the full completion; but though he, with true eastern modesty, styles himself, in one corner of his plates, the best engraver in Calcutta, we doubt his ability, when left to his own resources."—*Quarterly Friend of India*, vol. 1, pp. 125-6.

These books serve as an index to the popular taste, and, as such, though composed chiefly of tales, they are not to be despised; as straws they pointed out the course of the current: nor must we forget that, even in England itself, the press in its early days multiplied principally copies of the old romances.

"The taste for works of this description," continues the editor, "was then in its maturity, and successive editions were printed, till a superior taste, produced by the operation of that very press, transferred them from the libraries of the people to the shelves of the antiquary. We may fairly expect a similar regeneration in India; more especially when we consider the approximation of that great body of scientific and philosophical knowledge possessed by the European community, and their anxiety to bring it fully to bear on the natives.

"The very increase of mythological tales has a tendency to stifle the avidity for them. Being now placed within reach of the great body of the people, they lose much of that veneration, with which they were invested by their being scarce; and, though the flame may for a time burn with

increasing ardour, this very circumstance naturally leads to its final extinction. Printed works will gradually constitute a powerful source of influence; works of real utility will be brought into the lists to combat with those of vain amusement,—and the issue cannot be doubtful. Even in the infancy of the Indian press, it has not been exclusively occupied with works of trifling value; two dictionaries of the Bengali language, a treatise on the law of inheritance, another on the materia medica of Bengal, one on music, two or three almanacks, and a treatise in Sanskrit on astronomy, which have all issued from the press within the last ten years, are indications of improvement not to be despised, if we consider the darkness and ignorance of the community among whom they have found patrons."

These works are all *sold*; and the observations on this point we commend to the notice of the friends of Bible and Tract Societies in this country:—

"One work of real utility, purchased by the natives, will produce a greater change than five distributed gratis. What a native purchases he wishes to read; and thus his very avarice is turned to the account of general improvement. A work, obtained without any pecuniary sacrifice, he is disposed to underrate and neglect; but such is the reluctance with which he parts with his money, that he is anxious to draw an equivalent value from every book it procures him."

In 1823 a book was published in Calcutta, called the *Prāṇ Tushana*, being a compilation of the precepts and doctrines of the Tantras, selected from eighty-four works, by Pran Bishwas of Kharda. We give our readers the following extracts in order to shew what the nature of the Tantra doctrines is:—

"The vowel *Ṃ*, is an astonishing letter. It is bright as the shell of Vishnu; it is full of the three gods, and of the five souls; it is in fact Bhagavati herself. Of the letter *ꣳ*, the stroke on the left is Brahma; the lower stroke is Vishnu; the perpendicular line Shiva; the horizontal, Saraswati; the curve is Bhagavati. The space in the centre is Shiva. The color of the left stroke is red, like the Juba flower; the right is the color of the moon in the month Ashwin; the lower stroke, the color of the great Mūṁ Mahamurkut; the horizontal line is white, like the pubescent jasmine flower: the curve resembling the hook used in guiding the elephant, is like ten millions of flashes of lightning; the vacant space is brilliant as ten millions of moons. It bestows liberation; it produces wealth and holiness; it is the root of all letters; it is the feminine energy of nature, and the mother of all gods. In the upper angle resides the wife of Brahma; in the middle angle Vishnu's wife, Jaistha; in the lower Shiva's wife, Rudri. It is the soul of all knowledge; the soul of the four castes; the origin of Brahma's power to desire, of Vishnu's power to know, and of the active energy of Shiva; therefore it is to be perpetually praised.

"Write not letters on the earth, or the muntras in books; never leave a volume open, nor receive one open from another person. He whose books or letters happen to be on the ground at the time of an earthquake, or of an eclipse, becomes ignorant through every future transmigration. He who writes with a bamboo pen, will undoubtedly suffer. He who uses a copper pen, will enjoy undecaying splendor; a golden pen procures prosperity; a Brahman nūl, ensures wisdom and knowledge; a wooden

pen, ornamented with figures, bestows children, grandchildren, and wealth. He, who writes with a brass pen, obtains immortal prosperity; but the use of a kasa* pen, occasions death. The pen must be either eight or ten fingers in length; he, who uses one only four fingers long, loses as many days of his life as he writes letters. A manuscript, written according to the directions of the Shastras, will secure knowledge. It must be in length either one hand (equivalent to a cubit), or one hand deducting the fingers, or a whole arm; and either twelve or eight fingers in breadth, but never less.

"He who studies a volume of the Veda, which he himself has copied, commits a sin equal to the murder of Bramha; and he, who having copied a work himself, deposits it in his library, or keeps it at home, his dwelling will be struck with lightning."

His analysis of the name of Guru equals in absurd refinement any thing penned by the Jewish Cabalists:—

"Of this word, the *g* is the cause of fruition; the *r* destroys sin; the *u* is Shiva himself; the whole word *guru* is the eternal Brahma, excellent and inexplicable. He, whose lips pronounce the sound "guu," with what sin is he chargeable? The articulation of *g* annihilates the sin even of killing a Brahman; the sins of birth are removed by pronouncing *u*; of ten millions of birth by the pronunciation of *ru*. Parasarama murdered his mother, and Indra destroyed a Brahman; yet they both obtained absolution by pronouncing the word *guru*.

And yet, as a writer in the *Friend of India* remarks respecting this Guru:—

"This religious guide, invested with so awful a responsibility, on whom the Tantra shastras have devolved the task of piloting men through the sea of this world, and conducting their steps to final bliss, the only teacher of men, is allowed five kinds of wives. He is permitted to seize a female in open day, and detain her at his house; he is allowed a plurality of prostitutes, and even to revel in a brothel, without the least diminution of his spiritual authority; and to complete this system of morals and virtue, which Shiva sent down to the holy sages by his son Ganesh, for the benefit of the human race, the woman, whom the spiritual guide has debauched, or the prostitute, whom he retains, is to receive from the disciples that adoration and worship which is due to God alone."

He directs that the letters of the alphabet should be worshipped:—

"The first vowel अ, is to be adored as a female divinity, of the color of the Kataka flower, with two hands, the one elevated, as though with the intention of dispelling fear, the other stretched out as in the act of bestowing a blessing, adorned with a necklace of pudma flowers, and clothed in white garments made of hemp, with a serpent for a pita. The letter क, is to be worshipped, under the form of a woman of the colour of blood, with four hands, three eyes, her bosom swelling like the bud of the kudumba flower, and her person ornamented with precious stones."

He further directs that the cat should be adored, and also the jackal:—

"On the day of the new moon, let the disciple catch a jackal, and strike him dead with one blow; then seat himself on the carcass, and continue

* Sacchaum spontaneum.

in divine meditation, repeating the holy text, appropriated to the jackal, till he return to life, and the goodess, who was the object of worship, manifest herself in bodily shape. He may then ask and receive whatever he desires, even a beautiful wife; and hear of past, present, and future events, and above all, understand the meaning of every howl of the jackal."

In contrast to this mass of literary rubbish, in the same year 1823, a Society, which exercised a beneficial influence on native literature, and which will ere long, we trust, provide a Christian vernacular literature for Bengal—the Calcutta Tract Society—came into existence. In 1823, it had published the following tracts in Bengali:—

- "Memoir of Phutick Chand.
- Mental Reflection, and Enquiry after Salvation.
- Christ's Sermon on the Mount.
- Harmony of the Four Gospels, Part III.
- _____ Part IV.
- _____ Part V.
- _____ Part VI.
- Life of William Kelly.
- Dialogue between a Durwan and Malf.
- History of Christ, the Saviour of the World.
- Dialogue between Ramharf and Shaddha.
- On the Nature of God.
- Dialogue between a Scotchman and a Native Gentlemen.
- Extracts from the Gospel Magazine, No I.
- _____ No II.
- Reward Book for Schools.
- Scripture Extracts—Parables.
- The Picture Room.
- Catechism. First.
- _____ Second.
- Watts's First Catechism."

But, in the same year, the cause of Bengali translations sustained a severe loss in the death of Felix Carey, who was one of the best Bengali scholars of the day, and edited the following works:—

Vidyahara Vali, in Bengalee, a work on Anatomy, being the first volume of a Bengali Encyclopædia, in octavo, with plates. A large Bengali Dictionary in the press, edited by Mr. Carey and Sri Ram Komul Sen. A work on Law, in Bengali, not finished. Translation into Bengali of an Abridgement of Goldsmith's History of England, printed at the Serampore press for the School Book Society. The Pilgrim's Progress, translated into the Bengali, and printed at Serampore. Translation into the Bengali of a Chemical Work, by Rev. John Mack, for the students of Serampore College. Translation into Bengali of an Abridgement of Mill's History of British India, for the School Book Society.

We give the following statistics of the number of tracts and other publications, printed and published by the Calcutta

Tract Society, between 1823 and 1835,* in the Bengali, Urdu, Hindui, and Uriya languages:—

“It extends from 1823, when the first tracts were printed, to June 1835, the date of the last Report; and, including second or third editions of the same publications, gives a total of *A Hundred and Thirty-one* publications, containing *Four Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighty-two* pages, and printed in editions, which give an aggregate of *Four Hundred and Eighty-four Thousand Three Hundred and fifty* Tracts, and *Eleven Millions, Five Hundred and One Thousand Four Hundred* pages of letter press, in the following proportions:—

	Tracts.	Pages.	Copies.	Pages.
In Bengali	78	3 222	331,700	7,593,500
„ Hindustani	30	1,003	100,000	3,043,000
„ Hindui	10	265	42,150	591,300
„ Uriya	2	92	5 500	154,000
Total,	120	4 532	579 350	11,381,800

ALMANACS form a class of works, that were compiled at an early period in Bengali. The almanac, issued from the court of Raja Kristna Ray of Nadiya, was the one held in highest repute; next to that the Bali one. There were almanacs published also at Gunpur, Khanakul-Krishnaghur, Digsul, Bikrampur, Bakla, Chandra-dwip, Berhampur and Bagri. Previous to 1820, those almanacs were in manuscript, and were copied and sold by the Daivagya Brahmans, for two annas each; but they have been superseded by the printed almanacs, though the latter often sell for one rupee a number. These Daivagya Brahmans are a kind of itinerant astrologers, who vend their knowledge of futurity, as the bards of old derived a profit from

* For the following account of the Press between 1820 and 1835, we are indebted to certain data in the *Quarterly Friend of India*. The native newspapers had increased from one to six, viz., four in Bengali and two in Persian, the latter “chiefly occupied with extracts from the pithless Ukhbars, or papers issuing from the native courts, and detailing with minuteness the daily uninteresting and unimportant actions of the native princes.” These six papers had probably about 100 subscribers, and five readers to each paper, with a subscription of one rupee monthly. The following books were printed:—*Punchanga Sundari—Din Kaumudi—Ananda Lahari—Rati*

ayanil—Kalanka Bhanja dikā—Prān Toshin. Other works of the same class, to the number of thirty-one, were published: of these eleven works were of useful kind, that would afford profitable reading: the rest were mythological, astrological, &c.—

“The number of copies, which have been printed of each is not so easily ascertained. Of some more, of others less, than a thousand, have been sold; but if we take that number as the general average, we shall be near the truth. It is a general remark among the printers and publishers of the native press, that no work remains long on hand; and we have reason to believe that they have, in no instance, suffered a loss by the printing of any of the works above named. Nearly thirty thousand volumes have thus been sent into circulation within the last four years.

It is calculated that, in 1822, thirty works were published, 1,000 copies of each of which were sold, giving 30,000 volumes in Bengali in one year.”—

their skill in song. They may be known by their having under their arm an almanac wrapped in cloth. They receive contributions from the poorest, and are admitted even to the recesses of the female apartments—as the women, true daughters of Eve, are very fond of prying into the future.

We find that the Hindu Almanac for 1825 was printed by one Gangadhar at Agardwip (where the first press was established that was conducted by natives), and is dedicated to the Raja of Krishnaghur. It gives the events of the year in the following proportions; Rain 8, Corn 6, Grass 4, Cold 5, Heat 7, Wind 5, Kings 11, Diseases 15, Cures 6, Flies 9, Mosquitoes 17, Poison 13, Holiness 3, Unholiness 15, Truth 2, Falschood 12. Among the presiding regencies of the year are *Mars*, who will cause war, bad crops, and disease; *Venus*, who will multiply the number of subjects; *Sambarta*, the ruling cloud, which will increase the fruits of the earth; *Kulera*, presiding among snakes, who will cause men to be destroyed by their poison; *Pundurika*, the regent of elephants, through whose influence men will be destroyed both in the West and East; *Nakula*, the regent of doctors, “and under his influence the words of men will be excellent as the waters of immortality.” An account is next given of the *Satya Yuga* “when the principle of life resided in the brain: men died when they wished: their stature was 3½ feet: they lived to the age of 100,000 years, and dined off golden vessels.” In the *Treta Yuga* “the principle of life resided in the bones: the human stature was twenty-one feet; men lived to the age of 10,000 years, and dined off silver dishes.” In the *Dwapar Yuga*, “the principle of life resided in the blood: the human stature was reduced to 10½ feet; men lived a thousand years, and dined off copper dishes.” In the *Kali Yuga*, “the principle of life will reside in food: men will be 3½ cubits in stature, live a hundred years, and dine from dishes without rule.” There are twenty-seven Nakshatras,* or lunar mansions, given in the almanacs. By ascer-

* Respecting those Nakshatras in the almanacs, the *Quarterly Friend of India*, vol. iv., pp. 196, 199, 200, 201, states:—

“The figure of a man is rudely sketched, and the twenty-seven different lunar mansions allotted to its different member; hereby any one is enabled to ascertain the monthly complexion of his destiny and to avert the approach of misfortune. In the first month of the year, seven solar mansions are allotted to the head, three to the mouth, five to the heart, three to the right hand, three to the left, three to the right foot, and three to the left. These seven portions of the body have the following significations during that month: the head betokens the enjoyment of happiness; the mouth, excellence; the heart and the right hand denote the obtaining of wealth; the left hand signifies great distress; and the right foot, moderate gain; and the left, a disposition to wander. The enquirer turns to the figure; and having found to what member of the body his natal mansion is attached, and what that member predicts, ascertains the fortune which is to befall him for that month. To avert the calamities, which some portions of the body presage, he is directed to make a ball compose

taining the natal mansion of the enquirer, the astrologer professes to tell his fortune ; thus the third mansion denotes poverty, to avert which the Brahmans should be presented with umbrellas ; the sixth indicates death, which is to be avoided by giving the Brahmans a donation of rice, ghl, and a golden kulsf.

A man's Nakshatra is to be known by the initial letter of his name : "if he has two or three names, that by which he may be waked from sleep, is to be used on such an occasion."

In the year 1825, according to the almanacs, the auspicious days for marrying were 22 : for feeding an infant with rice, 27 : for commencing the building of a house, the 10th of Baishakh : for bringing a bride home, the 14th of Baishaka : for putting the chalk first into a boy's hand to teach him to write, the 17th of Baishaka, and the 7th and 14th of Asarha : for boring the ears the 7th and 14th of Asarha.

of mûrumang-sî, buch, * kûr. † bitumen, turmeric, dahuridra, dried ginger, chumpuk ‡ and mûtha ; in this ball, the universal remedy against misfortune, the proportion of the ingredients must be equal. It is to be dissolved in water, in which the enquirer is to bathe, after having mixed with it some dhústûr, § and pronounced two sacred texts. The number of stellar mansions affixed to each member of the mysterious body, as well as the signification, differs monthly."

"There is a great serpent in the universe, although we cannot perceive it, which continues for three months of the year reposing with its head to the east, its tail to the west, its back to the north, its belly to the south : in the second quarter, its head is turned to the south ; in the third, to the west ; in the last, to the north. Its quarterly movements direct the natives in the erection of their houses. The Hindoo houses are, with few exceptions, built round an open square, the different sides being placed at right angles with each other. When therefore a new house is to be erected, it is necessary to consult the position of the serpent, to ascertain on which side the architect is to begin. The sides, to which its tail and belly are turned, are auspicious ; and a commencement is therefore made in either of those quarters. But if a single house be erected, or if the four sides of a quadrangular mansion be commenced at the same time, the position of the serpent signifies nothing."

"To regulate the journeys of the natives, the Brahmans, or the chastras, have called into birth Yoginî a goddess of celestial power, who resides in the eight quarters of the universe on different days ; in the east on the first and ninth of the moon, and thus respecting the other quarters. It is reckoned auspicious to commence a journey with this goddess situated either towards the back, or on the left hand."

"The duration and malignity of fevers depend on the solar and lunar days, and lunar mansions on which they commenced ; if a fever begin on either of five nakshatras which are mentioned in the almanacs, the patient will die ; if on six others, life will be preserved with difficulty ; if on four others, the fever will continue four days ; and thus do all the lunar mansions influence a fever. The lunar days are still more inauspicious than the mansions ; for a fever will always continue twice as many days, as the number of the lunar day on which it commenced : thus, if it came on the eleventh, it will remain twenty-two days ; if on the day of the full moon, one month ; if on the day of the new moon, two months. But if the moon be at an inauspicious distance from the natal mansion on the commencement of a fever, not even the waters of immortality can preserve the patient's life. A fever beginning on Sunday will continue seven days ; on Monday, nine ; on Tuesday, ten ; on Wednesday three nights ; on Thursday, it will occasion great danger for twelve days ; on Friday

* Zenniber Zedoaria.

† Michelia Champaca.

‡ A drug said to be the dried root of *Costus speciosus*

§ Datura Metel.

Few of our readers are, perhaps, aware of the ceremonies which weigh so heavily on the Hindu, and of which details are given in various Bengali works. We mention a few. The first day of the month Baishaka (April) is inauspicious for travelling, because Agastya Rishi on that day reached the banks of the Nerbudda, when the Vindya mountains bowed their heads to him as a sign of respect. On the same day the followers of Krishna bring calves and cows before the image of their god, and feed both them and the Brahmans, as Krishna on this day played with cows. In the worship of Annapurna, during this month, the women adore the Asoka-tree, and eat seven of its flowers as a charm against snakes. At the end of Baishaka the women worship the Kasandi, a favorite Indian pickle; half a dozen families worship it at the river, while the priest blows the *camha*, or shell, to bring the gods to the spot. In Jaista (May) widows offer to a Brahman a pair of shoes, an umbrella, a fan, food, and a waterpot, to preserve them from disease. In the same month is a ceremony for deceased ancestors, when a Hindu is not allowed to speak or work before its completion. A few days subsequently, Hindu women worship their sons-in-law, in order to be certain of having grandchildren. At the *Snan satra*, it is prohibited to cook on the ground, to plough it, or even to touch it, as it is then considered unclean for four days.

In Aswin is a great feast, the origin of which is thus stated :—

“In this iron age, sins had multiplied to such an extent as to give birth to a *pāp pārāsh*, or a monster of iniquity, every member of whose body consisted of some sin; his head and neck consisted of the sin of slaying Brahmans; the stealing of gold constituted his hands; drinking wine formed the heart; the loins arose from the sin of injuring the wife of the spiritual guide; the two feet consisted of those who have been accessory to the crime; all the toes and fingers were distinct sins, and the hairs little peccadilloes. This is of course metaphorical Vishnu having ordered all mankind to fast on this first day of his slumbers, and promised exemption from sin to the obedient, it is on record that all men fasted and became sinless; whereupon this monster came to Vishnu in a doleful mood, saying Since thou hast created me, where am I to reside? for all men are become sinless. Vishnu directed him to enter into food, during this one day of universal innocence. Hence, on this day, all the sins that man can commit, reside in food, and he who eats, is guilty of every sin, and incurs every curse.”

The whole genius of Hinduism (forming a strong contrast with the encouragements to popular instruction among the Chi-

it will continue seven or three nights; on Saturday, fourteen days. The day and night are also severally divided into eight portions, of which some are auspicious, others the reverse; on those which are unfavourable, no undertaking whatsoever is to be commenced.

nese) is anti-social. No contact with Mlechhas is its motto. A vernacular newspaper, therefore, which enlarges the circle of the social sympathies, found no place in its system. The courts of the Great Mogul, and of the Chinese Emperor, employed men on high salaries to chronicle the events of the empire; but we have no account of any such plan among the Hindu Rajahs. There was not even a graduated scale of a hierarchy among the Brahmans to centralize their operations; Hence when the *Chandrika*, as the orthodox exponent of Hinduism, sprang into existence, it must have seemed as strange to the venerable pandits of Nabadwip and Santipur, as the following account now does to a Musalman, of what occurred on a recent occasion at Peshawur, on the celebration of the Mohurram. "Among the taziahs, the laskars of the Fusilieri regiment paraded a model steamboat, with sails set, and smoke issuing from the funnel." This steamboat was as much a type of revolution among the Moslems, as a Bengal newspaper is with the votaries of Vyas and Valmiki. Since the days of Raja Krishna Ray of Nadiya, little had occurred to produce any excitement in Hindu Society: battle-fields had been won, and Europeans had come as birds of prey in flocks to India: but these things produced little effect on the Hindus. It was the press, the fourth estate, which began to ruffle the stagnant surface of Hindu life.

The *Chandrika* started in 1821. It has ever proved to be the consistent advocate of thorough-going Hindu orthodoxy, and has been the enthusiastic friend of the Dharma Sabha—a society which was founded in order to defend the *right* of the Hindu widow to be roasted alive on the pyre of her deceased husband.

The *Chandrika*, in marked contrast with many of its contemporaries, is now (1850) in the twenty-ninth year of its existence; while the generality of Native papers have their short day of popularity, and then burst like a bubble on the stream.

We give a few extracts from some of the early numbers of the *Chandrika*, as a specimen of the general nature of the contents.

1822.—A woman's husband died near Gya. The judge forbade the widows burning with him; on which she thrust her finger into the fire to shew that she had no dread of pain; she was then permitted to offer herself.—A correspondent asks, if the cause of an earthquake be owing to the snake Vasaki, who supports the earth, changing sides to ease himself of its weight, why all countries have not the earthquake at the same time, as the snake agitates all at once?—A girl in the twenty-four Pargunnahs, sixteen years old, the daughter of a Brahman, has half

her body of a black, and half of a white, colour.—In making the new road by Pataldanga, a number of trees were found by the Golpukur: they crumbled to dust on the touch, and were so low down, that the soil must have risen considerably. A Sipahi cut his tongue off at Kali Ghat, as a sacrifice to Kali.—At the inundation in Burisal, several women brought forth children on the trees to which they had fled.—The *Padanka Dut* is advertised at one rupee, with the promise annexed that all the *bhadra lok* (gentlemen), who keep in their houses, will hereby have their sins destroyed.

1823.—A correspondent complains of a Babu, who attended a public auction, dressed in women's clothes.—A meeting of the Gaurya Samaj was held, and addressed by Ram Komul Sen: the object of it was to investigate ancient Hindu literature and history.—A Brahman's wife, in the Burdwan district, finding that her husband spent all his time with a courtesan, determined on revenge: accordingly she invited this courtesan to dine with her, providing several savoury dishes, and while she was in the act of eating one, the wife came behind her, and cut her nose clean off with a large knife !—A person bathing at Errada was dragged into the water by an alligator; but, raising loud cries, his neighbours came to his help, and holding him by the hand, succeeded in snatching him from the monster's jaws, after however he had lost the flesh of his side. Such an inundation took place in Bengal, that the pandits of Nadiya had to abandon their colleges, which were soon occupied by alligators and tortoises! About the same time a snake, twenty-two cubits long, was seen near Santipur.—Kali Shankar Ghosal advertises that he has published, at his own expense, a book called the *Byabahr Mukur*, which he will give gratuitously to any person applying for it:—but shortly after he puts in another advertisement, that he will charge four annas for each copy, because people do not value a book they receive for nothing, and even imagine that some injury would arise from the reading of it.—A Kulin Brahman died, who had twenty-two wives living separately in their father's houses: on hearing of his death, four of them were burnt on the funeral pile.

1824.—A meeting was held in Calcutta for the purpose of encouraging the reading of the Vedas by paying professors and scholars. Radhakanta Deb, and Divarkanath Tagore took an active part in the proceedings.—Seven persons died, in a village in the Burdwan district, from the bites of a jackal. In Puri they have the peculiar practice in a Sati to dig a pit containing the corpse and the wood: when the latter is fully ignited, the woman, encircling the pile three times, throws herself in; she is

soon dead. Then they extinguish the fire, and consume the bodies separately on another pile, having previously taken a bone to be thrown into the Ganges.—At Putkhali, near Budge Budge, a woman was brought to bed of three children: one of them had its hinder parts like those of some unknown animal.—At Mulgher, a woman, seventeen years of age, hearing of the death of her husband, determined to burn herself with his shoe, as the corpse had been previously consumed. Her relations resorted to every means to prevent her; but all was of no avail.

1825.—A Musalman boy, near Calcutta, has two left hands.—Bishop Heber gave a party to the elite of Calcutta. Many of the native gentry, the Malliks, the Raja of Andul, &c., were present. Mrs. Heber gave, with her own hand, attar and rose-water to the babus, who, after some agreeable conversation with the ladies, retired.—A good account of the different zillahs in Bengal is given.—Kashikanta Goshal, with the aid of pandits, is preparing a translation of the *Smritis* into Bengali, price 100 Rs.—“A boy was born lately in Katak having two heads, a subject of rejoicing, as the English say two heads are better than one.”—A work is advertised at Nilkanta Haldar's Press, Serampore, on astrology, price eighty rupees.—A subscription list has been made by Europeans and natives at Chitpur, for conducting a series of weekly wrestling matches during the season.

The *Kaumadi* newspaper was first published in 1823. It was the organ of Ram Mohan Ray's party, and was designed to counteract the influence of the *Chandriká*.*

The following are the heads of the leading articles in the first eight numbers of the *Kaumadi*. No. 1 contains an appeal to Government to establish a Native Charity School, with an account of a Prince, who was a miser. No. 2. The advantage of newspapers to natives. The propriety of a subscription for watering the Chitpur road. Faith in the Guru. Suggestions for having twenty-two, instead of fifteen years of age fixed as the period for succeeding to an inheritance. Ridicule of these babus, who never give any money in charity, but on their death immense sums are lavished. No. 3. An appeal to Government to grant more ground for a ghât to burn the dead bodies at—the Christians having such a space of ground for burials. No. 3. An appeal to Government to prohibit the exportation of rice, the chief article of Hindu food. An appeal to Government to grant European medical aid to poor natives. A remonstrance on the furious driving of Europeans, when idol processions are passing. No. 4. An exhortation to native doctors to have their sons instructed

* “The Literary Chronicle,” a monthly magazine, got up by some natives in Calcutta, gives a notice of the present state of the Vernacular Press,

by European physicians. The evil of Kulin marriages. The sums lavished by babus in folly, and the little given for education. No. 5. The evil tendency of the dramas lately invented. A certain class of babus, called captains, and their evil practices. No. 6. A nautch and supper given by Chandra Kumar Tagore, in honor of the departure of the Chief Justice. The extraordinary proficiency of a Hindu boy, five years old, in English and Bengali. Essay on the advantages of learning. Account of the Taj at Agra. Essay on truth. On apprenticing native youths to English doctors. On raising a fund to burn the dead bodies of the poor. On establishing a fund for destitute Hindu widows. No. 7. A thief robbing a corpse at a burning ghât. On certificates given to servants. On the high price of fire-wood, ten maunds of wood when could be had, a few years previously, for a rupee. On the importance of boys knowing Bengali grammar before they study English. No. 8. An infant carried away by a bird. The importance of the Hindus practising some mechanical art. A new drama called Kali Raja's Jatra is being performed. Abhoy Charan Mittri gave 50,000 rupees to his Guru. The adventures of a Brahman, learned in the Shastras, among the wealthy babus of Calcutta.

1824.—The editor is surprised at the wife of a *shoemaker* having three sons at a birth, while so many rich Hindus, after all their vows and pilgrimages, have none, and are obliged to *adopt* a son.—The Raja of Burdwan's wife being near her confinement, the Raja supported two astrologers in the house, who professed to predict the time of the birth of a son, though each foretold a different day.—An account is given of a woman, at Chitpur (according to the custom of Sanyasis) being buried alive with her deceased husband, who was a Sanyasi.—A native woman, eighteen years old, swims across the river at Nimtala ghât.—A Brahman came to Serampore, pretending to predict a gentleman's fortune: he also offered to discover treasure hidden in his house, for which he was to get 20 Rs. reward: while the gentleman went out for a moment, the Brahman hid a brass pot in the earth, and pointed it to the Sahib as the treasure: the other discovered the trick, and had him bound hand and foot, and flung out into the street.—A snake was caught in Hatapur pergannah, whose roaring was so loud as to shake the trees.—A Sanyasi at Tarakeswar killed a man, who had intrigued with his mistress.—At Jagannath ghât, Calcutta, where Sanyasis usually assemble, a Sanyasi performed the penance of holding his right foot in the air, and standing silent in this position, day and night.

The *Timir Násak* newspaper (destroyer of darkness) ill answered to its name. Its chief object seems to have been to pander to Hindu credulity to the utmost extent,

though it acknowledged itself the offspring of the Scrampore Darpan.

The *Bunga Dut* commenced on *Sunday*, the 10th of May 1829: but, in the next number, the day of publication was altered to Saturday. It is singular how with respect to newspapers and schools, so much deference is paid to the sabbath, by natives who are hostile to Christianity. It was seen, even in the early days of the French revolution, that a day of rest is required on physical and mental grounds. This newspaper started under the management of Mr. R. Martin, Dwarkanathi Tágore, Prasanna Kumar Tágore, and Rammohan Roy. It was written in two languages, Bengali and Persian; as the latter would be understood by the mahajans of the Bara Bazar.

The length, to which this cursory notice of the early Bengali press has run, forbids us from entering on an account of the newspapers published since 1830.

We have now before us a list of the Bengali newspapers, published in Calcutta at the present time, which comprises sixteen, *viz.*, three dailies, the *Prabhókár*, *Chandradáy*, and *Moháján Darpan*; one tri-weekly, the *Bhúskar*; two bi-weekly, the *Chandriká*, and *Rasaráj*; seven weekly, the *Gyándarpan*, *Bunga Dut*, *Sadhúranjan*, *Gyán Saucháriní*, *Rasasúgur*, *Rangpur Bartábalu*, and *Rashu Mudgar*; two bi-monthly, the *Nitya Dharmánuarajiká* and *Durjan Daman Mahá Nabam*; and last, though not least, the monthly publication, *Tatwa Bodhini*, which, both for the excellency of its language, and the literary talent displayed, is highly to the credit of its conductors, who have employed the powerful agency of the Bengali language to convey European ideas.

All these publications have a decided Anti-Christian tone, and must produce a considerable sapping effect on the minds of their 20,000 readers, who shew the value they attach to them by *paying* for them. Though the Scrampore *Darpan* was the *first* Bengali newspaper, and was started under Missionary auspices—yet, strange to say, Missionaries have at present no organ in Bengali to exercise an influence over the native mind, and reply to the various misrepresentations that are given on Christian subjects. We hope that ere long we may see a Bengali newspaper started under Christian influence. The Native Christians are feeling the Athenian curiosity for the “*τι καίνον*,” and (in several cases we know) receive injury from the perusal of these papers. Missionary schools are well; but the present Bengali newspapers in many cases destroy much of the prospective fruit from them.

THE LINDSAYS IN INDIA.

BY SIR JOHN KAYE, K.C.S.I.

Lives of the Lindsays ; or, A Memoir of the House of Crazeford and Balcarres, by Lord Lindsay ; to which are added Extracts from the Official Correspondence of Alexander, Sixth Earl of Balcarres, during the Maroon War ; together with personal narratives by his brothers, the Hon. Robert, Colin, James, John and Hugh Lindsay, and by his sister, Lady Anne Barnard. 3 vols. London : Murray. 1849.

THESE volumes were written, printed, and reviewed by one influential periodical, so long ago, that, although they were only published last year, they have already a flavour of antiquity about them. We do not address ourselves to their consideration with less relish for that. It may be doubted whether the work, being bulky and costly, has found its way into extensive circulation in this part of the world. A large proportion of our readers are probably unacquainted with its contents. And it is just one of those lively, gossiping, anecdotal books, which the Indian reviewer, who is compelled (for the most part) to base his articles on somewhat weighty reports and solid parliamentary papers, seizes with avidity in the expectation of discovering, in its contents, some lighter matter, wherewith to enliven the learned dulness of his pages.

The *Lives of the Lindsays* is a book abounding in incident, and overflowing with personal anecdote. The greater part of the work lies far away beyond our reach. We have nothing to do with the home-staying Lindsays. It is permitted to us only to gossip with those who have qualified for the *Oriental*. We have fortunately, in the first line, a civilian and two soldiers on our list—to say nothing of a ship-captain, who, in due time, became a member of the Court of Directors ; and some distant cousins whom, perhaps, we may leave to themselves. Robert Lindsay went out to India as a writer ; James and John fought against Tippu. Their own narratives are contained in the third volume of the *Lives of the Lindsays*, and some incidental notices of them may be collected from the preceding volume. We are not quite sure that, in every instance, these different narratives completely harmonize ; but we must not expect too

much from senile garrulity. It is something, when the talk of old people about themselves and their families is never by any means *dull*.

The family of the Lindsays, with which we have to do, is that of James, Earl of Balcarres, who commenced the family memoirs. Eleven children were born to the Earl. Of these Lady Anne Lindsay, afterwards Lady Anne Barnard, the authoress of the touching ballad of "Auld Robin Gray," was the eldest, the ablest, and the most interesting. For the liveliest portion of these volumes, we are indebted to her never-failing animal spirits, her pleasant humour, and her graphic style. After recording the event of her own birth, she says:—"My father's patience was happily rewarded next year by the birth of a son-and-heir, my dear Cumberland; a twelve month after came my beloved Margaret; Robert and Colin followed them as soon as possible; James, William, Charles and John did not lag long behind; my dear little sister Elizabeth almost closed the procession, though not entirely; Hugh, though last, not least beloved, finishes my list." Here was a family of eight sons and three daughters; a wild and rebellious party, whom Lady Balcarres was obliged to keep under control with a strong hand. Perhaps, there was a little too much of the "iron rule." "Odsfish, madam," cried the Earl sometimes, when he found little misdemeanours punished as great crimes, "you will break the spirits of my young troops. I will not have it so." No fear of that. The young troops grew up with spirit enough for all purposes; Lady Anne never lost hers to the latest day of her life. The house was turned into a sort of Bastille; and there was a culprit sobbing in every closet. "O my Lady, my Lady," cried little Robert from his dark prison, "whip me and let me go, if you please." "Excellent Robert!" exclaims Lady Anne—it is a touching apostrophe—"let me be pardoned for a digression quite out of date; but can a better time ever arrive to prove how thoroughly good minds pardon severity arising from right meanings, when I mention that it is now, at the chateau of Balcarres, inhabited by Robert, who well remembers the closet of his imprisonment, that our dearold mother, encompassed by her grand-children derives from him and his excellent wife all the solaces of her extreme old age—eighty-five? It is wrong to tell this so soon; but I may die;—so it shall be told now."

We are now fairly introduced to Robert. We see him crying, as a baby, in the closet, and solacing his old mother, almost an old man himself. We must do something to fill up this interval of more than half-a-century. "Robert and Colin," writes Lady

Anne Barnard, "were light and shade to each other. Though "we talk of them as children, their characters will do for life. "Robert was less handsome than his younger brother, but his "countenance had much of the *bon am* in it. He possessed "sound sense without quick abilities, kind attachments and bene- "volence without parade, bluntness and sweetness, with a natural "mercantile genius for improving the two-pence per week, which "was allowed him for his *menus platsirs*; but, when improved, "it was at any body's service, who needed it more than him- "self. Colin, on the other hand, had an elegant person and "accomplished mind; he had oratory, dignity, and prodiga- "lity. Robert bought a knife for six-pence, used it for three months, and sold it to Colin for a shilling:—Colin discovered "this, and complained of his brother in terms so judicious and "pathetic, that the whole family pronounced that Robert must "be a merchant, and Colin my Lord Chancellor. Robert was "forthwith destined to go to India, as writer to the Company, "and Colin was bred to the Bar. 'Tis by trifles such as this, "that the destinies of mankind are generally decided."

Colin, however, entered the army, became a soldier, and a good one too; and died a general officer. As for Robert, it does not appear, from his own account of the matter, that he was forthwith destined for India on the strength of the mercantile transaction above recorded, and the premature development of commercial cleverness that it indicated. He seems rather to have been designed for an European mercantile career. At least, at the age of fourteen, he was carried off to Cadiz by a maternal uncle, and there settled for a time in a mercantile house—from which he was removed to another commercial establishment at Xeres, under the superintendence of Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Duff, a cousin of the Lindsays, "with directions to have him improved in the Spanish language without delay." To accomplish this, he was entrusted to the tutorship of some Franciscan monks, who treated him very kindly, and tried hard to convert him to papacy. "Had I remained much "longer there," says Robert Lindsay, "they might have succeeded. Fortunately, in four months, I was recalled to Cadiz, "were the gaieties of the town soon made me forget the mysteries of the convent."

Some months had passed away, and young Robert had "nearly "made up his mind to continue in the house, when a circumstance occurred to change his destination to a distant part of "the globe." What this circumstance was, we are not informed. The distant part of the globe, however, was Bengal. In the spring of the year 1772, Robert Lindsay embarked for

Calcutta on board the *Prince of Wales*, East Indiaman—"commanded by Captain Court, a peppery Welchman with "only one arm; the other he had lost in a duel with one of his "passengers, on a former voyage, regarding a young lady to "whom they were both attached." The first move of the young writer was an excellent one. In these times, the boy-civilian goes on board, with a capital cabin on the upper-deck, secured for him by Messrs. Grindlay or Barber, and elaborately fitted up by Maynard or silver. He has not to struggle for a place, or to rub shoulders with his associates. His patrician sensibilities are not disturbed by any dread of gregarious publicity. He enjoys the privacy of his twelve-feet-by-ten. It is his castle; his domain. He is "like a star, and dwells apart." He can shed tears or disgorge his dinner in absolute exclusiveness—may write sonnets to Albion, practise on the flute, study Hindústání, or revel in the midshipman's holiday of overhauling his kit, without an intrusive eye to mark his doings or interrupt his meditations. Three-quarters-of-a-century ago, a very different state of things obtained on board our Indiaman. The young writers and cadets had to fight for their berths in the steerage. First come, first served. Ever with his eye to the main chance, Robert Lindsay determined to be first in the field. Whilst the other young men were staring about them, he quietly slipped below decks with a piece of chalk in his hand, selected the best berth in the writers' quarters, and wrote his name upon it. The other passengers remonstrated, and proposed to draw lots; but possession was nine points of the law; and Robert Lindsay kept his berth throughout his voyage, which was a slow and not a very pleasant one. The passengers were badly fed; and there was a pack of hounds on board, who drank the water, and nearly brought on a mutiny. When the party disembarked, the chief officer told them that they "would stow away better homeward bound,"—"and too truly," adds Robert Lindsay, "was "this verified; for, upon embarking for Europe eighteen years "afterwards, and on looking over the melancholy list, I could only "trace the names of five of my fellow-passengers in existence."

Robert Lindsay "landed in Calcutta, in September 1772, "in perfect health," and was soon appointed to do duty in the Accountant-General's office. Warren Hastings was Governor-General. "He was beloved and respected," says Mr. Lindsay, "by Natives as well as Europeans;" and this is the testimony of one who belonged to the ranks of the enemy. "I had resided "for nearly two years in Sir John Clavering's society, I was "therefore marked as a party-man, and passed over in the general "promotion." The provincial Council system was then in force;

and Robert Lindsay was before long appointed to a situation under the Dacca Council. Whilst thus employed, he cast his eyes longingly on Sylhet, and determined to make a bold move to get the management of the province into his hands. We will tell the story in the narrator's own words :—

This district had for some years fallen under the superintendence of the Dacca Council ; and two years previous to my appointment, my friend, Mr. W. Holland, as one of the members of that Council, had been deputed to effect a settlement with the Sylhet landholders, with power to cess with revenue, or levy a rent from those lands held on military tenure. Such a transaction is seldom accomplished without much difficulty.

Mr. Holland having finished his business in that troublesome settlement, returned to Dacca, and presented his rent-roll to the Council, amounting to no less than £25 000 per annum ; but said at the same time, that they were a most turbulent people, and that it would require much trouble to realise it. The other members held the settlement in derision. My intimacy with Mr. Holland continued to increase. He was a man of high honour and principle, possessing a considerable fortune, which he inherited from his father. In a confidential conversation with me, he regreted that his health did not permit him to return to Sylhet, to complete the work he had so prosperously commenced. " I am sensible," said he, " it will prove an arduous undertaking ; and none but a man possessed of a sound constitution, with great energy and determination, is fit for it." I thought for some time, and, turning quickly round, I said, " I know a man who will suit you exactly." " And where is he to be found ?" said Mr. Holland. I answered, " I am the man !" Upon which, my friend threw himself back in his chair, and, with a loud laugh, replied, " Lindsay ! you are the most impudent fellow alive ! Our establishment is more than twenty in number, eighteen of whom would jump at the appointment ; and here are you, the youngest of the whole, aspiring to it yourself !" " And can you blame me, my friend," said I, " for looking to the top of the tree ?" " By no means," said he ; " but how can the thing be accomplished ?" " The thing is difficult, I allow ; but, with such a friend as you, much may be effected ; may I look for your support at a future day, should I be proposed by the other members in Council ?" " You shall have it" said he. All I then asked was, that he should not retire until I saw a little daylight in the business, and that, in the meanwhile, our conversation should remain a secret ; to this he willingly consented.

I had now taken my ground, having left a favourable impression on Mr. Holland ; and I well knew the high opinion the other members of the Council had of his judgment ; but to advance farther, without carefully probing my way, was dangerous.

* * * * *

Among the numerous articles of commerce, carried on in the interior of the Dacca district, salt is not the least considerable ; it is manufactured by the agents of Government on the sea-coast, and preserved as a monopoly for the benefit of the Company. At certain periods, it is brought up in large boats to Dacca, and there exposed to public sale. My commercial education at Cadiz was now beginning to show itself of use to me. In the mode of exposing the lots to sale, I could perceive no small intrigue was carrying on ; for I saw that the natives had not that free access to the public sale, to which they were entitled, and that the lots fell, as they were put up, to the dependants of the members in Council, who, by this means, gained

to themselves a considerable advantage. A fair opportunity, I thought, now occurred, of bettering myself without injury to the public ; I therefore conversed with a wealthy native on the subject, who fully entered into my views and proposed to advance me a large sum of money upon a mutual concern, provided I would appear as the ostensible person. I, in consequence, appeared at the next sale, and became a purchaser of salt to the extent of £20,000 : and the speculation, turned out so well, as fully to enable me to pay off all the debt I had contracted during my long residence in Calcutta, and to place a few thousand rupees in my pocket. Nor was this the only advantage I gained by my well-timed energy. The system I had introduced was not altogether approved of by some of the members of the Council, as militating against certain rules they had laid down : and this, I have reason to think, soon after facilitated my removal far from Dacca. A happier man could not exist than I was at that period, clear of the world, with a lesson of experience.

My friend, Mr. Holland, soon after informed me, that he had made up his mind not to return to Sylhet. I, then, for the first time, went to my friend, Mr. Rous, our resident, and laid my views before him, as to succeeding Mr. Holland in his appointment. He answered coolly, that he should be happy to forward my views, but that he saw little prospect of my success, being the youngest member in the settlement. I owned the difficulty was great, but said, "should my name be proposed in Council by the opposite party, I hope it may meet with your concurrence." To which he cheerfully consented. Thus were two members gained : I had only to look for a third to obtain a majority, and I addressed myself to John Shakespear, who had, at that time, the lead in Council. I found that gentleman well inclined to serve me ; and he promised his support, under the stipulation that I would provide for two of his dependants :—that I, of course, agreed to : and this same gentleman proposed my name next day in Council to succeed Mr. Holland, who resigned. This was unanimously agreed to : but it had the effect of creating much discontent among the junior servants of the settlement, who were all my seniors, none of whom had the least idea of my looking up to an appointment so far above my standing in the service : and [they] determined among themselves to counteract it, as will appear in the sequel.

We shall continue to let Robert Lindsay tell his own story. Here he describes the mode in which the revenue was collected :—

I have now to describe the manner in which we received the rents from the country, and afterwards remitted them to Dacca. The actual collection amounted to 250,000 rupees. It was here natural to ask, how many cowries go to a rupee ? I give you a distinct answer :—four cowries make one *gunda* ; twenty gundas make one *pun* ; sixteen puns make one *cawn* (*kahún*), and four cawns one *rupee*. Thus, when multiplied together, you will find that the rupee contains 5,120 cowries ; again, multiply these by eight, being the number of rupees in one pound sterling, and the produce is 40,960 cowries in one pound. You may imagine, then, how troublesome it was to manage this ponderous circulation, when received as the revenues of the country. It required, in fact, many large cellars or warehouses to contain them, and when finally collected for the year, a large fleet of boats to transport them to Dacca.

This operation, in all its details, occasioned a loss of ten per cent. exclusive of depredation on the passage down. Until my appointment to Sylhet, it had been the invariable practice to count over the whole

balance in the treasury previous to embarkation ; but I was determined to shorten the process, and receive the shells by weight. The black treasurer (who was a sagacious man) assured me it was impossible ; with the high tone of authority, I told him, "my orders must be obeyed." a low bow was the consequence : the measure was filled, and I felt proud at my wisdom. I was absent for a few minutes, when, returning, I found the cowries just weighed had become one-third heavier without apparent reason,—the old treasurer betraying at the same time a sarcastic smile. "What is the cause of this, Kazanchy ?" "Nothing, Sir, but a little sand which will turn the scale at any time." "You are right, my friend ; but it is my turn next : we will now receive them by a given measure : to this there cannot possibly be an objection." "Allow your humble slave to suggest." "Suggest nothing ! my will must be the law !"—the Kazanchy again bowed his head. The standard measure was accordingly made ; and filled with much judgment, neither too high nor too low. An order was now made by the great man to pass into a law, fixing the diameter of the measure, when the old treasurer, stumbling as if by accident across the apartment, and hitting the measure with his toe, the cowries subsided several inches to his no small amusement. The old man's advice was at last resorted to,—that the cowries should in future be received in baskets, made to contain a certain given quantity, and five baskets in each hundred to be counted, so as to form an average : and it was wonderful with what ease and nicety the business was conducted afterwards. Of cowries I had, in my official capacity as resident, to receive from the zemindars (landlords) annually to the amount of £25,000 ; and, as I have already said, it was the custom to send the whole of these cowries to Dacca, where they were exposed to public sale ; but this practice, as will soon appear, was done away.

But all the merchant was strong in Robert Lindsay ; and he had not been long in Sylhet, before he began to cast about him for the means of realizing a fortune by trading in the produce of the district. "My pay, as resident," he said, "did not exceed £5,000 per annum, so that fortune could only be "acquired by my own industry." But how was he to carry on extensive speculations without capital ? There was no Union Bank in Sylhet. The want of capital was a sad drawback to one of Robert's enterprising nature ; and he began to think how he could obviate the difficulty. At last he hit upon a device :—

But in order to set the various plans agoing, which were floating before me, one thing was wanting—ready money. The fickle goddess, however, having now taken me by the hand, soon furnished me with the means of accomplishing my wishes, in a manner the most satisfactory and the most unexpected.

Mr. Croftes, the Accountant-General, wished to provide for a favourite black writer, who worked in his office. This man was a shrewd intelligent fellow ; and it occurred to him that a considerable profit might be made from the cowries under good management, provided a favourable contract could be made with Government. Mr. Croftes therefore delivered in to the Supreme Board, on behalf of his friend, an offer to purchase the whole of the cowries collected at Sylhet in the shape of revenue at a certain given price, the money payable two years after delivery. A copy of this offer was sent me up officially by the Secretary, desiring my opinion whether the offer was adequate or the reverse.

I now felt myself under a considerable dilemma, as I saw I was on the point of becoming a cipher, dependent on a black man; for it was evident that the person holding this contract would have an unbounded influence in the country, from the whole revenues centring in his hands. It became also a matter of the utmost delicacy, my attempting to give in a counter-proposal in my own name, more especially as the contract had never been publicly advertized; but as the future value of my situation depended on the result, I determined upon making a fair attempt to turn Mr. Lopez to good account. With this view, I told the Board, in my answer, that, having compared the offer made by Mr. Lopez, with the actual sales made at Dacca for the last five years, I could not help reporting the price offered not unfavourable; at the same time, I considered it my duty to say that the proposed term of payment, suspended for two years, was quite unreasonable; and I concluded by saying, that if the Board were satisfied with the price, and saw no impropriety in my holding the contract for five years, I would tender them payment in six months after the delivery. The Accountant-General had previously recommended the offer made by Mr. Lopez so strenuously, that my offer could not with propriety be refused; and the contract of course fell to me. My friend, the Accountant-General never forgave me for having thus outwitted him in the transaction, and he carefully awaited the conclusion of the contract. When, to prevent my interfering with his views a second time, the contract was advertized to be made by public sale at Calcutta at a distant day. But Mr. Lopez met with a second disappointment: a black man was also in attendance; to him the contract was knocked down.

I now had to address the Board once more on the same subject, informing them that the native contractor was my own servant, but that, if any objection was found to my holding the contract a second time, I would most cheerfully resign it; in reply, I was informed by the Secretary, that they had no objection to me whatever. From this signal piece of good luck, and from the conspicuous advantage I derived from the great command of money to carry on my commercial pursuits, I have to date the origin of the fortune I acquired in the Company's service.

This was worthy of the genius of the boy, who bought his knife for six-pence, and sold it to his brother for a shilling. It is not a bad specimen of the manner in which fortunes were realized three-quarters of a century ago.

A variety of anecdotes, illustrative of Robert Lindsay's doings at Sylhet, are scattered over the narrative of his life. Here is a story of the sagacity of an elephant, which is worth quoting:—

One day I was dining in a large company at Dacca. The conversation turned upon elephants. I was asked what food they chiefly lived upon, when ranging the forest. I said, the hill bambú; and, when that was not to be had, branches of particular trees were broken off by them; to effect which they would frequently mount up with their fore-feet, and even pull the tree down, when it was of a moderate size. Upon this there was a general laugh. This nettled me. Turning to Mr. Pottinger (for such was the name of our landlord)—“Will you have the goodness to order out your elephant, and put the driver for half an hour under my orders?” This was accordingly done; and the party, full twenty in number, descended to the green to quiz the traveller.

I selected a tree, which I knew the animal was fond of, and desired the keeper to conduct him to the bottom, and allow him to break off and eat one of the lower branches. Having done this, I directed the driver to make him mount up with his fore-feet; the man who was an inhabitant of the low country, sat on the animal's neck, with his mouth open, not the least comprehending my meaning. Another long laugh from my convivial friends. "Gentlemen," said I, "the elephant has more sense than any of you." I then ordered the driver to spur him in the neck with his hook; he did so, and the elephant raised his foot against the tree. "Strike harder," I cried; and he raised his other foot. "Harder still!" he was now standing nearly perpendicular. "Now coax him—now prick him gently!" the animal now understood him perfectly; he got the tree in motion, his body acting as a lever, working away until the roots were distinctly heard cracking; he then threw his whole weight upon it, and came quietly down with it to the ground. The laugh was now on my side. The fact is, the inhabitants of Calcutta and the towns bordering on the coast are as little acquainted with the customs of the interior, as they are in England.

This last sentence might have been written yesterday. The Cockneyism of the Ditchers is still a standing joke in the moss-fossil. There is a profound conviction in some men's minds that we still mistake elephants for mosquitoes. Elephants were among the small articles of merchandise in which Robert Lindsay traded.

We give the following anecdote, mainly because it embodies an honourable trait of native character:—

I have often heard my countrymen impeach the honesty of the lower ranks of the natives of India. In order to counteract this impression, I take this opportunity of relating a fact, which can hardly be instanced in more civilized society. I never had from Government a contract by which I could dispose of my numerous elephants to advantage; I therefore sent off annually from Sylhet from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, divided into four distinct flocks, or caravans. They were put under charge of the common *peou*, or menial of the lowest description, with directions to sell them, wherever a market could be found, at Delhi, Seringapatam, Hydrabad, or Púnah. These people were often absent eighteen months. On one occasion, my servant Manú (already mentioned), after a twelve-month's absence, returned all covered with dust, and in appearance most miserable; he unfolded his girdle, and produced a scrap of paper of small dimensions, which proved to be a banker's bill amounting to three or four thousand pounds:—his own pay was thirty shillings sterling per month. I had no security whatever but my experience of his integrity; he might have gone off with the money if he pleased. But I never felt or showed the smallest distrust; and they always returned with bills to the full amount. When I left India, Manú was still absent in one of these excursions: but he delivered to my agents as faithful an account of the produce, as he would have done to myself. Can stronger proof of honesty be given than what I have now related; I certainly was most fortunate in all my menial servants, having seldom or never changed them during a residence of eighteen years. But I must acknowledge I give the preference to the Hindu rather than to the Muhammadan.

Ship-building was also one of the civilian's mercantile pursuits ; but less in the way of independent speculation, than as the means of affording facilities for the conveyance of his produce to the coast. Several anecdotes are told, relating to the result of these experiments. The last of them we subjoin :—

I find I have still one aquatic adventure more to mention, in which a friend happened to have a concern. There chanced, at the close of the shipping concern, to be an overgrown lime-boat, or lighter, lying in the Sylhet river. A certain Captain Taylor, evidently not a little mad, had long petitioned me for employment without effect. At last, he urged me to put a deck on the lime-boat, and proposed to run her down before the wind to Madras. This I agreed to, upon the condition that the vessel, on her arrival, should be sold as fire-wood. Captain Taylor made out his voyage most successfully ; but, instead of breaking her up, as proposed, he changed the name of the "Golumpus" to "Prince William," bestowed abundance of yellow ochre on her sides, and advertised her in the public papers, "For Bengal direct ; for freight and passage apply to Captain Taylor." My friend, John Carstairs, had just arrived from England, and, reading the advertisement, the only question he asked was, "Who is your owner ?" Taylor answered, "The Hon. Robert Lindsay ;" and Carstairs embarked next day with a fair wind.

It blew a gentle breeze, not more than three knots, when the ship broached to ; all was soon put to rights. But this occurred again more than once. "What is the meaning of this, Captain Taylor ?" asked my friend. The Captain coolly replied, "How can it be otherwise, Sir ? the vessel has no keel ; her bottom is as flat as a pan-cake ; and she is no better than a dung-barge ;" Carstairs, after studying the features of the man, remained silent, trusting to Providence for the result. Most fortunately the weather continued fine, and the wind favourable ;—the smallest reverse would have sent them all to the bottom.

I must conclude the history of my ships by quoting a paragraph from one of the last letters I received from my mother in Bengal :—"I understand, my dear Robert, that you are a great ship-builder ; your talents in this line I do not dispute ; but I have one favour to ask of you, which is, that you will not come home in one of your own building ;"—and I implicitly followed her advice.

Well done, Lady Balcarres ! This touch of quiet satire is inimitable.

Robert Lindsay figures in all kinds of capacities. Before long we find him organising and commanding a local corps. Whether he made anything by it, does not appear ; but he saw some service ; put down several disturbances ; and seems altogether to have behaved with great gallantry and address. His life was more than once in danger from the treachery of his enemies. Here is an anecdote, which, coupled with other stories, demonstrates the unsettled state of the frontier in those days :—

My friend, Robert Hamilton (a captain in the army, son of a gentleman of the same name, formerly laird of Kilbrackmont), came to pay me a

visit. We are sitting together at dinner, which had just come in, when my servant informed me that a *fakir*, or mendicant priest, wished to speak with me on urgent business. Although the hour was unseasonable, I desired him to be admitted. I was sitting at the top of the table, Hamilton at the bottom, next the door ;—the priest entered, and stood immediately behind him. He began his story by informing me that he had been robbed on entering the province, and that, being plundered of all he possessed, he looked to me for redress. There was an irritation in his manner and a wildness in his eye ; and his right hand rested in the *cummerbund*, or cloth which encircled his body. His appearance alarmed me ; therefore, without changing my voice or manner, I said, "Hamilton ! slip behind that man, and knock him down !" he hesitated—"obey my orders !" Hamilton was a strong man, and, rising up, with a blow from behind laid the priest prostrate ; but in the act of falling, he aimed a blow at Hamilton with his poniard, which he had held concealed ; and, finding he had missed his aim, immediately buried the steel in his own breast. The priest fainted from loss of blood ;—when, having recovered from his swoon, I asked him what his motive was for this atrocious act, his answer was that of a madman, "that he was a messenger from God, sent to put to death the unbelievers." My suspicions were thus fully verified, and had I not acted as I did, I must have fallen a sacrifice.

In one affray, during the season of the *Molurru*, Robert Lindsay shot the leader of the insurgents—"a priest of considerable rank"—at the head of his men. Many years afterwards, in England, he was reminded of the circumstance in a curious manner :—

Before I quit the subject of the foregoing affray, I must return to the death of the high priest, and the old man lying wounded at my feet upon the top of the hill—it being connected with the following singular occurrence. In my domestic circle, long after my return to this country, I had more than once told the story relative to the death of the high priest. I was listened to with interest, but was evidently allowed the latitude of a traveller ; when, more than twenty years afterwards, my veracity was fully confirmed in the presence of my whole family. In taking my usual morning's ride along the coast, I passed the door of our clergyman, my worthy friend, Mr. Small. There I perceived a man standing dressed in full Eastern costume, with turban, mustachios, trowsers, girdle, and sandals. To his evident astonishment, I accosted him in his own language,—“Where were you born ?” “In Calcutta.” “*Jit badt*—it is a lie,” said I ; “your accent betrays you ; you must belong to a different part of the country.” “You are right, Sir,” he replied, “but how could I expect to be cross-questioned in a foreign land ?” With a salaam to the ground, he asked my name, and where I lived. I pointed to the house on the hill, and desired him to call upon me next morning.

He came accordingly, and my numerous family were all present at our conversation in the Hindustani language. I first asked his name. “Syed-ullah,” he answered. “How came you to tell me a lie, the first question I ever asked you ?” “You took me by surprise, Sir, by addressing me in my own language. The fact is, I was born at a place called Sylhet, in the kingdom of Bengal, and came here as servant to Mr. Small's son, who was purser of the ship. A gentleman of your name,” he continued, “was well known in that country, and in London I endeavoured to find him out, but in vain,—nowhere could I trace him.” “Suppose,” said I, looking him full in the face, “that

I am the man ? " He started back with horror in his countenance, " What, did you kill the Pir Zada ? " (the son of the high priest). " Yes," I replied, " I did ; he attacked me sword in hand, and fell a victim to his own rashness." Syed-ullah immediately recovered his composure. When I asked him, what was the opinion of the people on that subject, he answered, " Some approved your conduct ; others disapproved ; " and, putting his hand on his breast, with a slight inclination, said, " I was but a boy." " Where were you during the fray, Syed-ullah ? " said I. " On the top of the hill, near the houses ; " and, with a harsher tone, he added, " you killed my father also." " Was he an old man, Syed-ullah ? " " Yes ; " " Your father was not killed in action ; I saved his life myself :—am I right or wrong ? " He said, " You are right ; he was severely wounded, and died in consequence some months afterwards."

Syed-ullah confirmed, in broken English, my former details on the subject. He would not allow that his father was actually the slave of the high priest, but styled him his salt-eater, or dependant. He said that the Pir Zada and his two brothers fell in the affray, with several others of their adherents, but would give no account how the disturbances originated, further than that the country was at that moment in a convulsed state. He, afterwards, at the desire of the ladies, entered into a minute detail of the history of his country, stating, in every instance, things as he wished them to appear, not as they actually were. He was asked what was his particular talent ? to which he replied, that he had been long famed for dressing the best curry in the world, and that he always carried about with him part of the ingredients. He was desired to return next day, when the other materials should be provided.

The following morning the family governess appeared as usual at breakfast ; her manners were embarrassed, and she evidently wished to communicate something of importance. " I am sensible," said she, " that no attention should be paid to dreams, but," bursting into tears, " when a scene is represented in such dreadful colours as it occurred to me last night, I should be more than culpable if I did not do everything in my power to avert the calamity, with which the whole family is threatened. I dreamt Mrs. Lindsay, that a black man came from the extremity of the East, and poisoned Mr. Lindsay and his whole family ; and I beg and entreat, as you value your lives and happiness, that the curry may not be put on the table, or the consequences may be dreadful ! "

In spite of this good lady's advice, Syed-ullah attended at the proper hour, and prepared a curry to suit my palate, when, just before dinner, an audience was demanded by Mrs. Lawson, the old house-keeper in the next room ; when, with much agitation, she said, " You know, Madam, I am not apt to be troublesome about trifles, but I think it my duty to mention that I narrowly watched the dressing of this curry, and not in one single instance could I trace the man tasting the dish himself. I told him he surely had not put in sufficient salt ; but no—no—he knows too well what he is about ; therefore pray, Ma'am, prevent Mr. Lindsay from eating this curry." The same remonstrance was re-echoed by my whole family ;—never was a dish better dressed and never did I make a more hearty dinner.

I was well aware of Syed-ullah's reasons for not tasting the curry. The fowls, of which it was composed, were killed by the cook : had he drawn the blood, and said the usual prayer, he would have had no scruples. And thus finishes the story of Syed-ullah and the Pir Zada.

With one more of these " Anecdotes of an Indian life," we

must conclude our extracts from Robert Lindsay's narrative. The following story might doubtless be capped from among the records of the long engagements of modern times.—

During my absence a novel event had happened in our infant settlement. My assistant, W—H—, had taken to himself a wife, the first European lady, who had appeared at Sylhet. The superior charms of this fair one had long been the private topic of his conversation, and her miniature, suspended at his neck, portrayed a most lovely young creature. Her appearance, most assuredly, made me betray symptoms of disappointment, as she was directly the reverse of her picture. The connection originated in an early school acquaintance, succeeded by a long correspondence, which was nourished into Platonic love of the most sentimental kind; and, when they met in India, it terminated in grievous disappointment on both sides; and to such an alarming height did their warfare arise, that I thought it my duty to interfere in order to secure to the fair lady the respect due to her sex; but in doing so, I only betrayed my own ignorance of mankind, and brought upon my shoulders, as may well be supposed, the resentment of both man and wife. This connection, however, soon drove the poor devil to his bottle, to which he soon after fell a victim.

In 1789, having amassed a considerable fortune, Robert Lindsay returned to England. He had previously purchased an estate in the north. The history of the purchase is characteristic. A friend lent him some Scotch papers, in which he saw an advertisement, offering some estates for sale, and intimating that the purchase-money might remain in the hands of the buyer for a term of years. "It immediately struck me," says Robert Lindsay, "that upon such favourable terms, I or any man might become a landed proprietor. I, therefore, without a moment's delay, despatched a letter to my mother, vesting her with full authority to purchase. This she accomplished with equal promptitude, purchasing, at that happy moment, the estate of Leuchars for £31,000, which, most assuredly, is now worth double the money or more." Fortunate Robert Lindsay! The six-pence had become a shilling again.

And so we have seen Robert Lindsay, in the words of the author of the *Lives*, "assuming by turns (as circumstances permitted occasion) the character of a soldier, magistrate, political agent, farmer, ornamental gardener, elephant catcher, tiger-hunter, ship-builder, lime manufacturer, physician and surgeon; triumphing over difficulties, and availing himself of every honorable resource towards the realization of that affluence, which might enable him to return to his beloved Scotland;" and now we see him returned—already a landed proprietor, and about to become a husband and father. He married his cousin, Miss Dick of Prestonfield, "whom he had marked for his own, when she was yet a child, before he went to India." The marriage was in every respect a happy one, and

"contributed," as Lord Lindsay writes, "many descendants to the family pedigree."

There is a story told, regarding a brother of Mrs. Robert Lindsay—the present Sir Robert Keith Dick Cunningham, Bart., of Prestonfield—so honourable to all concerned, and so interesting in itself, that we are truly glad that it comes legitimately within our province to quote it :—"Amidst the many cruel emotions," says Lady Anne, "that arose to Dundas, on an occasion when men were proved (his trial), I saw a pleasurable one flow from his eyes in a flood of tears, which seemed to do him good. A young man, the younger brother of my sister-in-law, Mrs. Robert Lindsay, was sent, when quite a boy, to the East Indies by Lord Melville, as a writer. His industry and abilities gave him a little early prosperity ; he heard of this attack on Dundas ; he venerated him ; he knew he was not a man of fortune ; he had made five thousand pounds, or more ; and in words the most affectionate and respectful, manly and kind, he remitted to him an order for the money, should he have occasion for it, to assist in defraying the heavy expense he must be put to. It was a sweet letter, generous and principled, such as any one of that excellent family would write in similar circumstances. Dundas read it to me with an exultation of satisfaction, together with his own reply.

" ' I have never beheld a countenance but one,' said he, ' that did not feel this letter as it ought, when I read it, and that one was my daughter-in-law's, before she knew I had refused it.' ' I hope,' she said, ' that, while my purse is full, you never will receive aid from a stranger.' I knew she spoke as she felt. To find two such people at such a moment, is it not worth a score of desertions ?"

A few words more about Robert Lindsay. Though the commercial spirit was so strong within him, he was truly a liberal and generous man. He settled an annuity on his mother ; he contributed largely towards the disencumbering of the Balcarres estates : his house and his purse were always open to any member of his family ; and many were they who partook of his hospitality. Old Lady Balcarres, sitting in her easy chair, the centre of that large family group, has a very venerable aspect ; and there is something very touching in the record of her last days—so cheerful, so sunny, so Christian—as set forth by the graceful pen of Lady Anne Barnard. She lived to the age of ninety-three in Robert's house, believing at last that the patriarchal house of Balcarres was her own, and that Robert and his wife were her guests. "A portion of every day," says Lady Anne Barnard, "was spent by them in her bedroom." She

died at last in 1820. In 1836, Robert Lindsay followed her to the grave. He was in his eighty-third year. "The little birds sang, and the blue sky bent over us," writes Lord Lindsay, "as we committed his honored remains to the kindred dust of Balcarres—the Lindsays' friend of many generations, the venerable Bishop Low, performing the last offices."

Following Robert Lindsay's "Anecdotes of an Indian Life," we have "two narratives of the proceedings of the British Army under General Hector Munro and Colonel Baillie, and of the Battle of Conjeveram, September 10th, 1780, in which the division under Colonel Baillie was either cut to pieces, or taken prisoners;—by the Hon'ble James and John Lindsay, 73rd Highlanders." We pass over these, to stop at the more interesting Journal of John Lindsay's imprisonment in Serinagapatam, from the 10th of September 1780, to the 17th April 1784. He was one of the few survivors of Baillie's unfortunate detachment after the miserable affair of Conjeveram. His company was cut to pieces, and he himself narrowly escaped being trodden to death by the enemy's horse, or smothered by heaps of the dead and the dying. He had in his pocket a bag containing two hundred pagodas; and it occurred to him that the treasure might be the means of saving his life:—

I therefore looked around me to observe the different countenances of the horsemen, and, thinking that I had distinguished one, whose look was less ferocious than the rest, I pulled out my bag of pagodas, and beckoned him to approach me; which he instantly did, put up his sword, and dismounted. I immediately delivered him the bag; he seemed surprised and pleased at the magnitude of its contents, which gave me the most sanguine expectations. After he had put it up, he demanded my accoutrements, which I instantly took off, and presented to him; I now thought he would have gone no farther, but (one after the other) he stripped me of everything except my breeches and one-half of my shirt,—having torn off the other to tie up my other shirts in a bundle. Though much concerned at being thus stripped naked, after the part I had acted towards him, I however made no doubt but that he would grant me his protection especially when I saw him mount his horse; which he, however, had no sooner done, than he drew his sabre, and, after giving me two or three wounds, instantly rode off, leaving me stung with rage, and laying the blame upon myself, for having called him towards me. After some minutes, what with the loss of blood and the intense heat of the sun, I fainted away, fully convinced that I was expiring, and pleased to think my last moments were so gentle.

Roused from his insensibility by a dreadful pain in his shoulder-blade, he discovered that a pike, which had passed through the body of a dead man lying upon him, had pierced his own flesh. A man of his company saw him, and called out to ask him, if he were dead. "Not yet, but near about it," was the answer. Some French Hussars here came up; and, having

been pulled by the hair of his head out of the dense mass of humanity, in which he was so jammed as to be incapable of moving, they carried him to Lally. "The French Commander," says John Lindsay, "immediately came up to me, expressed his concern at my situation, ordered my wounds to be bound up, and placed me upon one of his elephants." A French officer, named Le Roy, who had saved him from being cut down by Hyder's horse, gave him some soup, and a shirt and long-drawers, which he had "great want of, as his skin was one entire blister from the heat of the sun."

Here he got a glimpse of the redoubtable Hyder himself, in the exultation of victory.

"I, at this moment," writes Mr. Lindsay, "had a distinct view of Hyder's army,—his infantry marching in the most regular manner to English music, and his cavalry on the flanks. Hyder Ali himself was riding at the head of one of his battalions, upon a small dun horse, and dressed in a blue silk jacket and a red turban. He came riding up to Lally, with whom he conversed in the most familiar manner, and appeared vastly pleased, bursting out into fits of laughter.

Next day, Hyder sent orders that all the prisoners should be given up to him; and the French officers obeyed with manifest regret:—

At this instant the guards came in, and, in a thundering manner, drove us before them, like a flock of sheep, loading us with blows, because our wounds prevented us from walking fast. In this manner we were conducted before Hyder, who, after looking at us all, and taking down our names, desired us now to go to our quarters, and to eat, drink, sleep, and be happy. This speech gave us all great comfort, and we were taken out of his presence. When I came out, a figure, covered all over with blood, came limping up to me, and called me by my name, which, from the voice, I soon discovered was my old friend, David Baird; this was a most welcome meeting to both of us.

His fortune had not been quite so good as mine, for he had been, like me, stripped, worse wounded, and had lain all the day and the following night on the field of battle—every horseman thinking him so badly wounded that they would not be at the trouble of conducting him into the camp; he had, however, made a shift to come in of himself, and now declared that the only pain he felt at that time was violent hunger. I informed him of Hyder's speech to us, which much pleased him.

Towards the evening, Colonel Baillie and fifty-eight officers were collected together. The French officers subscribed 400 pagodas for their use. On the 16th, the guards informed Baillie that all the prisoners were to be sent away, except himself and those next in rank to him. Of these Colonel Baillie kept David Baird, John Lindsay, and a few others. "We were permitted," says Lindsay, "to go and see the men of our company,

"to bid them farewell. When they saw that we were in as deplorable a situation as themselves, they burst into tears, and only hoped that the day would come, that would give them ample revenge for our sufferings." Shortly afterwards, the officers were put into a tent—the first shelter they had enjoyed since their capture—and there John Lindsay was joined by one of his old servants. "As I was extremely ill," he writes, "I gave him all my treasure, amounting to fifteen rupees, to take care of for me ; but the treacherous villain, as soon as he had got my all, left me, and I never saw him afterwards." It was hard to say whether friends or enemies treated him worse. Another mortification was in store for him :—

On the 28th, they, to our great joy, brought into our tent eight baskets of liquor, with a letter from a French correspondent of Baillie's in Pondicherry, desiring that he would sign a receipt for the liquor, that he might know if we got it ; therefore, upon pen and ink being brought, Baillie signed the receipt. Some time after, Kistnarow came and asked, "if we liked wine ?" and upon our answering that we did, he ordered the guard to take the baskets away, saying that he would take care of it for us : but we never saw the wine afterwards.

This behaviour, joined with our former treatment, made us almost desperate ; and we determined to treat him ever afterwards with the most pointed contempt. Accordingly the next time he came, instead of getting up and saluting him in the servile manner we had hitherto done, we sat still upon the ground, without taking the least notice of him. He therefore soon went away much displeased. We amused ourselves with the idea of treating him with the most mortifying contempt, and some days elapsed before we saw any thing more of him.

The next passage we have marked is more cheering. The picture is not one unvarying surface of human depravity :—

At this time a sepoy of our guard came up to me, and, after standing by me for some minutes, told me that he would prepare me some medicine if I would take it. I told him that I would thankfully take any thing that he would give me, but that I had no money to pay him for it. He said that he did not want any money from a prisoner, and then went away. In a few minutes he came back, and brought with him three green pomegranates and a large bowl of sour milk ; and, after mixing the fruit with his hands in the milk, having previously mashed them into a ball upon a stone, he desired me to drink it. In any other situation, I would certainly have refused to take such a medicine, but, as it was, I took it, and with great loathing drank it off, it having a most dreadful taste. He then desired me to endeavour to sleep, which I did ; and, in a few hours afterwards, I awakened much better, my fever having abated, and my flux was not nearly so severe ; and, for the first time since I left Arcot, I eat a little boiled rice.

The next morning the sepoy came to see me, and was much rejoiced at seeing me so much better. I told him that I owed him my life, and that, although I was poor here, I had plenty of money in my own country, and that I would reward him for it, if ever I returned. He then told me that he was not very rich himself, as his pay was only a pagoda and a half a month—and, at the same time, drew out his little purse, and offered me a rupee. This generous behaviour, so different from what I had hitherto ex-

perienced, drew tears from my eyes, and I thanked him for his generosity but would not take his money.

This is on many accounts worth noting. It sets forth a cure for dysentery, with which we suspect the faculty is unacquainted.

On the 6th of November, the party of wretched captives arrived opposite Seringapatam. They were "conducted through various windings and turnings into the middle of the fort," summoned before the Killadar, exposed to a fire of ridiculous questions from that worthy, and there consigned to their place of imprisonment. "The house was....., in the shape of an "oblong square, with high walls, from which projected inwards "a single-tiled roof in the form of a shed, and open on all "sides; and in the four angles of the house were four small "rooms, or rather dungeons, without windows or the smallest "portion of light. In the centre of this building there was an "open space of a few yards for the air to come in, and on the "outside a very high wall, built at the distance of ten yards, in "order to make the place of our confinement more secure from "the least possibility of escape." Into this place were the unhappy prisoners thrust. Their gaoler was a havildar, named Mobet Khan. "His appearance was the most villainous that could be conceived;" and his captives very soon discovered that he was "as bad as he looked."

We now come to the record of the long and painful captivity. The extracts which we have marked call for little comment. In the following we catch a glimpse of

THE PENALTIES AND RESOURCES OF PRISON LIFE.

On the 20th, the killadar came in a great hurry to our prison, with all his attendants, and, after calling us out of our berths, he sent in the guards to bring out everything belonging to us. All our bundles were accordingly displayed before him; and he found that we had amongst us six knives and forks, and two razors, which, he said, were very improper things for prisoners to have amongst them: and they were accordingly given to Mobet Khan, with orders to let us have them in the course of the day, but always to put them under the charge of the guard during the night. The razors, he said, might be allowed us once a week; but that two sepoys, with drawn swords, were to stand over us, while we were shaving, in order, as they said, to prevent us cutting our throats. Six books were likewise found amongst us, *viz.*, the first volume of Smollett's History of England, the third of Pope, the half of Johnson's Dictionary, a Prayer book, and Mrs. Glass upon the art of cookery. These were seized in the same manner, but with particular injunctions to the guard, to deliver them out at sunrise, and to take them back at sunset, from the supposition that, with the assistance of books in the night, Europeans could do a great deal of mischief, if left to themselves. Our increase of numbers made us fall upon various methods of exercising our geniuses in making little nick-nacks and necessary articles, in order to make our situation as comfortable as possible, so that our ingenuity being every day called into fresh exertions, and assisted by one another, every one in a short time was provided with a cot to sleep

upon, a table, and a stool. For my part, I was a very bad carpenter, and was accordingly assisted in that branch by one of my companions ; and, as I had become an exceedingly good tailor, and had now three shirts and three pair of trousers, of my own making, I therefore made the clothes of those, who helped me in other respects.

KEEPING THE NEW YEAR.

January 1st, 1781.—As we had, some time past, been determined to keep the New Year as comfortably as our circumstances would permit, we had ever since the arrival of the Arnf prisoners, been at great trouble and expense in fattening a bullock, which one of the gentlemen had purchased in the Carnatic, and which had been preserved to make a good feast for us upon this day ; and it had been for a long time the most agreeable subject of our conversation, the excellent dishes that he would produce. We therefore told Mobet Khan in the evening that we wanted to kill him, and requested that he would bring the fakir to perform the usual ceremony ; but instead of complying with our desire, he abused us in the most shameful manner, saying that we were a parcel of thieves, and that we had stolen the bullock from some of the Nabob's villages upon the road. It was in vain that we protested that we had purchased him in the Carnatic ; he did not choose to believe us, but immediately sent to the cutcherry, and made his complaint to the killadar ; who, upon the representation of Mobet Khan, ordered the bullock to be taken away from us, and by this means our long expected feast was disappointed.

PRISON EMPLOYMENT.

We had now for some days past been engaged in purchasing leather to make a kind of spatterdashes for our ankles, in order to make the irons lie a little easier upon our legs ; and, with this assistance, we were enabled to walk a little without much pain ; but as the link from ring to ring was not above eight inches in length, our step was so much confined, that a very little exertion in walking fatigued us, so that we could not take the daily exercise as usual. We were obliged to fall upon other means to amuse ourselves, and with the assistance of cards, made of coarse paper and cloth, and backgammon tables, which we made of stipes of bambú (which two articles we, in time, arrived at great perfection in), we amused our tedious hours. Our prison was now swarming with innumerable quantities of large rats, and we laid wagers who would kill the greatest number in twenty-four hours ; so that the exertions of a number of us, that were occupied with a desire of extirpating those vermin, were so successful, that in a few hours we often destroyed upwards of a hundred ; and as the sepoys have not the aversion to that animal that Europeans have, they took them to make curries of.

In the following, under date May 25th, we see what were the feelings of the officers on hearing, that some of their unfortunate men had been Muhammadanized. The reader may compare the following with some extracts from Scurry's narrative, to be found in a former article on " Eastern Captivity :"—

May 25th.—We were this day greatly surprised, upon our looking out upon the grand parade, to see a number of white men, clothed in the Mahometan dress, exercising the black people after the English description. Upon our enquiring of the sepoys of our guard what they were, they informed us that they were some of our private soldiers, who, being tired at the length of their confinement, had entered into the Bahadur's service, and turned Mussulmans. This account gave us the greatest grief ;

and we could not help believing it to be true when we saw them plainly before our eyes. We therefore made no scruple to condemn them as a parcel of villains, that had abandoned their country, and who deserved death, if they were ever caught ; a few days however after this, we received a letter from the soldiers' prison, informing us that the killadar had selected from amongst them all the young men, and asked them to enter into the Bahádúr's service, which they refused ; upon which he, with the assistance of a strong guard, dragged them out by force from their companions : and that they were unacquainted with what had become of them since, or for what purpose they were separated from them.

In the next passage we again see what were

THE OCCUPATIONS AND AMUSEMENTS OF CAPTIVITY.

Monday.—Play at cards, or catch rats and mice, during the forenoon ; the servants come back ; my man, Mútú, tells me there are no news to-day, and that every thing is dear in the bazaar—am obliged to dine to-day upon rice and ghl—suspect that Mútú has cheated me of some of my rice—am resolved to watch him—am obliged to eat moderately at present, as my shirts are worn out, and am saving money to buy a piece of cloth ; it will be more than six weeks, before I shall be able to buy others.

Tuesday.—Get up in the morning at the usual time—go through the usual ceremonies—look out at my peep-hole—see a vast number of Brahmin girls going down to the river to wash—four or five hundred horse pass by, guarding a multitude of the Carnatic inhabitants—a Moorman of high family, celebrating his marriage, passes by in great state, and his wife in a covered palanquin—two old Moormen under the house scolding—a crowd of people around them, to whom they are telling their story—shut my tile, for fear they should look and observe me—to-day have curry and rice for my dinner,—and plenty of it, as C—, my mess-mate, has got the gripes, and cannot eat his allowance.

Wednesday.—Finish a pack of cards to-day ; the workmanship is much admired ; B—likewise finishes a backgammon table—sell my cards for a fanam. Have the itch for some time past owing to the bad water—the dog eats up half a fanam's worth of brimstone and butter—threaten to kill him if ever I catch him in my berth ; D—, to whom he belongs, says I dare not hold an argument on that point—a very disagreeable day—a very unwholesome smell in the prison from the quantity of stagnated water and rubbish ; the rain comes through the roof of the house and wets every thing.

Thursday.—To-day have some stewed mutton and bread for my dinner—it is very good—and not near enough of it, as it is a very expensive dinner. Sheikh Hussein, upon guard, tells me that our army has beat the Bahádúr, and that peace was making ; another sepoy in the afternoon, tells us that the Bahádúr had destroyed our army, and was besieging Madras. A great number of people at exercise upon the parade ; the Europeans make signs to us, for which we observe a Moorman beating them—look towards Colonel Baillie's prison ; make signs to one another—wrestle in play with Baird ; his foot catches in the chains of my iron, and throws him down, and scratches his face—Bruin* is going to thrash me for fighting—says that I am the property of the Bahádúr—that I must neither lame myself, nor any of my companions

And so the year 1781 passed away. In the middle of the following year we find John Lindsay lamenting the increased

painfulness of their situation, owing to their augmented numbers :—

Our prison, that was before too small, we now found beyond measure intolerable ; and, although we were now permitted to occupy the outer square, yet the increase of our numbers, and the bad quality of the air, caused almost every one in our jail to be taken ill ; and, to complete our misfortunes, the monsoon season set in, in a much severer manner than usual, and what with the quantity of rain that overflowed our prison, the badness of the water that we were obliged to make use of, and our want of clothes to shelter us from the inclemencies of the weather, a kind of disorder, like the jail distemper, had crept in amongst us. Myself and four others were attacked more severely than the rest with violent bloody fluxes ; and, as we were in a very dangerous situation, we made repeated applications for the European Surgeon to be permitted to come and assist us, which the killadar told us he could not allow ; but, if we chose, he would send us some black doctors.

I positively refused to put myself under their charge, and said I would rather let my disorder take its course ; but the other four, who were rather worse than me, said they would put themselves under their directions. The Surgeons therefore came, and, without giving them any previous medicines in order to remove the cause of their complaint, they administered large quantities of opium, which immediately stopped their flux, and the consequence of it was, that they all died in twenty-four hours, of mortification in the bowels.

These officers appear to have been Lieut. Lind, Mr. Hope, Captain Lucas, and Ensign Maconochie. Captain David Baird was at this time suffering dreadfully from dysentery. "He used," says Mr. Hook, "often to describe the tortures of recovery." His hunger was so extreme, that the "inclination he felt to snatch a portion of their food from others was almost unconquerable," and that, if the least morsel was left by any of them, he "swallowed it with the greatest eagerness and delight." Most men, who have suffered under the dreadful disease indicated, know well what are the after-pains of the hungry recovery.

We must pass on hurriedly to the conclusion. In December 1783, after recording the change of the prison-guard, and the fact that "a Moorman of rank and dignified manners" had taken command, John Lindsay writes as follows. He had then been more than three years in captivity :—

A few days after this event, one of the sepoys on the guard informed one of the prisoners that, as he had formerly been in the English service, and had experienced the best of treatment, he would reveal to him a secret respecting the officers of Matthew's army, that had been sent to Kavel Drûg. He said that these prisoners, consisting of sixteen captains, a major, and the commissary guard of the army had, immediately on their arrival at that place, been put in irons, and that their allowance of provisions was the same as ours,—that their treatment in other respects had been harder : and that, the day before this, he had belonged to a guard that had been sent from another garrison to relieve the one that was over these prisoners,—that, on the second day of the new guards being there, the commandant of it put himself in the evening at the head of most of the

troops in the place, and repaired to the prison, attended by some persons, who held in their hands bowls of green liquid—that the prisoners were ordered to advance two by two, and the commander informed them that it was the Nabob's orders that they should drink the liquor contained in these bowls ; the prisoners seemed to be astonished, and refused to comply with the orders, and requested leave to consult with one another, which was allowed :—the result was, that, although they had committed no crime against Tippú Sultan, they nevertheless feared that it was his intention to take their lives, and declared that they would not take the drink.

The commandant informed them at once, that the drink offered to them was poison ; that it was the Nabob's orders ; that it was, he assured them, a pleasant, easy death ; but that, if they persisted in refusing it, they were to be seized and tied, and thrown alive down the precipice of Kavel Drúg mountain ; he declared that he was strictly to perform his orders, again recommended the drink, and allowed them an hour to determine. When the time had expired, they advanced to the commandant, and informed him they were ready to drink the poison ; but that they did not doubt but that the day would arrive, when Tippú Sultan would meet the just reward of his inhuman cruelty, exercised so wantonly on a set of innocent men. They then drank the poison, which operated with violence upon some ; but, in the space of one hour, the bodies of all were extended lifeless before the commandant ; and as there was no farther occasion for so great a force in Kavel Drúg, he (our informant), with some others, had been sent to reinforce the guard over us.

But the worst was now over. A few days afterwards their irons were struck off. The happy event is thus recorded :—

December 22nd.—In the afternoon two Brahmins, accompanied by a Moor-man of rank, came to the door of our prison, and, calling out my name and those of two other officers, desired us to come forward ; and then the Brahmins said, they had orders to take us out of prison, and conduct us to the Governor. I immediately declared, that having been confined in this dungeon upwards of three years and a half in heavy chains, and with my body reduced to a perfect skeleton by long sickness, I was resolved not to separate myself from my fellow-prisoners ; and that, if I was to suffer death, it should be on the same spot, where I had experienced so much misery.

They declared there was no intention of using me ill, and that, in accompanying them, I should be made happy by great and important news. I resolutely refused to leave the prison ; on which the Moor-man, who had remained silent, said with a smile, "You have all suffered enough, and I come to impart joy to you all ; the merciful Nabob, my master Tippú Sultan, has restored peace to the world ; the English nation and he are now friends ; you are immediately to be taken out of irons, and to-morrow you are to leave Seringapatam, and to march for your own country. I see, Sir," said he to me, "you are alarmed ; you were sent for to receive a sum of money and a letter from your friends ; you shall immediately receive both, after which I dare say you will no longer refuse leaving the prison." The letter and money were brought and delivered, and were from a friend with the army, who took the earliest opportunity of administering to my necessities.

He stated that Tippú Saib, not being able to reduce the fortress of Mangalore, having lost the flower of his army before that place, and finding that the English had reinforced themselves in other quarters, and were advancing into his country, had at last declared that he would listen to proposals of peace ; that commissioners had been sent to him, and, after many

difficulties, peace had been concluded ;—that each was to retain what they had before the war, and all prisoners to be released.

This letter instantly removed all doubts : and the sudden transition from misery to joy at so wonderful and unexpected an event, was felt with the most heartfelt satisfaction throughout the prison, and even the guard seemed to partake of the general rejoicing.

The Governor appeared after the information, accompanied by a number of blacksmiths, who, in two or three hours emancipated the limbs of every one from the cumbrous load of irons, that had been our constant companions for so many years.

With this, the narrative is concluded. All the other circumstances of this long and terrible captivity are so well known, that we have, for the most part, only endeavored to “reveal the secrets of the prison-house,” and to bring prominently forward those incidents, which especially relate to the individual woes of John Lindsay, and which illustrate the character of the man. He seems to have endured his sufferings with fortitude ; and there is a manliness in his manner of narrating them, which raises our admiration. A few sentences will describe the remainder of his career. He again served under Lord Lindsay “in the war with Tippú in 1790, and in that with France in 1798, and returned to England, on the regiments being ordered home in 1797. After obtaining the Lieut. Colonelcy of the McLeod Highlanders, he quitted the army in 1801—the year of his brother’s return from Jamaica, and the year after his own marriage with the youngest daughter of Frederick North, Earl of Guildford, a worthy scion of a race in which brilliant wit, mingled with the most genuine good humour and kindness of disposition and a rational love of letters, seem to be hereditary possessions.”*

We have professedly undertaken to give some account of the “Lindsays in India.” Now, Lady Anne Barnard, we grieve to say, never was in India ; but not on that account is she to be excluded from a niche in our gallery. She, who accompanied Lord Macartney to the Cape, and corresponded with Lord Wellesley, is fairly entitled to be classed among those worthies, of whom it is our privilege to take note in this journal. Of all the Lindsays, Lady Anne is the most interesting. If she had done nothing else but written the charming ballad of “Auld Robin Grey,” she would have had a place in our affections ; but in these volumes her character is represented, (partly by what is said of her by others, and partly by what she says for herself,) with such an atmosphere of kindliness and geniality about it, with such a glow of sunny-heartedness flushing all her outward

* Colin Lindsay’s narrative of the defence of St. Lucie contains some anecdotes of General Meadows and Major (afterwards Lord) Harris, which we should have been glad to transfer to our pages, but for the length to which this article has extended.

being, making everything she said and did bright with cheerfulness and benevolence—that, if she had never written a line of poetry, she would still have been entitled to our admiration as one of the most delightful female writers of her time, and one of the most fascinating of women. Of the former, her contemporaries had less knowledge than we have; but of the latter they had no doubt. She was on a footing of friendly intimacy with Burke, Sheridan, Wyndham, Dundas, and the Prince of Wales—with Hume, Johnson, Mackenzie, Monboddo, and other statesmen and philosophers. The Prince, it is true, was neither; but he has never appeared more worthy of our regard than in the anecdotes, which are told in illustration of his friendship for Lady Anne. In the second volume of the *Lives of the Lindsays*, there is a letter from the Prince, in reply to one addressed to him by Lady Anne shortly after the death of her husband, which is eminently the effusion, not only of a courteous nature, but of a kindly heart. A story told by Colonel Lindsay of Balcarres, in a letter to his son-in-law Lord Lindsay, is worth quoting:—"I recollect George IV.," he writes, "sending for her to come and see him when he was very ill; he spoke most affectionately to her, and said, 'Sister Anne (the appellation he usually gave her) I wished to see you to tell you that I love you, and wish you to accept of this golden chain for my sake; I may never, perhaps, see you again.'" The date of this anecdote is not given; but the event recorded occurred after the Prince ascended the throne. Lady Anne Barnard must have then been a very old woman.

"The peculiar trait of Lady Anne's character," says Colonel Lindsay, "was benevolence—a readiness to share with others her purse, her tears, or her joys,—an absence of all selfishness. This, with her talents, created a power of pleasing, which I have never seen equalled. She had in society a power of placing herself in sympathies with those whom she addressed, of drawing forth their feelings, their talents, their acquirements, pleasing them with themselves, and consequently with their companions for the time being. I have often seen her change a dull party into an agreeable one; she could make the dullest speak, the shyest feel happy, and the witty flush fire without any apparent exertion." What an invaluable person she would have been at one of our *burra-khanas*! "I recollect," adds Colonel Lindsay, in a postscript, "a characteristic anecdote of her, or rather of an old servant, who had lived with her for years. She was entertaining a large party of distinguished guests at dinner, when a hitch occurred in the kitchen. The old servant came up behind her, and whispered,

"My lady, you "must tell another story; the second course
"won't be ready for five minutes."

"Her hand was sought in marriage," says the same narrator, "by several of the first men of the land, and her friendship and confidence by the most distinguished women; but indecision was her failing—hesitation and doubt upset her judgment; her heart had never been captured, and she remained single till late in life, when she married an accomplished, but not wealthy, gentleman, younger than herself, whom she accompanied to the Cape of Good Hope, when appointed Colonial Secretary under Lord Macartney." The gentleman was Mr. Barnard. Lord Macartney sailed from Portsmouth in January 1797. Mr. Maxwell, who had before been attached to his staff, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Barrow, who has written a very dull life of his Lordship, sailed with him. The Barnards must have been a great acquisition to the party. Lord Macartney was then old and infirm. His health suffered greatly whilst at the Cape. The catalogue of his ailments, which he sent home to Mr. Dundas before he had been many months resident in the colony, is one of the most afflicting we ever remember to have read. "I am now sixty years old," he wrote, "of which near four-and-thirty have been chiefly employed on public service, in different stations of distance, difficulty and hazard—circumstances that formerly served to me rather as incentives, than discouragements; but of late, and particularly within these few weeks, I feel myself declining fast, and am, at this moment, afflicted with the gout in my head and stomach so much, as to render my exertion painful and ineffectual. I have the piles, if not a fistula, and am not without apprehension of a stone in my kidneys. To this I am to add an increasing weakness in my eyes, which makes me more melancholy than all the rest." Such was the melancholy condition of Lord Macartney, when the cheerful companionship of Lady Anne Barnard and her husband did much to palliate his sufferings and to disperse his gloom. "My situation," he said, "is, in every other respect, so agreeable to me, that I should not be desirous of removing from it, if I could flatter myself that a man, at my advanced time of life, were likely to improve either in his constitution or his faculties." The account, which Lady Anne has given of the kindness and amiability of the Governor at this time, is worth preserving:—

In one person's society was to be found everlasting entertainment, and instruction, too, when we had him to ourselves. Lord Macartney was one of the best companions I ever met with; and Barnard, who was with him

every morning, said those were the happiest hours of the day. I sometimes alleged that, while we all suppose them laying plans for the good of the Colony, they were talking all sorts of nonsense, by the side of the fire—and grate, too, be it known to you—which was a piece of great magnificence here.

The two gentlemen, who had accompanied Lord Macartney to China and on other embassies, regarded his manners to Barnard with an eye of wonder, though I did not think, of jealousy. They had reckoned him cold, political, without a vulnerable part, where he could be affected; but they had never tried to gain his heart, though they had served him faithfully. Dr. Gillan had loved him—and Dr. Gillan he loved: a sentiment of this sort cannot exist on one side only. To try to love what we are bound to respect, I take to be a good habit; it may produce excellent effects, and cannot produce bad ones.

His aides-de-camp, though both were young, gay as larks, handsome and fine gentlemen in all the best senses of the word, I observed were as much attached to him, as young men can be to an old man; and as they were attentive, he was full of goodness and consideration for their amusement. "Go, go," he said, "do not stay with me, Franklin shall cut up the turkey to-day"; but they settled it with each other that Lord Macartney never should be without one of them.

I certainly never saw a man who, in the small line of my experience, I thought so well calculated to make a good preceptor to a young statesman as Lord Macartney. Wary, well-bred, and witty, he was never to be caught off his guard, and where he could not grant (like the sweet-tempered Lord North), he gave the negative in a pleasant way, though sometimes, if he thought the request improper, with more of the epigrammatic than the other did. Such a tutor would have been an excellent one to counteract faults of an opposite description to his own; but he might have been a dangerous master to a similar disposition, by leading him to carry his distrust of mankind too far.

I remarked amongst other things the extraordinary respect he shewed to those who could give him information, or who had been in public departments; but I may extend this remark and say—to every man in his own line. "To be respected," whispered he to me, "one must begin with respecting." Subjects of conversation were never wanting to him: he talked to every man on the subject he was best informed upon, and on which he was likely to acquit himself best. Of course, each man left his closet, pleased with the impression he had given of himself to the Governor. The business of the conference over, he entertained himself with getting all he could out of every body, who had sense enough to discriminate: but of those, there were few at the Cape—the men being so uneducated that reflections did not spring up, where nothing was planted. Of the women we had very unfavourable accounts from one who ought to have known the truth. The French, he said, had corrupted them—the English had merely taught them to affect virtue. "Grace a Dieu," said he, "*ma femme est bien laide*;" and therefore he seemed to have no fears for her conduct: but as to that of any other woman in the Cape, he believed them to be "all the same."

I take this verdict, of course, with some grains of allowance, from a man who is soured by circumstances: but it will put me a little on the watch, and determine me to get at the truth of his assertions, without appearing to have heard any thing of the matter:—though, where I find them all well grounded, what then? I must know nothing. To fulfil my duty here, as the woman (in the absence of Lady Macartney) at the head of the Government department, civility and hospitality must be shown to every

woman, Dutch or English, who live on good terms with their husband, and to all the Dutchmen, who take the oath of allegiance to the English Government, and are of sufficient respectability to visit at the Castle.

Nothing can be more amusing than Lady Anne's pictures of Cape society. The satire is really not ill-natured, though very lively and *piquante*. Accustomed to the very best English society, the sayings and doings of the Dutch Boors and their wives must have been greatly appreciated by one with so keen a sense of the ridiculous. We should, perhaps, have enjoyed her sketches with a sharper relish, if she had not made light of certain matters, which are not to be jested about by any one—and least of all, by an English lady.

Whilst the Barnards' were at the Cape, Lord Mornington arrived on his way to the seat of his new Government in India. He was an old friend of Lady Anne and her husband; and they welcomed him with much cordiality. It would ill become us to omit her sketch of the Governor-General, before he was *sultanized*, sleeping, like the Miss Pecksniffs at Todgers's, in a little back parlour:—

Among other passing guests, we had a visit from Lord Mornington, with his brother, on his way to India, to fill the station of Governor-General. As they were people we loved much, we certainly would have been happy to have accommodated them in the Castle, had not the prior claims of A—s, as older friends, nearer friends, and poorer friends, made it impossible to sacrifice the holy motive to the agreeable attraction. But the bugs were so plentiful on the following night at the honest Dutchman's, where the Governor-General took up his quarters, that we could not resist his entreaties, and took him in, his brother and his four servants, into our sanctuary. We lodged him in one of our back parlours, into which a little tent had been put, to hold the great man; and from which he has only to step out upon the bricks of our balcony to enjoy the cool air, as it hangs over a basin of pure water, supplied by a fountain descending from the Table Mountain, which raises its head above the tall oaks that encompass the pool, and afford a walk to the favorites of the back-yard, whom I now presented to the Governor-General, and of which number my little buck is the first. I reared him myself, without a mother, and he seems now to regard me as one, following me like a dog, and begging hard at night for Barnard's permission to sleep on my feet.

A couple of secretary-birds came next—majestic creatures, with long legs, black velvet breeches, and large wings, who strut about with an air much resembling that of some of our fine gentlemen. They have one singularity, as birds—they never eat standing—not even at luncheon, but sit down to dinner, as regularly as we do. I believe this is in consequence of the extreme length of their legs.

A sea-calf, I next presented, who has been betrayed into living in spite of his teeth, as I gave him in charge to a slave with orders to seize the golden opportunity of his bleating to insert the spout of a tea-pot into his mouth and give him his belly-full of milk. He is a very foolish creature, half fish, half animal; but his countenance is more of the calf than the fish; his feet are fins, and his method of walking has too much of the

waddle in it to be graceful ; but when laughed at, he plunges into the water, and is in his kingdom.

A penguin comes next upon the boards—the link between fish and fowl, in the same degree that the calf is between animal and fish. The penguin is half the day in the pond with the calf, and half of it in the drawing-room with me. She resembles many old ladies, who wear what are called *sacques* with long ruffles, and is more like a duck than any other bird. Her appetite is enormous, and she is very nice, as she must have every thing raw and fresh.

Two jackals are the delight of all the dogs in the garrison, they are such coquettes ; they come out of their hole every evening, and allow themselves to be chased all round the flat topped wall of the fortress for about two hours ; when tired, they creep within the gate of the Castle, and get into the cellar by a broken pane, where they live secure and do no harm.

Two young wild-cats are also of the party. Strange to say these savage animals were nursed by the dog of the Brabanter, who prevailed on her, by dint of argument, to adopt and rear them—she having lost her own puppies, though she detested the cats, and was ready to bite off their heads ; but, when told by her master that she *must* nurse them, as they had no mother, Jacqueline gave up the point—and no one could look at her disgust to them, without being sorry for the animal while so employed.

A horned owl, more important than wise, and a beautiful green chameleon from Madagascar, made up the rest of this worthy society. But the buck possessed my heart, and soon won Lord Mornington's.

Shall we confess that there is, to us, something mysterious and apocalyptical in this ? Were the creatures, whom Lady Anne Barnard presented to Lord Mornington, two-legged animals without feathers ? The secretary-birds, the jackals the young wild cats—how very like a Governor's staff !

"Every day," said Lady Anne, "produces something to entertain Lord Mornington ; he has a levee every morning of yellow Generals and Captains from India, with despatches to Government, who stop here, and finding his Excellency at the Cape, deliver up their official papers,* which he opens, peruses, and by such means will arrive instructed in the present position of affairs there, and will appear a prodigy of ability in "being master of all so soon after his arrival." He did appear, indeed, a prodigy—and such a prodigy, as the old Indian statesmen and Generals never wished to see again. He would have made war on Tippú, if he had had his own way, with an unprovided army, without provisions, without money, and without ordnance stores.

"After spending a couple of easy pleasant months" at the Cape, Lord Mornington and his brother departed. There was

* The lively narrator here a little exaggerates the truth. Lord Mornington did break open a packet for the Court of Directors, brought from Calcutta by the *Houghton*, but we believe this to have been the only instance ; and the ship-captain did not volunteer to give it up.

a strange assembly of illustrious personages there during his Lordship's visit. There was, as we have seen, Lord Macartney, who had been Governor of Madras, and had narrowly escaped being Governor-General of India. There was also Lord Hobart, on his way home from Madras, a nobleman who had filled the same office, and narrowly escaped, too, the same honour. No mention is made of him in Lady Anne's Journal—nor of General (afterwards Sir) David Baird, who was also at the Cape, in command of a brigade, unless he is to be found among the yellow Generals pitch-forked into the passage quoted above. As Baird was a friend and fellow-prisoner of Lady Anne's brother, John Lindsay, we might have expected some other notice of him. We might have expected, too, that he would have been treated with some courtesy by Lord Macartney's personal staff. But it is recorded of him by his biographer (Theodore Hook), that when, on his first arrival, he went to pay his respects to the Governor, "an aid-de-camp, who received him, not only refused him admittance to Lord Macartney, but told him, in a "scarcely civil manner, that his Excellency could not see him." This must have been one of the wild cats presented by Lady Anne to Lord Mornington. We are glad to learn from the same authority, that he paid the penalty of his offence, in being condemned to carry a note to Baird, expressive of the Governor's regret at not having seen him when he called, and a hope that he would repeat his visit next morning.

Lord Wellesley did not forget Lady Anne, amidst the cares and distractions of his Indian Government. There are two very characteristic letters from his Lordship in the volume before us, written from Calcutta in 1800 and 1801. Here is the first of them :—

Fort William, October 2nd, 1800.

Your several kind letters have given me as much pleasure, my dear Lady Anne, as I was capable of receiving in the bad state of health, by which I have been tormented ever since the month of April. My complaints, however, have been more tedious and painful than dangerous... These, with their accompaniments, confined me to my couch for the greater part of four months, and my spirits were most severely affected; but I was still able to apply to public business, and to carry many great points quietly, which will soon make a loud report. On what honours you compliment me I know not; I am persuaded you have too much good sense and good taste to esteem an Irish peerage a complimentary, or complimentable honour in my case. Perhaps you refer to the votes of Parliament, and to the conscious sense of eminent public service;—these are honours, indeed, which neither negligence, nor slander, nor ingratitude, nor ignorance, nor envy, nor folly, can impair. With respect to rewards of another description, I have received none—I expect none—and (be not surprised) perhaps you may hear that I will accept none. This brief declamation will admit you

to the secret agonies of my poor dear heart, or soul, and give you some light to discover the causes of my ill-health, and of my declining, indignant, wounded spirits. But do not suppose me to be so weak as to meditate hasty resignations, or passionate returns to Europe, or fury, or violence of any kind. No; I will shame their injustice by aggravating the burthen of their obligations to me; I will heap kingdoms upon kingdoms, victory upon victory, revenue upon revenue; I will accumulate glory and wealth and power, until the ambition and avarice even of my masters shall cry mercy: and then I will show them what dust in the balance their tardy gratitude is, in the estimation of injured, neglected, disdainful merit.

Your lofty twaddler's order in Council for the arrangement of his play-house is incomparable. If I could disclose his *most secret* dispatches to me, how I should amuse you! But I cannot trust even your discretion with the secrets of the State. If we ever meet again, you shall hear it all, when the whole pageantry of State affairs shall have passed away, like a dream after a heavy supper. Even in the other world, where I hope we shall meet at last, you will laugh at the history—if the ghost of your risible muscles should retain any powers of laughter. I believe Mr. Barnard is in my debt on the account of correspondence; or if I am the debtor I must take out a Commission of Bankruptcy, and request him to accept through you, my assignee, my most sincere and grateful declarations of kind remembrance and good wishes, as a payment of one shilling in the pound.

My brother Arthur has been distinguishing himself most nobly in a short, rapid, and able campaign against an insurgent called (do not laugh) Dúndah Jí Waugh.

"I am employed from morning till night in business, and from night till morning in dozing and slumbering, and recovering the fatigues of the laborious day. If Dalilah were here, she certainly might catch me napping every evening, as early as eight o'clock, and sometimes earlier; but to pursue your metaphor, she could neither discover my weakness nor my strength, nor any other quality in me, than an unconquerable propensity to sleep. I am in anxious expectation of Henry's arrival, who will be a great relief to my melancholy. When the cold season shall commence, I shall give balls and dinners to the ladies as usual; but these amuse me not greatly. As to your friends, and the society of this place, I believe they go on very well. I never see the society but in buckram; so I know nothing about it, and never shall, or will, or can, no more.

"Adieu, dear Lady Anne; write to me as often as you can, and tell me all about it, and about it.

Yours ever most affectionately,

WELLESLEY.

Some part of this is very pleasant—some, it must be acknowledged, rather bombastic. We like the Governor-General better in his undress, than when playing the part of *Jupiter Tonans*, or ranting Tamerlane. All this about heaping kingdoms upon kingdoms, victory on victory, revenue upon revenue, and so putting the Court of Directors to shame, is sad stuff. As for the kingdoms and the victories the Court wanted none of them; and as for revenue, the Directors knew only too well that that does not follow upon either victories or kingdoms. When Lord Wellesley gave over the administration to Lord

Cornwallis, the Government of India was insolvent ; there was no money in the treasury ; there was a large irregular army, whose services were not required, but which could not be dismissed for want of the means of paying them their arrears. What Lord Cornwallis was obliged to do under these circumstances is well known. Doubtless, the "avarice" of the Court did "cry mercy ;" but not in the sense intended by Lord Wellesley.

The allusion to the "lofty twaddler" and his play-house calls for explanation. We confess that we are unable to afford a key to it. There would be nothing surprising in the fact of Lord Wellesley calling any one a lofty twaddler. The person so designated, and who is alluded to in the second letter, which we subjoin, is probably Lord Macartney ; though the supposition is at variance with the respect entertained for that nobleman by Lady Anne Barnard, who had obviously elicited the Governor-General's remarks by some raillery of her own :—

Fort William, June 27th, 1801.

My dearest Lady,

Many thanks for your kind and balmy letter of the 21st of January, and many reproaches for your curtailed docked cropped *Chit* of the 26th April.

Now for his Excellency the Governor and Captain-General—pray do not forget the Captain, although I hope he will not prove to be, what Burke always called the great Mr. Hastings, Captain-General of Iniquity ! As you say nothing of yourself or yours, I must talk of my dear self.

I am still much out of humour, but very proud and public spirited ; so I mean to remain here, until I have accomplished my ethereal visions, as you call them. I have been very well since Henry's arrival residing almost entirely at Barrackpore, a charming spot, which, in my usual spirit of tyranny, I have plucked from the Commander-in-Chief. For the last ten days, however, I have been a little feverish, bily, and boily ; but, upon the whole, pretty stout.

You must hear the story of my proceeding with my masters. I reserved a large part of the prize, taken at Seringapatam (namely, the ordnance and stores,) for the King's disposal, with a view of serving the general rights of the Crown, and of showing to my beloved and immortal army, that even *they* had no *right* to prizes, without the authority of the Supreme power. Massa proposed to grant me a plumb (£100,000) *out of this reserved prize*—thus deducting a large sum from what the King might grant to Massa, and what Massa ought to re-grant to the army—for the profit of his Excellency "No, Massa," says his Excellency, "you shall not rob Peter to pay Paul ; and I will not take one farthing from you at the expense of the army." "Slave," says Massa, "how dare you look a gift horse in the mouth?" "Massa," says his Excellency, "I am a public slave, as well as your slave, and I will not be gifted with dishonour." "Well, then," says Massa, after a long pause of many months ; "Here, take one-third of what I would have given you, if you would have joined me in robbing my own army. Since you will not be an accomplice in robbery, let honour be your reward. And hark ye ! remember that I am too kind to you, in not punishing your pride

by withholding all reward for the conquest of a whole empire, because you presumed to reject my offer of going snacks with me in the plunder of my rascally soldiers." "Well, Massa," says his Excellency, "I submit. As there is *now* no dishonour in your gift, I accept it thankfully." "Slave!" says "Massa," I mean *now* to grant all the reserved prize to the army; and the plumb, intended for you, shall be established as a fund for Military windows and orphans." "Bravo, Massa! that is noble; that is munificence, and justice, and dignity, and charity, and true glory; but—if I had taken your plumb, where would the widow and orphan have sheltered their heads?" And so Massa and his Excellency have come to a good and honourable agreement, by which his Excellency is supposed to have lost about five thousand pounds per annum, and to have gained about a puff and a half of pure air from the trumpet of fame.

I suppose you heard of my treaty with a certain potentate called the Nizam, a twaddler of order high; that was one of my visions realized—others are coming. We are all on the point of moving up the river, in grand state, to visit the Upper Provinces, where I hope to realize other of my fantasies.

The high twaddler injures me in saying, that I consult no body. I notoriously consult every body of any knowledge; but I hope that I am not governed by any other opinion than my own deliberate judgment, after full reflection and consideration of all other sentiments, and even of the nonsense of many blockheads; for chips may be taken even from the block.

Adieu, dear Lady Anne! I have solaced myself by writing much stuff to you; I expect to be repaid with compound Indian interest.

I am very happy with General Lake, who is an excellent assistant to me in all affairs, and a most pleasant man.

Again your's most affectionately,

WELLESLEY.

We cannot say much for the ingeniousness of the above account of the Court of Directors' conduct with respect to the prize-money captured at Seringapatam. The Court of Directors granted an annuity to Lord Wellesley of £5,000 for twenty years. One would hardly gather this from the above letter. The annuity was voted in January 1801; and the date of the epistle to Lady Anne Barnard is June 27th of the same year; so that we can scarcely suppose him to have been in ignorance of the fact. Lord Wellesley's biographer, Mr. Pearce—no great authority it is true, on this or any other subject, but a devoted admirer of his Lordship, and no flatterer of the Court—says that "the Court of Directors, *in the handsomest manner*, voted an annuity of £5,000 to Marquess Wellesley." We may have something perhaps, on a future occasion, to say about the habitual hauteur and insolence of the Marquis's bearing towards the Court of Directors. It is not a subject to be entered upon at the end of such an article as this.

Lady Anne Barnard remained at the Cape until the peace of Amiens, when the colony was given back to the Dutch. During her residence there she made a short journey into the interior.

the incidents of which she has chronicled in a journal, here published, with remarkable vivacity and humour; we have seldom read anything of the kind, that has pleased us better.

With an "Adventure in China," by the Hon'ble Hugh Lindsay, a Captain in the Company's Mercantile Marine, and for many years a Member of the Court of Directors, the last volume of the *Leves of the Lindsays* is concluded.

This anecdote derives additional interest from the present state of our relations with Canton, and is related with much liveliness and spirit. Mr. Hugh Lindsay was Commodore of a large and valuable fleet belonging to the East India Company, to which the Viceroy, in consequence of the misrepresentations of the Hong merchants, refused a port clearance. Mr. Lindsay therefore, without acquainting any one with his intentions, determined to force an entrance into the city of Canton, to obtain access to the Viceroy's palace, and to lay the true state of the case before him in a personal interview. The result we shall present to our readers in his own words:—

About eight o'clock in the morning there are few Chinese in the streets:—we therefore had no difficulty in proceeding to the great gate, and, as I expected, found the guard (one soldier excepted) in the guard-house at breakfast. The soldier, on my passing, attempted to stop me; but, on my giving him a push forward, he ran on before me; our party then immediately got through the gate, and beyond the guard-house, before the guard could get out to stop us:—in consequence of the narrowness of the street, our files of three filling it completely, they could not pass us, their efforts to do so only pushing us on the faster. On, therefore, we went—no one before us attempting to impede our progress.

In a short time I discovered the soldier, who was at the gate, a little way in advance, watching our proceedings; it then occurred to me that, as he could not pass us to return to the guard, he would go on to the Hoppo's palace to give information there of our entry into the city. I therefore resolved to keep him in view, if possible; but the moment we came near him, he set off at full speed, and, in spite of the efforts we could make, we soon lost sight of him.

We had now proceeded about half a mile in a long narrow street, the end of which (I was much annoyed at finding) branched into two others rather wider, one turning short to the left, the other inclining to the right; here I called a halt, as it was evident, if we took the wrong direction, all chance of success was at an end. I therefore called to my aid the petition addressed (as I before mentioned) "To the Hoppo," in large characters; and seeing at a shop-door a good-humoured-looking fellow, staring at the unusual appearance of such a number of strangers in the city, I ran up to him, and shewed him the back of the petition, which he instantly read, laughed heartily, and pointed out the right road.

We proceeded on as fast as we could go, and, after advancing a short distance, we again got sight of the soldier, whom we discovered, with several others, in the act of shutting two very large folding gates, which appeared to be the entrance to a spacious outer court, in which was visible the front of one of the most magnificent buildings I had ever seen. This

was a very critical moment, for I instantly imagined it must be the Hoppo's palace, and, if the gates were once closed against us, all our labour was lost. I therefore loudly called out, "Hurrah to the gate!" We in a body sprung forward, and luckily reached it at the instant the gates were shut, but before they had time to get them bolted; with one consent we put our shoulders to them, and the gates flew open before us, throwing all those inside to the right and left. Our whole body immediately rushed in; and it was our turn then to assist the soldiers in shutting and bolting the gates to keep out a mob of Chinese, who had gathered in the city, and followed in our rear.

Now we had time to breathe, look about us, and consider where we were. Nothing could be more splendid than the building which stood in front of us; it was covered with Chinese characters in gold, beautifully ornamented with carved work in the Chinese style, and painted in the most brilliant and gaudy colours.

Mr. Perry at once assured me we must have reached the Viceroy's palace, as he discovered the particular banner which was carried before the Hoppo when he visited the Company's factory. The guard, whom we seemed to have caught *en deshabille*, had retired, and shortly after made their appearance in magnificent uniforms, and drew up in a body opposite to us.

The palace-gate now opened, and a Mandarin slowly advanced towards me; he addressed me in Chinese, to which I could only reply, by shaking my head, and shewing him my petition. He put out his hand to receive it, but I drew back mine, and made a sign I wanted to go into the palace to deliver it. He shook his head, and seemed decidedly averse to such a proceeding.

We were soon relieved from this embarrassment by the arrival of the two senior security merchants, Mowqua and Howqua, the first a fine old man of upwards of eighty years of age; and it was supposed that to those two we principally owed our detention:—the rest of the Hong came soon after.

Mowqua was in great agitation when he arrived, and addressed me in his usual Chinese English, "Ah! Mister Commodore, what for you come here? you wanty security merchants have cutty head? Hoppo truly too much angry English come him house,—he will cutty my poor old head." My reply was, "Mowqua! it is your own fault; why did you not present the Typan's (chief supercargo's) petition to the Hoppo? Had you done so, I should not have come here." "Good Mister Commodore, me takey petition, and truly will get answer directly." "No, no, Mowqua! I will give it into the Hoppo's own hand myself:—on which all the security merchants set up a cry, as if I had uttered some treason against the Celestial Empire. "What you come here? you wanty see Hoppo? That you no can do—Hoppo send you prison, as soon as he know you come him house—we takey petition before he know you come city—get out fast you can; truly he too much angry, he know you here."

There now appeared a Mandarin of high rank, to whom the merchants paid great respect; he came up to Captain Craig, Mr. Perry, and myself, who were standing with the two senior security merchants in front of our party; he, with civility, enquired what we wanted? and was instantly replied to by Mowqua; but I was determined to be my own interpreter. I therefore held up the petition for him to read the address, and made signs as before that I wanted to go into the palace to present it. This compelled Mowqua to come to an explanation with the Mandarin, who left us, as I supposed, to

inform the Hoppo of our being there: he soon, however, returned, and held another consultation with the Hong merchants, who again informed me that I could not possibly see the Viceroy, and that I must entrust the petition to their care.

On this I thought it right to consult with Mr. Perry, Captain Craig, and some of the senior commanders, whether they advised my yielding the point, and giving up the petition. I however gave it as my own decided opinion, that we should still persevere in demanding an audience, and in this I was supported by all but Mr. Perry, who thought we ought not to persist any longer. I however determined to persist, and informed the Hong merchants that nothing but force should compel us to leave the palace without an interview. I was the more inclined to persevere, from one of the junior merchants having whispered in my ear not to give up my point, —and that he, and several others of the Hong, did not approve of what the seniors had been doing.

After a long pause, Mowqua said to me, if I was resolved to see the Hoppo, I must send away all the commanders and officers except one, and that he and I should then be admitted into the palace. To this I instantly agreed; and it was settled that Mr. Perry, the supercargo, should be the person to remain with me, and that Captain Craig and the rest of the party should retire out of the city, which they accordingly did.

Mr. Perry and myself were now left in the Court of the Hoppo's palace surrounded by a great number of Mandarins, Hong merchants, and soldiers; the Mandarin, who took the lead, then shewed us into a large and splendid hall in the palace, where we were accompanied by the Hong merchants, who appeared extremely disconcerted at our success. It was now near twelve o'clock, and from that time till four every effort, by promises, persuasions, and threats, was made use of by the Hong to prevail on me to give up the desire of seeing the Hoppo, but without effect; I was perfectly decided and firm, although frequently and most anxiously urged by Mr. Perry to yield the point.

Finding that I was not to be moved, Mowqua at last told me I should soon see the Viceroy;—“And now, Mister Commadore, when great man come, you must knocky head.” “What is knocky head, Mowqua?” said I. “You must down on knees, and putty head on ground,” was the reply. “That's not my country fashion, Mowqua—I don't do so to my King, therefore will not do so to your Hoppo; but I will make him a bow, while you knocky head.” With this, after some communication between the Mandarins and the security merchants, they appeared satisfied.

I now found they were in earnest as to my seeing the Hoppo; and there was much bustle in the palace: they were, however, determined I should not imagine that I had forced an interview, as I was given to understand that the Viceroy was going out to pay his colleague, the Fyane, a visit, and that I should see him as he went out.

At this time there were in the great hall thirty or forty Mandarins of various ranks, all the security merchants, Mr. Perry, and myself, with many other persons belonging to the palace—in all, I should suppose, about a hundred and fifty in number.

The doors were shortly thrown open, and we observed a procession issuing from another large house, and crossing a court to the hall we were in. The guard passed on, and presently there appeared the Hoppo, borne in a most magnificent State chair by sixteen men richly dressed; the chair was very splendid, and the Hoppo one of the finest and noblest-looking Chinese I had ever seen, with a remarkably fine black beard. The moment he entered

the hall, every person, except Mr. Perry and myself, threw themselves down as if they had been shot through the head, touched the ground with their forehead, and were up again in a moment—even my old friend Mowqua, though so advanced in years, was down and up again as nimbly as a boy : on my remarking this to him, after the interview was over, his reply was, “Mister Commodore, I very much long time do that custom.”

As the Hoppo approached to Mr. Perry and me, we made him a low bow. I then advanced, with my petition in my hand to his chair, when he desired his bearers to stop, and, having called Mowqua, he enquired by him of me what I wanted ? I said I had a petition, which I was desirous of having the honour to deliver into his own hand. He asked if it was written in Chinese. I replied it was. He then put out his hand and took it from me, saying he was going to visit the Fyane, and that I should have an immediate answer. He gave orders that we should have refreshments, and be conveyed back to the Company's factory in chairs belonging to the palace—made us a *chin-chin* (a complimentary mode of saluting), which was considered by the Chinese present as a mark of great favour towards us—and then passed on out of the palace.

As soon as the Hoppo was gone, we were taken by the Mandarins into another apartment, where several tables were laid, covered with fruit and sweetmeats. I was placed at one table with two Mandarins and Mowqua, Mr. Perry and Howqua at another, with two other Mandarins ; the rest of the security merchants and Mandarins were placed at tables of four, agreeably to the Chinese custom. A handsome dinner was served, with great abundance of hot wine, the produce of China, and, after passing a very pleasant hour, we were put into the State chairs, and carried through the city back to the Company's factory—to the astonishment of all the Chinese, and to the no small satisfaction of Mr. Brown, who had been under much uneasiness on our account.

Next day there was a heavy fine levied on the security merchants—the port-clearance was issued—the fleet despatched—and here ends my story.”

Mr. Hugh Lindsay “whose epitaph,” writes Lord Lindsay, “may be left to the testimony of the hundreds to whom, as Director and Chairman of the East India Company, and as a man to man, he proved himself a father and a friend, and whose heart was, in fact, the seat of every kindly quality, that ‘can grace humanity,” died in April 1844, in his eightieth year. With this announcement may be closed our notice of the agreeable and accomplished family of the “Lindsays in India.” We are mistaken, if the extracts we have given do not induce many of our readers to make acquaintance for themselves with the pleasant volumes from which they are taken. We have necessarily conveyed but a faint impression of the contents of the *Lives of the Lindsays*. We have only followed the family eastward of the Gape. There are many, who will delight to hold communication with them in the bracing air of their native North.

THE KHONDS—ABOLITION OF HUMAN SACRIFICE AND FEMALE INFANTICIDE.

BY REV. DR. DUFF.

1. *Captain Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack.* Calcutta, G. H. Huttman, Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1842.

2. *Various Official Documents (hitherto unpublished.)*

IN our last article on the subject of the Khonds,* we furnished as full an exposition as our limits could well allow, of the leading principles of the systematic plan of operations suggested by Captain Macpherson for the gradual abolition of the Meriah sacrifice among these barbarous people. We also supplied a somewhat detailed account of his first experimental application of these principles, in June 1842, to the two most accessible of the Khond hill tribes of Goomsur; and of the unexpectedly great success of that remarkable experiment. The reports founded on these proceedings were received, with high approbation, by Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Madras in Council; and the plan of operations, whose efficacy, under great disadvantages, had thus been tested and verified, was strongly recommended for adoption to the Supreme Government of India. And there the historic part of our narrative terminated.

Before again resuming it from that point, we may as well refer to the fact, that, soon after the transmission of the Madras despatches to Calcutta, Lord Elphinstone resigned his high office, and was succeeded therein by the Marquis of Tweeddale. The former, as has already repeatedly appeared, had, from the time of the Goomsur war in 1836, bestowed the greatest attention on Khond affairs, and manifested the deepest interest in the abolition of the Meriah sacrifice. His own minutes on the varied subjects brought before him in connection with the civilization generally of the perpetrators of that inhuman rite, indicated at once the head of the statesman and the heart of the philanthropist. And it is but justice to Lord Tweeddale to say, that, on his assuming the reins of Government, he heartily took up the Khond cause. The whole subject, however, being

* "Calcutta Review," No. XV., Art. I.

entirely new to him, he could not be expected, all at once, to apprehend it in all its bearings and relationships, or fully to appreciate either the intrinsic or the relative value of the different measures which had been proposed. Still he entered warmly into the consideration of the general objects contemplated, and gave proof of his earnestness in the matter by embodying his views in a minute of his own, dated the 9th December 1843. In this minute, as we understand, his Lordship advised the establishment of a vigilant police in the districts bordering on the Khond country, to prevent kidnapping and the sale of human victims ; and the trial of kidnappers by a special agent with large discretionary powers. In districts where the heinousness of the crime was well understood, his Lordship would have such criminals tried by the ordinary courts. The race of people called Panwas, who are chiefly concerned in selling victims to the Khonds, should be, when out of the Khond country, placed under surveillance of the police, and not allowed to move without passports. All persons travelling into the Khond country or passing out of it, or lurking near the frontier without ostensible reason, should be apprehended and punished. His Lordship would appoint an agent independent of every one but the Governor, having a corps of guards composed of natives, dressed and disciplined like sepoy. The agents in charge of the police in the districts round the Khond country should be subject to the order of the Khond agent in all matters except as regards the punishment of kidnapping, which should be arbitrary and left to the decision of the district agent.

If this minute did not throw, or rather was not meant to throw, any new light on the perplexed problem of Khond civilization, it at least served to indicate the good will of its author. It virtually seconded the chief measure which was wanting to enable Captain Macpherson to consummate the work so auspiciously begun, by proposing to invest the Khond agent with a power independent of every one but the Governor ; that is, as we understand it, no longer occupying the subordinate dependent ministerial office of head-assistant to the Governor's local agent, but raised to an independent jurisdiction over the Khond country similar to that possessed by the Governor's agent over the lowland districts of Goomsur and Ganjam generally. As to that portion of the minute which is original and peculiar, respecting the establishment of a patrol force, it must suffice to say, on the authority of an officer of high intelligence and much local experience, that "the nature of the country precludes the adoption of any measure of the kind. The countries adjoining the Khond districts belong to indepen-

dent Rajahs, and it would be utterly impossible to introduce a police force into these tracts, without bringing them under the operation of the general regulations—a measure which it would be highly impolitic to adopt."

After the full exposition given in a previous number, of the essential character and central principle of the general plan of operations suggested by Captain Macpherson for the suppression of the rite of human sacrifice in Southern Orissa, it is sufficient to remind the reader, that his leading measure included, first, the complete establishment of the authority of the Government in the two nearest Khond tracts of Goomsur, *chiefly through the administration of justice*, on principles not violently incompatible with Khond ideas and usages; and second, the application of that authority and of every available species of influence to the abolition of the abhorrent rite. It may also be remembered that, in order to found such authority among these tribes *upon the basis of the administration of justice*, the agent suggested the provision of a jurisdiction to decide questions between separate tribes, and questions between branches of tribes, which their own tribunals were unequal to determine—and that the chief aim of his early intercourse with that portion of the Khond population was, to prepare them for the reception of such foreign jurisdiction. Neither can the gratifying extent of his success in this respect be forgotten. His offer to administer justice was gladly accepted by the two great tribes of Bora Mutah and Athara Mutah. His actual administration of it operated like a spell, in relaxing the frost of ancient hereditary prejudices. The iron fetters of an inveterate and awe-inspiring superstition were at once loosened. And the prison doors of a ghostly vassalage were partially thrown open to the admission of principles that might prove the heralds of glad-some light and liberty.

In his report of August 1842, Captain Macpherson was enabled to report to Government, that the whole of the two tribes already named, with the exception of two branches of one of them, had, after long and deliberate discussion, *spontaneously* proffered to relinquish the sacrifice, *mainly on the condition of obtaining protection and justice, and actually pledged themselves accordingly*. The agent had strong reason for believing that the patriarchs and other immediate parties to that pledge were really sincere. But he well knew, at the same time, that they represented a population infinitely divided in opinion with respect to it, and that the motives which influenced them might prove wholly inadequate to produce its *permanent* observance.

It was therefore, as we may readily suppose, with no small anxiety that the agent, when the proper season for renewed operations arrived, re-ascended the Ghâts, early in January 1843. His first inquiries were naturally directed to ascertain the extent to which the voluntarily proffered pledge had been faithfully observed ; or, in any case of reported failure, to trace the exact causes to which it might be attributed. The result very much corresponded to what had been anticipated, and was well calculated to convey a highly favourable impression of the operative effect of the combined application of the different species of authority and influence brought to bear on these naturally wild and untamable races. This result may be best stated in the agent's own words :—

"The people of Bora Mutha stood firm, except a single village, isolated in the low country : which shared in flesh brought from Boad. In Athara Mutha, there were four sacrifices ; one in each of its two unpledged branches, and one in each of two pledged branches. The effect of the pledge was, necessarily to divide each tribe, branch, and village, with some degree of distinctness, into a sacrificing and a non-sacrificing party. In Bora Mutha the latter decidedly prevailed, and included above one-half of the heads of society ; so strong, however, was the minority, that the yearly sacrifice of the tribe was with difficulty prevented by the heads of the branches whose turn it was to afford it.

In Athara Mutha, all who gave the pledge directly, maintained it with all under their influence, and where it was broken, the pledged patriarchs protested against, and immediately reported its infraction. The two unpledged branches and one of the two pledged branches, which sacrificed, alleged that they did so with the express sanction of Sam Bisaye, which was extended to the putting to death of the victim child rescued by the Government, and living in the Khond country upon his express security.

The remaining branch pleaded the example of these three, as in Bora Mutha, there was no common sacrifice of the tribe. The sacrifices were in every case the act of but a portion of the branch, and were performed in the night without ceremony, the victims being buried unshared. There appears to have been in this tribe a decided majority for the sacrifice in the five branches next to Hodzoghoro, and most under the influence of Sam Bisaye ; in nine branches the parties seem to have been nearly equal ; in about seven branches—those to the Southward, bordering upon the non-sacrificing tracts—the weight of influence, or of numbers, was against the sacrifice."

Such was the apparent state of opinion, and such the conduct of the people of these two tracts, in consequence of the operations of the preceding year. Both were of a nature well fitted to encourage the agent to persevere in the course on which he had entered. Crippled he was most sadly by want of power and adequate extent of jurisdiction : but the success which had attended the application of the very limited power he possessed, served to demonstrate that that power had been exerted in the

right direction ; and his purpose now was, by the employment of the same means, to push the advantages he had gained to the uttermost. Accordingly, when he ascended the Ghats in January 1843, and had finished his preliminary inquiries, he re-commenced his favorite office of administering justice. His own account is as follows :—

“Every unsettled question in the tribe of Bora Mutah, and most of those in Athara Mutah—from the latest village quarrel, to the feuds of forgotten origin, were brought to me by earnest suitors. I placed upon my file the cases which seemed strictly proper to it, and referred all others to the native tribunals, making it plain, that I was there not to supersede the existing methods and instruments of justice, but to strengthen them for good, and to supply their defects—and when it plainly appeared, that the law administered was the existing law, and that my object was only to systematize and extend it with a view to order, while the heads of both tribes were my active assessors, and parties to every decree, all apprehension gradually vanished, and the minds of the people went with me as fully as I could desire, and I felt that I acquired distinct authority resting upon the desired basis.

To ascertain and to apply the existing law, in a manner acceptable to these Khonds was necessarily a difficult and anxious task, from the novelty the singularity, and the obscurity of their usages. The discovery of truth, however, was, I believe, as easy as under any circumstances in the history of justice.

In the investigation of 136 cases, which involved every conceivable interest of men well instructed in their rights, and resolved to defend them, there did not occur a single instance of bad faith in the suitors, or of falsehood in the witnesses, save occasionally on the part of Panwas of the borders. There was much trouble in procuring the regular attendance of defendants and of evidence. But the execution of decrees was easy, except in a few instances of highly excited feeling; although, in the settlement of compositions paid in kind, the nicest questions of the value of farm stock, and household gear, and land, continually arose.

To extend the operation of the existing law from a single tribe to these two distinct tribes, animated by a spirit of ancient hostility, was a more difficult task.

The establishment of our authority—of any general authority—plainly implied the subjection of these tribes, in their mutual relations, to law, and that law was of necessity, the existing law of the intercourse of *branches of tribes* because the principles of no other law are understood, or thought just by the Khonds, or appear to be effectual where society is organized as it is amongst them. In a word, the law of compensation for wrongs, as it exists between the branches of a tribe, was to be substituted for the usage of retaliation, which was generally the sole remedy for wrongs between distinct tribes.

Now, some of the strongest and most intractable feelings of these Khonds were necessarily arrayed against their inclusion, upon this principle, within our legal pale : making its accomplishment a work of much practical difficulty, although nearly all the heads of society and men of influence either formally or intelligently assented to it as affording the sole hope of permanent peace. A statement of the methods of its introduction were suited only to a semi-speculative essay—I passed gradually and cautiously from the less to the more difficult questions, and finally

dealt with those which seriously engaged the passions of the tribes; carrying out the change everywhere, and, I believe, to the satisfaction of the people.

I shall state, by way of example, a single case which long resisted settlement. A woman of Athara Mutah who had been sometime betrothed, and for whom the consideration agreed on, had been paid, eloped with a lover of Bora Mutah. Her branch of her tribe demanded her surrender, but it was indignantly refused. The established course then was, to have required her price from the branch of her seducer, when its refusal would have justified war. But without making that demand, a party of the woman's branch slew treacherously a kinsmen of the lover, who had assisted at the elopement.

The kindred of the deceased immediately demanded of me permission to revenge their wrong, or a promise that the Government would revenge it.

The heads of the hostile branch admitted the facts to be as alleged, and simply said, that "should the Government resolve to avenge the life taken,—they submitted—the slayers were in my camp." But the idea of composition, as in the case of a life taken, did not enter into any mind: and when suggested, it was instantly rejected by both parties.

I may observe, in passing, that our criminal law, even if it had been applicable here, would neither have been thought just, nor could have settled this feud. By it at least six persons were guilty of murder; but the punishment of more than one of those persons, would have been held to be iniquitous by the Khonds; and that so clearly, that a claim for compensation for any punishment by us in excess of the natural equivalent, would have lain, in the opinion of all, against Bora Mutah.

Moreover, the law of compensation, combining tribal with individual responsibility is, to judge from the rarity of murders here, and from the apparent effects of capital punishment upon the Khonds in the years 1835 and 1836, and from all the ideas which I now heard expressed by far the most effectual law that could be devised for the prevention of murder from private or from public motives.

Through persuasion and instruction addressed to each branch separately, and to individuals, during nearly two months, the minds of almost all were at length gained. A party of the youth alone being left for retaliation and war. The two hostile branches finding that they stood alone, that which had lost the life, first agreed to accept compensation. The other, after a struggle, during which I pitched my tents amongst its villages, consented to pay it. The burden was so allotted, that the family of the murderers, in the first instance at least, lost their property, while two-thirds fell upon the branch, and the tribe made up what remained; all acknowledged that the precedent established was a triumph for peace. The hostile feelings of the disputants seemed soon to subside. The elders of both parties feasted on a portion of the compensatory buffaloes and swine; while the young men of the branch which had paid them, drove or carried the remainder good humouredly over the border; and several marriages sprung up between the tribes.

The whole number of suits placed upon my file in Bora Mutah and Athara Mutah was 136, of which 102 were decided on their merits, while thirty-four remain undecided, generally on account of the absence of evidence. Of those 102, forty-six were suits between members of the same tribe; in fifty-six the parties were of different tribes.

There were two cases of murder; three related to victim children; five to married women; fourteen to betrothed women; thirty-nine to land; sixty-three to cattle; six were cases of assault, and there were four cases of robbery.

There were ninety-six decisions for plaintiffs, six for defendants, and some of these were special."

In addition to these judicial decisions, it may be stated that the agent was now enabled to release from confinement the two patriarchs, whom for the sake of peace, he had imprisoned in the July preceding. The object of their detention had been completely effected. Their liberation produced the best feelings, and they soon enrolled themselves amongst his most useful allies. As a conclusive evidence of the manner in which the general opinion approved of their treatment, the agent states, that, happening to escape from their confinement, some months before, the chiefs of Athara Mutah, who had been parties to their detention, rose unbidden to recapture them, and sent them in with their families. Throughout the whole of these proceedings, the only sources, besides the administration of justice, from which he derived authority were persuasion and personal influence. It now became an object of great importance to watch the result of all these operations, in their bearing on the subject of the abolition of the Meriah sacrifice. The following is the agent's own statement:—

"After those operations—the non-sacrificing majority in Bora Mutah seemed to include all the men of influence with very few exceptions, but the minority, although much reduced, was not insignificant. The last seven victims in the possession of this tribe were brought in to me.

In Athara Mutah, nearly all the patriarchs and many others of the unpledged branches, and of the divisions of the pledged branches, which sacrificed, fully pledged themselves; and there seemed to be in it, as in Bora Mutah, a great and gratifying change of feeling. This tribe brought in to me no less than eighty-seven victims, almost all of them from the four branches which had sacrificed. But one division of it, at least, is far from being completely gained. The cases of sacrifice were these:

1. Bissinghia, a pledged branch, sacrificed on account of the ravages of a tiger. The patriarch who had given the pledge, protested so earnestly against its breach, that the rite was delayed until the sanction of Sam Bisaye was twice obtained. This branch, I may add, was one of the parties to the difficult question of "a life" between the two tribes, detailed above,—I found the people distant and alarmed; but through the influence acquired in the settlement of the civil question, the head of the sacrificing party became my most firm ally, and the chief opponent of the sacrifice.

2. In Doringhia, a pledged branch, a sacrifice on account of sickness was performed against the will of two patriarchs who had given the pledge. The apology pleaded, was the example of three branches. The victim was a woman pregnant by the son of a village patriarch, who attempted unsuccessfully to escape with her into the non-sacrificing tract of Degi. The sacrificing portion of this branch has pledged itself and sent in its victims.

3. Loheringhia, which, like these two branches, had little or no communication with the Government, gave no pledge, and sacrificed a child with the sanction of Sam Bisaye. It has now pledged itself and given up its victims.

4. The case of Gottinghia, an unpledged branch, was most embarrassing. The victim was a child—one of the three children rescued with their victim's mother who had been entrusted to a Khond of that branch to bring up, upon Sam Bisaye's becoming formally security for its safety. The guardian pleaded that Sam Bisaye, who had given him the child, had most fully and especially authorized its death, which relieved him, in the sight of all, from responsibility.

Of the remaining Khond tracts of Goomsur, and those immediately beyond them—

1. Hodzoghoro, under Sam Bisaye, has held absolutely aloof; it is full of victims, and has lately sacrificed. The health of my people most unfortunately made it impossible for me to visit it.

2. After communicating for two months with the Khond and Hindu heads of Tentilighur, I succeeded, beyond my expectations, in inducing them to declare themselves against the sacrifice, and to send in their victims, eighteen in number.

3. I communicated in like manner with Chokapad, the remaining Khond tract of Goomsur. The most influential of its Khond and Hindu heads promised that the sacrifice should be discontinued. But I soon after rescued a victim almost from under the axes of the immolators; but with very doubtful advantage, as the disappointed god was immediately gratified by flesh brought from Boad.

4. In the Khond tracts of the Chinna Kimeedy zemindary, immediately to the south of Athara Mutah, the slaughter of victims in the months of January and February was very great. In Mahasinghi alone 24 victims suffered within a few days.

5. In the portion of the Boad zemindary next to Goomsur, festivals of sacrifice were held every where, and my camp was visited daily by agonized parents imploring me to rescue their children."

Such was the leading measure which Captain Macpherson was enabled partially to execute in these tracts, and such were its gratifying results. Confidence of opinion, with respect to the future, would but prove profound ignorance. And the agent indulged in no such presumptuous confidence. He conceived it, however, to be established, and with good reason, that he had not over-estimated the readiness of the Khonds to place themselves under the authority of the British Government for the sake of peace, security, and order. He conceived, moreover, that the varied results now recorded, clearly indicated that he had in no way exaggerated our power to confer upon them, through the dispensation of justice, solid and acceptable benefits; nor the force of persuasion addressed to some of the leading ideas of their superstition; nor the power of personal influence acquired through intimate intercourse with them. And, considering these and the other secondary means which were available to be wholly adequate to the end, if authority should be given for their free and energetic use, he perceived satisfactory ground for the hope that the object proposed might be ultimately accomplished. As to the incompleteness, in some respects, of the results already obtained, he had no hesitation in

submitting to Government what he believed to be a plain and sufficient cause—a cause, too, which involved in it the ground of serious apprehension with reference to the future security of the work. The subject is thus distinctly propounded by the agent himself:—

“The critical act of these operations, in one respect, the very exponent of their spirit in the sight both of the tribes, which were their immediate object, and of the population beyond, was the treatment of the pledged and unpledged branches of Athara Mutah which sacrificed, and that of Sam Bisaye alleged to have sanctioned their sacrifices.

Now, I had not authority to deal conclusively with these questions, nor could I possibly assume it with respect to the latter of them, for I could not hazard the consequences of a reversal of my judgment on it. Viewed judicially—it was doubtful if Sam Bisaye's participation in sacrifices, under existing arrangements, was a penal act; and if it was, I could not possibly say what value tribunals, having no knowledge of circumstances, and no experience of Khond testimony, would assign to it opposed to other testimony again.

A *formal* enquiry to afford ground to the Government for his removal from authority, and from the Khond country, involved, like commitment, an immediate expression of opinion; but the effects of the non-affirmation of that opinion upon these people, to whom our system of graduated authority is necessarily unintelligible, would have been to put an end to all confidence in agents of the Government. There was besides, the consideration, that the Government was about to declare a new law, and a new general plan of operations—and that the displacement of Sam Bisave, involved other changes, which should be made, if possible, in subordination to the new general measure, and if possible, by the officer charged with its execution. Thus unempowered to determine this question, and well assured that the consequences of a semblance of a conflict of authorities would be more prejudicial than any that could spring from the antagonism of this misplaced old man, I was compelled to avoid it, to leave the feelings and the faith of these Khonds subjected to a severe and unfair strain; to point to the future to those who demanded enquiry for their own justification, or for the settlement of men's minds, and the prevention of future delusions,* and to trust that the work could be sustained, until the power necessary to carry it out effectually, should be given.

I could determine the question with respect to the two tribes.—Their general situation, made the punishment of Khond parties to the sacrifice in them inexpedient, upon these plain considerations.

It appeared that by the pressure of authority derived from the dispensation of justice, and through persuasion, and by the use of personal influence, to the entire exclusion of coercive means, distinct and encouraging progress was made both in the two tribes and at some points beyond them. That no party directly pledged had broken faith. That there had been no thought of dissimulation, nor concealment, nor fraud,—That nearly all were directly or indirectly pledged for the future—That 124 victims were

* It was, for example, given out by Sam Bisaye, amongst other gross fictions—that the Government had promised to make me farmer of taxes in the Khond country, to be assessed by myself, when I should put down the sacrifice. He has also made the monstrous delusion to be widely credited, that he has now received permission from the agent to sanction a limited number of sacrifices, generally stated at six.

voluntarily delivered up,—That the general state of feeling was most satisfactory.—That I had the completest evidence not derived from *formal* enquiry, that the chief local officer of Government was the head of the sacrificing party, and had sanctioned three of the four sacrifices, exonerating from blame, in the opinion of all, the other parties concerned. With respect to the other tribes of Goomsur, and to the unvisited tribes beyond, the prime object was, plainly, to communicate to them a new and simple conception of the character of our power,—the idea that its objects are purely benevolent, and that its beneficial influences are acknowledged wherever it is felt. There was proof that some progress had been made in communicating this impression—and the absence of all semblance of coercion within the two tribes was, obviously, most important to its extension and confirmation.”

Here the evil genius of Sam Bisaye again meets us. Indeed, at every turn, it appeared that his sinister influence was the main-stay of the Meriah sacrifice, and the principal obstacle to the full success of the Government measures for its abolition. Two months later, or early in the month of April, when preparing his report for Government, intelligence reached the agent, that Sam Bisaye had “succeeded in inducing the Khonds of Athara Mutha nearest to him, to sacrifice.” The delusion by which he was credibly reported to have prevailed was the preposterously false pretence, “that he was invested by the Madras Governor’s Agent or Commissioner, Mr. Bannerman, with authority distinct from and independent of that of the head assistant, Captain Macpherson—and that to the former, and him only, was he responsible for the sacrifices which he sanctioned.” This was only one of a number of fictions which neither the enacted co-operation with Captain Macpherson, nor the most careful adoption of measures of precaution or of counteraction by Mr. Bannerman, could possibly prevent or render harmless. As the result of extensive and anxious inquiry and observation, both recently and during his former residence in these districts, Captain Macpherson had become perfectly convinced, from superabundant and constantly accumulating evidence, that Sam Bisaye was, and had all along been, the great supporter of the sacrifice in these tracts,—that he formally sanctioned the three sacrifices in Athara Mutha in the previous year, one of the victims being a child of the State, living there upon his express security,—and that, confident in impunity from his not having been then punished, he had since laboured by every art, and at length successfully and in a very serious degree, to counteract the objects of Government—that very Government, to whose leniency and generosity he was wholly indebted for his life when a rebel, and for his exaltation and prosperity as a pardoned man. Who, then, need wonder that the agent’s forbearance should now be wholly exhausted—and

that he should find himself to be literally driven and shut up into the conclusion that the only prompt and effectual method of putting an end to this disgraceful state of things—the only adequate measure for the retrieval of what was lost, and the maintenance of what remained for the future, was Sam Bisaye's "deprivation of office and his permanent removal," as well as "the temporary removal of his three eldest sons from the Khond country." This course he deemed amply sufficient to answer every desirable end; and if the occasion of carrying it out should be duly improved, impressions of the highest value, both immediate and permanent, might be made upon all the Khond tribes with which we were in communication. The necessity of resorting to such a course he urged anew with augmenting earnestness. "I see no alternative," says he, "between the immediate execution of the measure proposed, and a very grievous loss of ground of high promise, hardly gained, and the recovery of which, from the mental character of this people, must be extremely difficult." He again shewed, how the most faithless and pernicious deceptions which this treacherous man had practised with reference to the Government, made his punishment and removal imperative. He clearly shewed how his displacement, with a few simple arrangements, would produce no sort even of temporary confusion in any quarter; and how results the most important would flow from the careful exhibition of his guilt with its punishment, before the assembled heads of tribes.

But with a case so peculiar, springing up in circumstances so anomalous and strange, the established law and ordinary legal tribunals were altogether incompetent to deal, or to deal with the remotest chance of accomplishing any good end. The head assistant himself was armed with no authority effectually to deal with it. All that he could do was to represent it in the strongest light to his immediate superior, Mr. Bannerman, who, as the Governor's agent, might interpose to good purpose. But living as he did at a distance from the actual scene of things, and comparatively ignorant of the extreme peculiarities of the case, and consequently not fully alive to its immediate and pressing urgencies, it could scarcely be expected that he would be prepared to act, with sufficient promptitude and energy, in the summary and autocratic way required—a way which, overleaping all the technicalities of legal form, would yet amply realize all the conditions of essential equity. Hence the emphatic earnestness with which Captain Macpherson thus concludes his report:—

"In conclusion, I venture to add, that every day's experience adds

strength to the conviction,—That summary power vested in a single local authority, and exerted in the simplest manner, is alone applicable to these Khonds and to those immediately connected with them, from the necessary state of their minds, and from all the circumstances by which they are surrounded,—That upon any other principle of management, they will become, first perplexed, then rapidly distrustful and unfaithful, and finally uncontrollable—it being remembered, that their ignorance and their credulity have no bounds,—That the progress of our operations will make it the interest of many like Sam Bisaye to deceive them, and that distinct authorities necessarily imply the existence of distinct sets of native public servants, and of intrigues which no degree of vigilance or of coincidence of opinion in the principals can prevent. I very anxiously expect the determination of the Government."

The report which concluded in this earnest strain was dated the 12th April 1843. It was forthwith sent in to Mr. Bannerman; as the writer was still only his head-assistant for Khond affairs, and armed with little or no independent power of his own. It was this which rendered the triumph of his achievement so remarkable in itself and so creditable to its author. For if,—when all but officially powerless, he succeeded so admirably well by mere dint of the credit which he gained, and the confidence which he inspired, by his own tact and aptitude in administering justice, in the pure spirit of equity and in general accordance with Khond ideas and usages, accompanied by nothing but moral suasion and varied personal influence,—what might he not have achieved, had he been possessed of power to give full effect to *all* his suggested measures without any fear or risk of reversal? This was the power for which he so urgently pled as imperatively demanded by the immediate exigencies of the existing state of things, and as demonstratively necessary to ensure the desired consummation. No wonder, then, that on this point, he "very anxiously expected the determination of Government."

In the interesting and important report, the leading features of which he have now exhibited, several other topics were introduced, which it may be well briefly to notice. The author records his farther observations respecting the improved line of road by the Courminghia ghât to Sohnpore. He refers to his still discouraging experience of his climate of the hill country. He entered what was believed to be the most healthy tract in it in the beginning of January—the very best month. His people were well housed at the first halting place, and afterwards most carefully protected by tents and grass huts, warmly clothed, and generally enabled to sleep off the ground. Notwithstanding all these advantages, above thirty-five per cent. of the party suffered from fever. And it was impossible, with reference to the future, to remain beyond a month. The season being particu-

larly favourable, the cases were not so severe as those of the preceding year ; but, although he retired straight to the coast, all who were attacked, continued long in the state of invalids. Such renewed experience seemed to point to effectual medical aid as being indispensable in the farther prosecution of the work. But, apart from the necessity of such aid to the servants of Government, it now appeared to the agent to be extremely desirable *as a means of influence with the Khonds*. They attribute all sickness to the displeasure of the gods, and their remedies are propitiations, indicated by the priests. It was natural for them, therefore, seriously to demand, how they should obtain safety, when by the relinquishment of their great propitiatory rite of human sacrifice, they abjured the previously appointed means of ensuring health ? Being informed of the dependence of civilized men upon medical art, the most intelligent and sincerely disposed to abandon the sacrifice, actually entreated that they might be enabled to substitute it for priestly art. To shew his wish to comply with their desire, the agent established a Hindu doctor above the Ghâts, but he sickened and came away.

The very simple cures performed by his dresser had excited much admiration ; and it appeared to him, that a surgeon, skilled in eye surgery, and who should introduce vaccination, and labour to acquire influence, while he took a part in the general work, would be an invaluable instrument.

Another topic adverted to in the report, was the all-important one of the *native agency* available for such a peculiar service. On this subject, he writes as follows :—

“ I believe that there exists but a single Hindu, who is one of my chief instruments, sufficiently well instructed to comprehend the objects of the Government, and who is master of the Khond language. A brother of this person understands, but does not speak that language, but he will be a most important aid.

One Mussulman comprehends our objects, and influences the Khonds with great intelligence and tact, but knows very little of their tongue. Two other servants promise very well, and two more are learning. And I have several very efficient subordinates in and about the Khond country. Thus, although the formation of instruments has been my first object, the five persons above mentioned—some suffering in health—are yet alone available.

I have had many others on my list, but they have died, or been disabled, or turned out unfit, or left me for the barest subsistence. The service requires much courage, and intelligence, and freedom from prejudice.

All necessarily regard it with dread, very many with disgust—and it has the inducements neither of desired influence nor of unauthorized gain—still I do not despair, through the gradual establishment of a proper and *special* system, of remuneration.

In the meantime, it is plain that I can now act but at a single point at a time, and that the loss of my present instruments would be nearly irreparable, as I may add, would be the effects of entrusting any important part in this work to any but well instructed instruments.”

On the 2nd *September* 1843, Captain Macpherson again addressed the Governor's agent, Mr. Bannerman.

He commences by reminding him, that about *the middle of April preceding*, he had the honor of submitting to him for the information of the Most Noble the Governor in Council, a statement of the measures which he had then recently executed in the Khond country, with their general results, and his views respecting certain exigencies connected with them ; but that, *as yet, he had not been honored by any indication of the views of the Government relative to those operations and exigencies*, or to any future general measures contemplated towards the Khond country, in consequence of his urgent representations. Such being the case, he trusted he might, without impropriety, on the approach of the brief annual season for visiting the Khond country, lay anew before the Government his impressions as to the state of things in those portions of it which had been chiefly affected by his operations.

He began by briefly recapitulating the course of past events. In June 1842, he had visited some of the Goomsur Khond districts, chiefly on an embassy of inquiry. He did not possess the authority, which, in his own opinion, and apparently in the judgment of Government, was necessary to the accomplishment of the main work. But, having long satisfied his own mind that the first step towards its successful issue was the acquisition of authority, derived mainly from supplying the chiefest want of the Khond population, *viz.*, the want of justice, he set himself zealously to the task of administering that most precious commodity. The result astonished himself. The two tribes of Goomsur which were best known, most under influence, and most accessible, freely and intelligently consented to place themselves in practical subjection to the Government, on the condition of receiving its protection and justice. And their most influential chiefs, with a few exceptions, yielding to the suggestions of self-interest and the various arguments addressed to them, voluntarily pledged themselves and all whom they could control, to relinquish the rite of human sacrifice. There was, however, as might be expected, a numerous party opposed to the change. Those, therefore, who signed the pledge, stipulated expressly that the Government should support them with its whole authority in making this difficult and trembling movement towards so radical, and in their estimation, so peculiarly religious, a change—plainly protesting that, unless the Government should punish all violators of the pledge then given, as well as prevent sacrifices under the authority of its own chief native servant, Sam Bisaye, their engagement could not be pro-

perly, if at all, fulfilled. Accordingly, in his report of August 1842, Captain Macpherson earnestly pointed out to the Government the necessity of investing him, as agent for the Khonds, with the requisite authority to give full effect to the measures so auspiciously begun.

That authority, including an extended jurisdiction over territories in the Bengal as well as the Madras presidency, could only emanate from the Supreme Government of India. An application to this effect, backed by the strong recommendation of the Madras Governor and Council, had been laid before the Supreme Government. But in January 1843, when Captain Macpherson again ascended the Ghats, no reply had been received—the terrific Kabul catastrophe having, in all probability, driven the Khonds and their sacrifices out of the head of the retiring Governor-General, Lord Auckland. The necessary consequence was, that the Khond agent had to re-appear among these wild tribes without one particle of authority more than he had before. His position, therefore, was a trying one. What was he to do?—tell the Khonds, that as his Government had not conferred on him the needful authority, he could and would do nothing? No; that were tantamount to abandoning all that had been gained in the past, and sounding the death-knell of all hope for the future. The agent judged and acted more wisely—more manfully—more heroically. To him it seemed certain that the feelings and ideas which had arisen among the Khonds on the subject of their civil relation to the Government, and on the question of the sacrifice, from his former communications with them, prescribed a farther advance towards our objects, under penalty of the loss of most important vantage-ground—that the primary measure which he contemplated must be regarded as naturally the first step of any general plan of operations, and seemingly coincident with the general views and wishes of Government—that the former resolutions of Government appeared to authorize the expectation that a Khond agent would be invested at no distant time, with the necessary authority—and lastly, that he might confide that, when practical success should establish the truth and sufficiency of his views, the occasional support which might be required for the maintenance of the ground, would not be withheld.

Sustained by such reasonable and judicious considerations, the agent, assisted by such instruments as he had been enabled to prepare, proceeded to act on the principles which he had already so often indicated—combining the process of the practical dispensation of justice to the two tribes, with the direct

application to them of the general authority thence acquired, and the influence derived from every other available source, for the accomplishment of the desired religious change.

The result, as we have already seen, surpassed his own most sanguine expectations. A great movement began, which gradually acquired force and distinctness. The estimate formed by these tribes of the value of the justice dispensed, which relieved society from the accumulation of public and private questions by which it was distracted, was higher than could well have been imagined; and the direct authority derived from its administration was, therefore, greater than could well have been expected capable of being realized by one, who, in an official point of view, was comparatively powerless. It was enough to redeem the ancient story of Dejóecs from the imputation of belonging to the legendary or the fabulous. But the justice, so skilfully administered and so cordially appreciated, was not less important, when regarded as a means of subjecting the people to the influences best calculated to sway them. The adherents and the opponents of the religious change sought it with equal ardour. But, none could sue for it, without full exposure, in some measure at the discretion of its dispensers, to all the general and personal influences which could be devised to promote the extension and the confirmation of the movement.

The soundness of the principles on which the agent acted was now fully verified by experience. He practically acquired the power necessary to the objects proposed, resting upon the desired basis;—upon the newly implanted conviction of general benefit arising from the civil relation established between the two tribes and the Government;—upon the communicated impression of special advantages derived from that connection by particular classes, or by individuals, or by the class of chiefs;—and lastly, upon general ideas and opinions relating to the sacrifice, and wholly new to the Khonds,—such as, that we and all other peoples had also once practised that sacrifice, believing it to be divinely established and necessary; but had all abandoned it, and had only in consequence prospered the more; so that the Khonds must of necessity defer, with respect to that rite, not to the will of the Government only, but to the universal will and experience of mankind. Under the felt experience of these advantages, and the growing influence of these opinions, idea and feelings, the circle of the movement was gradually extended; and not fewer than *one hundred and twenty-four* victims were voluntarily delivered up to the agent. No slight or unsubstantial proof of downright sincerity this, verily—when we

reflect on the value of these victims, to so poor a people when viewed merely in the light of saleable or exchangeable property. A Meriah dealer in the neighbouring Khond district of Kimeddy, who had about sixty victims in his possession, alarmed by the agent's proximity, sold, about that time, thirty of them for about 100 Rs. each. So that, at this rate, the two tribes of Athara Mutah and Bora Mutah in Goomsur, voluntarily surrendered property to the value of *ten or twelve thousand rupees!*

That these general results, at once so remarkable and so gratifying, were without any drawbacks or abatements, the agent was never led to allege. On the contrary, in his report of April 1843, he distinctly declared that he considered the movement, in its very nature, as necessarily, to a certain extent, instinctive, impulsive, and superficial. But powerful causes of change were at work; and it could not be denied that some really confirmed and much unconfirmed change was produced. The great object, therefore, was to strengthen still more and more, the footing which had been already gained, whether fully or only partially confirmed.

In order to this, it was necessary to review the past. Four sacrifices, as already noted, had taken place in one of the two tribes, since the pledge was given in June 1842. The Khonds, who were the immediate parties to these sacrifices, were all virtually unpledged; and they were, moreover, exonerated, in a great measure, in the sight of all, by the fact of their having acted *under the immediate authority of Sam Bisaye*. This native officer of the Government had even sanctioned the sacrifice of a rescued child—a ward of the State, entrusted to his care. He was regarded by all as the head and champion of the sacrificing party; while he and his son did not hesitate to avow, in discussing the subject of the pledge with them, that they had both sacrificed all their lives, up to that time; and that there was a large number of victims in the Khond tract immediately under their control.

Here, then, it was that the agent was made keenly to feel his want of the requisite power to deal summarily and effectually with this case. The proper course of the Government, beyond all question, would now have been, to manifest its will, promptly and emphatically, by the public and exemplary punishment of Sam Bisaye. This the Khonds fully expected to see done, when Captain Macpherson re-appeared amongst them in January 1843. And had he then been armed with the requisite power, it cannot be doubted that its exercise in deposing Sam Bisaye from the office which he so foully and treacherously

desecrated, would have exerted the most salutary influence. It would have secured, beyond all ordinary risk or peril, the ground already gained, while it would have cleared the way in advance to the attainment of the most important results. But Captain Macpherson unhappily had not the needful power. The foundations had been well laid ; a goodly structure of massive pillars had risen over them ; the projecting sides of the connecting arch had been well advanced ; but he lacked the power of placing the keystone in the centre which would have consolidated the whole. And lacking this power, he was too prudent to take it upon him to commit an act, which, however imperatively demanded alike by justice and humanity, was liable to be called in question or even reversed—a result in his estimation, big with disaster, in as much as it would exhibit to the simple and ignorant Khonds a conflict of authorities which would not fail, in the issue, to prove fatal to their confidence in the Government and its accredited agents. And as any attempted explanation of his real situation would have been utterly unintelligible to such a people—indeed, would have appeared as nothing better than a subterfuge—he wisely resolved simply to direct his perplexed audience to look hopefully to the future for the solution of all their doubts and the extrication from all their difficulties. He strongly exhorted them faithfully to adhere to their pledge, and as strongly denounced the violators of it—assuring them that, in due time, the former would meet with their due recompense, and the latter with their merited retribution. But, notwithstanding the consummate skill and address, with which the agent had conducted the whole affair, the shrewdness of some of the old Khond chiefs quickly penetrated through the veil. His defect of power or of judgment, in sparing the old traitor, Sam Bisaye, appeared but too glaring to some of them. And the secret, unforced convictions of not a few, soon found expression and embodiment in the pithy graphic words of the old chief, who bluntly exclaimed, “instead of cutting down the lofty tamarind tree in his path, he beats the shrubs which bend before him.”

The agent had been earnestly hoping soon for the requisite authority, either for himself or some one else, under the new general measures contemplated by the Government. He had also fondly cherished the hope that Sam Bisaye would hesitate, or rather, would not presume or dare openly to attack his work at once : or if, emboldened by past impunity, he should venture so far, that it would be practicable, with such trained instruments as could now be employed above the Ghats, to resist his efforts for a time, or render their malign influences nugatory.

In these hopes, however, the agent was doomed to experience the most grievous and mortifying disappointment. The breaking health of himself and his party having prevented him from remaining above the Ghats to strengthen and sustain his work, so long as he had intended and wished, he was constrained to leave the hills in February. And no sooner did he come down, than Sam Bisaye went up, with an enormous lie in his right hand. But with him this was nothing new. It was only a return, under new and aggravated circumstances, to his old trade of base deception and wicked artifice. Returning direct from the agent to the Governor, Captain Macpherson's superior, with whom he had lately communicated personally, he had the effrontery to announce to the bewildered Khonds, that he was by him authorized to sanction sacrifices for the year. And, by way of proving his commission to the Khonds, he boldly directed a sacrifice on the land of one of his own sons. He then assailed each chief individually, by the most artful representations, and filled the country anew with rumours and statements very skilfully contrived to deceive, alarm, and bewilder the people—ever appealing to the indisputable facts of the perfect impunity of himself and all concerned in the sacrifices of the previous year; the exemption of his tribe alone from the necessity of delivering up its victims; and the continued possession of his jaghir in the low country, undiminished by a single cubit.

Nor were these sinister exhortations wholly ineffectual. In spite of resistance offered by able instruments; and after a severe struggle between the two Khond parties, two fresh victims were sacrificed with the sanction of Sam Bisaye, in the tract of the tribe of Athara Mutah, nearest to his country. The other tribe abstained from sacrificing, as in the former year; but the sacrificing party in it ventured to share in the flesh of the hapless victims butchered by their neighbours.

If, before, all had expected to witness an instant and unequivocal manifestation of the mind of the Government, with redoubled anxiety was the expectation cherished now; after so public and insolent a defiance of the reiterated deprecations of its agent. But, alas, no such manifestations of the determinate will of the Government was immediately forthcoming. The agent himself was left wholly in the dark as to its intentions or plans; so that he was still in a state of utter helplessness, devoid of all power to execute any measure for the arrest or the reparation of the evil so rapidly in progress. The sacrificing party remained for a time after the sacrifices in fearful suspense—hourly dreading the arm of vengeance which their

own sense of guilt represented as uplifted to smite them. But when not hours merely, but days and weeks and months passed away, and yet no descending stroke experienced, or even seen to be any longer threatening to descend upon them—they rallied, took courage, enacted the bravo, and exulted with insolent triumph. The situation of the chiefs and of all others, who, in reliance upon the support of the Government, had led the reforming movement, was, as may be imagined, in the highest degree distressing. Yea more, when it was now positively seen that the will of the Government, as represented by the agent, might, with such freedom from all hazards, be set at nought in one respect, it was naturally and almost necessarily inferred that it might equally be set at nought in all other respects. And in order to turn this inference into a reality, several parties actually proceeded, with the greatest boldness and assurance, to re-possession themselves by force, of lands that had been formally adjudicated to others. Fortunately, however, it was in the agent's power promptly and effectually to vindicate his *civil* decrees, and thus to restore some measure of confidence to the well-disposed, as well as inspire salutary general impressions among all.

After having, in this way, recapitulated the leading events of the previous eighteen months, the agent concluded his report, or rather appeal of the 2nd September, 1843, in the following urgent and emphatic terms:—

“My efforts, since my reference to the Government in April, have been almost exclusively directed to maintain confidence in the face of these facts, in the Khonds, and in my perplexed instruments, that the Government will, in due season, unequivocally manifest its will, and vindicate its authority. Personal communication with the former, who expect from me explanatory acts, seems inexpedient while I can adopt no general course.

I beg permission, now, to represent most respectfully to the Government, that these tribes expect, that its mind will certainly be made plain to them without fail at the established time of visiting their country about two months hence. If a distinct line of procedure shall then be adopted and acted upon with cautious energy with respect to all,—the sacrificing and the non-sacrificing, the pledged and unpledged, and the broken pledged and Sam Bisaye, I confide that what is lost can be retrieved.

If this be not done, it is not apparent to me, upon what grounds, the degree of confidence of the Khonds in the Government which is necessary to this work, is to be required or maintained.

It is for the wisdom of the Government to determine what shall be done. I have nothing to offer in addition to the views which I have had the honor to submit as to the special measures and the general measures which seem to me to be required.

I humbly submit, that experience has established the truth and sufficiency of the general principles of procedure which I have suggested. The authority which I indicated as necessary to the Khond agent, would

have perfectly sufficed to prevent, and would be effectual to remedy the existing evils.

What I conceive is practically to be apprehended from delay in arresting these evils is this,—lest the character of these Khonds shall suffer permanent deterioration,—from their generally violating their engagements with the Government,—lest their distinctive truthfulness and good faith shall give way under the extreme and unfair strain to which they are subjected,—and lest a general confirmed feeling of distrust of the Government shall arise.

These tribes have been placed, through influences addressed to them by us, in a situation of the most trying distraction betwixt the conflicting claims of solemn pledges and of religious duty.

While the authority of the Government, stipulated for, and depended on, as a supporting and directing power during this ordeal, has been, on the contrary, but an additional source of difficulty and perplexity—a confounding doubt of which the solution has twice been expected in vain.

The considerations that veracity and fidelity to public engagements and implicit confidence in the Government, on the part of this people, are the foundations of our hope of accomplishing the objects proposed; that the risk of permanent injury to or loss of these is eminent; and that the actual expectations of these tribes, formed and sustained with difficulty for the third time, are, as above stated:—these considerations, I beg leave to submit, appear to determine, that the latest limit of delay in putting an end to the present state of things—which can be safely contemplated—is, the annual period of meeting the Khonds, adverted to.

I confide, that the Government regards in a spirit of indulgent consideration, my conduct in this very difficult service, and the plain urgency with which I venture to attract attention to its exigencies at a most critical stage of its progress.

The work is one which cannot stand still, and which can, I believe, at this stage, advance only by the continuous application of the influences—the successful operation of which has been unfortunately interrupted.

I am not, at present, I most respectfully submit, sufficiently informed of the intentions of the Government, to enable me to adopt any course which I can confidently regard as conducive to the objects proposed."

Such was the earnest, yet calm and dignified strain in which Captain Macpherson addressed the Madras Government through his immediate superior, Mr. Bannerman, about *five months after* he had represented the urgent grounds of his *extreme anxiety* to receive *without any delay*, the instructions that were necessary, alike for the maintenance of the work achieved, and the guidance and efficiency of his future proceedings! During these dismal months was he left painfully to brood alone over his anxieties, without being favoured with so much as an acknowledgment of the receipt of his April report. What could be the cause of this ominous silence and long delay?—silence, when the official organ of Government might well have been expected to speak out as with the voice of a trumpet, pealing aloud with no uncertain sound—delay, when every hour's procrastination tended essentially to weaken the righteous, and proportionately to strengthen the unrighteous, cause?

For if, even in April, he had such strong grounds for anxiety, how must these have been increased by every day's subsequent delay? The friendly Khonds naturally expected that the agent would act instantly in the manner required; and by the least delay in not acting, he ran the risk of losing or forfeiting for ever their confidence. And if once all confidence in him was lost, then, farewell to all farther progress in the great and good work already so auspiciously begun, and so unexpectedly advanced. Nor was it the least painful part of the business that, in consequence of the delay, his chief native assistants, Baba and Sunderah, were sorely disheartened. They were, in fact, beside themselves; and it was by a great effort, that they were kept in a reasonable state of mind—not despairing of the future utterly! How could they help indulging in the gloomiest forebodings?—Their great antagonist, Sam Bisaye, Lord of the Ascendant—permitting sacrifices in disaffected districts under the pretended sanction of the Governor's agent;—the distraction of the Khonds knowing no bounds;—all the non-sacrificing people flat on their faces in the dust—in many parts of the country, afraid of their lives, in many, maltreated;—the agent's emissaries unable to go into the tracts under Sam Bisaye's influence, and his own inability effectually to interpose, at such a crisis, seen to be ruinous; since, in the estimation of the people, it seemed to seal Sam's pretensions as authentic;—and such being the strength of the impression generated by Sam's apparently uncontrolled power and the agent's apparently demonstrated impotency, that one of the stoutest Khond allies of the latter actually sent down to him, to request the *restoration* of a victim which he had voluntarily given up—that he too might now have his share in the general jubilee! To be thus obliged to stand helplessly by, and see the fair foundation which, with so much anxious toil, he had recently laid, breaking away, stone by stone, must have proved a source of grief and anguish beyond what mere words can ever express. It was enough to break the spirits of any man, unless he were fraught with the resolute and unconquerable energy which is ever the distinguishing characteristic of those who spontaneously embark on a great and noble enterprize, with a keen appreciation of its greatness and nobility, and a calm yet enthusiastic determination to allow themselves to be scared away by no dangers, and baffled by no difficulties. We can only feebly picture to ourselves the agent's forlorn position when left solitarily to brood over the stunning hopelessness of his cause; without a single friend in his neighbourhood to enter into his views, or sympathise with him in his feelings of pain and disappointment. And thus day passed

after day, week after week, and month after month—and yet not one seasonable word of promise or counsel from the Government!—his adherents distracted—his foes tripping, and himself becoming the subject of pity to some, and the butt of insolent scorn and contempt to others! Daily, and almost hourly, for the long dragging period of four or five months, may we fancy him holding sad soliloquy, saying, within his own secret chambers of imagery, “Why this long, long delay? What can be the cause of this unbroken silence, this mysterious secrecy? Does the Government disapprove of my measures? Then, why not plainly say so, that I may at once abandon a post, which, without its confidence and approval, I cannot hold with honor or any rational prospect of success? Does it require any farther explanation or information? Then, why not tell me, that it may instantly be furnished? Or, is it that they are engaged in taking Bannerman’s opinions upon all my suggestions, there being no sort of communication between him and me? Or, are they waiting for orders from head quarters in Bengal, on receipt of which they will notify and set agoing their new plan? Or, is it that the new Governor-General (Lord Ellenborough) has about him a new set of secretaries, to whom the Khond work and the feelings of any engaged in such a work, are totally incomprehensible? But, be the real cause what it may, why at least does not the Madras Government send me some acknowledgment of my report? Why not speak out, one way or other? Why continue me in a position, so anomalous in itself, so distressing to my own mind, so ruinous to my work, so utterly inexplicable to friend and foe? Why not, in a word, at once deliver me from a state of such unnecessary apprehension and doubt, torture and agony?” But, tormented though he must have been, from without and from within, he nevertheless unwaveringly persevered—hoping against hope—maintaining the manly and dauntless attitude of unshaken courage to all around—condescending to the infantine conceptions and foibles of his savage friends—combating their doubts—solving their scruples—and dissipating their fears, by the prompt appliance of every expedient, which a fertile imagination could suggest, or a ready ingenuity contrive. In this way, by almost incredible exertions, in the midst of great suffering alike of mind and body, he strove to uphold his own influence and the credit of a declining cause:—

“It is indeed,” wrote he in a letter to a friend, dated 20th June, with a sight of which we have been favoured, “it is indeed trying to be treated thus,—but no treatment from any thing human can affect my conduct, with such an object in view, so long as there be any rational hope of accom-

plishing it. I have been labouring hard—have had many of my hill people, Khonds included, down here, and have diffused ideas, and made demon-strations which are bringing the minds of all into a state more fit to be acted on as I desire, than I could have hoped so soon: and I am still arranging and contriving for a grand *coup*, when the time shall come—if it *shali* come—that I shall be enabled to act.”

In the midst of these pressing difficulties he wrote at length to the private Secretary of the Governor of Madras; but this communication received no notice whatever beyond a simple acknowledgment of its receipt. This, of course, tended to add to the mystery of the long silence. Again, about a month later, on the 13th July, we find him thus addressing *privately* a friendly Government functionary:—

“To my official communication of April last there has been no reply of any kind. I suppose there are good reasons for this course.

You can imagine the state of mind of those who gave up their gods, and set themselves against their friends in entire confidence in my full and permanent support, and now find themselves over-ridden by their opponents, and apparently deserted by me, while Sam Bisaye and his friends sacrifice at pleasure. I, of course, labour by every possible means to keep up the game; but it is an extreme trial. Had I any ray of light as to the mind, or the future movements of the Government, I could shape some course in hope at least. Having lost an arm too, for nearly a year, from this dreadful climate, from which I have three time barely escaped, I wrote to beg the Governor to make some provision for my relief when I should be compelled to quit the post, as, were I to go without a special successor, the Khonds would certainly believe that the Government had relinquished the work; and were that successor not identified with me, they would expect him to act on a perfectly new plan with other reasons. But no notice has been taken of this request”

Still, no response—beyond the whisperings of expressive silence! At length when the state of things became utterly un-endurable he felt himself roused to pen the fresh representation and appeal, dated the 2nd September, of which an epitome has already been supplied. Respecting this statement which had been extorted from him by the last extremity of vanishing hope, we find him thus writing to a personal acquaintance:—

“I have waited to the last moment, hoping that something would be done. But there is not a sign of any thing. So I have sent them this, once more setting the past before them, and saying plainly what is the promise of the future and giving them “the latest safe date” for the adoption of a course of action. I have been very plain, some may think too plain with them, but I was not to let this work be spoiled from want of plainness. I have no idea whether this new——will understand this writing, or if any one about him will. Of what they will *do*, I can form no conception, seeing that they have *not* even acknowledged my former report or my letter to—. Perhaps they will not answer this. It is a sad matter truly, but must be borne. If I had the work to do over again, I should take the same course. But what signifies my justification, if the work be ruined? Mr.—

will, I have no doubt, be shocked at my plainness of speech. I shall long to know what you think of it. I would not change it but to make it stronger."

The paper, prepared under these trying circumstances, was sent to Mr. Bannerman, to be by him forwarded to the Madras Government. And now was suddenly brought to light the hitherto unaccountable cause of the long silence. *The April report, instead of having been timely submitted to the Madras authorities, was still lying idly and uselessly in the bureau of the Governor's agent in Ganjam!* This astounding discovery could not fail to startle the agent, and effectually arouse him to a sense of the necessity for immediate action. Accordingly, on the 19th September, Mr. Bannerman addressed the Madras Government, forwarding *together* the *two* reports received by him from Captain Macpherson, acting principal assistant agent, under date the 12th April and 2nd September 1843. And as the long delay in transmitting the *former* of these communications appeared so inexplicable, had occasioned so much vexation and pain to the principal assistant, and had tended so materially to damage and retard the whole work, it is but just towards Mr. Bannerman that we should fully detail his own explanation and defence. He begged most respectfully to observe that the delay "had arisen, in the first instance, from his thinking the information relied upon by Captain Macpherson in the matter of Sam Bisaye to be open to doubt, and to some suspicion; and, as on a point of such importance, a distinct opinion, as to the policy and justice of the measure proposed, would necessarily be expected by the Government from him, it was essential that he should satisfy himself in respect to them, before submitting his views on the subject." The paper had been received when he was "engaged in the Revenue settlement of the southern taluks of his district, the most distant from the tracts which were the scene of the transactions to which it referred; at a time when that business, which could not be postponed or interrupted, necessarily precluded the immediate prosecution of his object." He "thought that the inconvenience that might arise from the delay that would ensue until he could have an opportunity of personal investigation, was not likely to be of importance, compared to the evils that might spring from an erroneous judgment." He "also conceived that there were grounds for expecting the early adoption of the new scheme contemplated by the Government, with respect to the Khond agency." Then, again, since his return from the southern districts, three months previous to the date of this communication,

"the unceasing and extreme pressure of labourious official duties, while his health was in a very shattered and depressed state, had prevented him from submitting the subject in a fitting manner to the Government." If, however, this untoward delay did occasion much real evil, it was not wholly unalleviated by any consequent result in the way of good. It helped to clear up to the agent's own mind the cloud of uncertainty which appeared to hang over one important point, with its darkening shadows. He was "now (19th September) enabled to state that the chief ground of the doubt which he entertained, as to the trustworthiness of the information relied upon by Captain Macpherson, had been in a great measure removed." He now "conceived, with reference to that officer's strong and repeated representations in regard to the conduct of Sam Bisaye, that the Government would have no difficulty in acting on his recommendation. The measure he proposed might, in his opinion, be carried into effect, at any time, without detriment or risk." The delay in transmitting the second of Captain Macpherson's reports, had "arisen from severe illness alone, which unfitted him for the performance of any work requiring much continuous exertion." In conclusion, however, he "begged permission to say, that he most fully and most humbly admitted that the reasons which he had assigned for the detention of the *first* paper could not be held to justify it. It had arisen from the deep anxiety which necessarily attached to a question of so much difficulty and importance, and from advancing sickness which had prevented him from submitting the subject in a satisfactory form;—while, as he now said with feelings of deep regret, he had, in the absence of professional advice, been too slow to perceive, that it was his duty to have solicited, at an earlier period, relief from the cares of his office." He, therefore, "most anxiously confided that no serious evils could possibly arise to the public service from what had occurred;" and he "humbly trusted that the Government would view all the circumstances of his conduct, in a spirit of liberal and indulgent consideration."

On the 18th November, the Madras Government recorded its instructions to the agent for the Governor in Ganjam as to the directions to be given to Captain Macpherson. From these we gather that the official order sent to that officer was, "to proceed without delay, and to take the earliest opportunity of again communicating with the Khond tribes with a view to assure them of the resolution of Government, that no measures would be left untried to induce them to put an end entirely to the horrible and unnatural practice of human sacrifice." He was "earnestly to exert himself to remove from the minds of the

Khond people any impression they might, under any circumstances whatever, have received, that the Government had for a moment lost sight of this momentous object.' With reference to the earnest and repeated representations of Captain Macpherson, the Most Noble the Governor in Council resolved to "direct the agent in Ganjam to call upon Sam Bisaye to attend at his office at Berhampore without delay, and, on receipt of these orders, to suspend him from the office of *Dora*, or head Bisaye." That Sam Bisaye had "abetted and ever engaged in the Meriah rite could not be disbelieved," but his Lordship in Council was "of opinion that,—without having recourse, in the first instance, to measures which might be thought harsh, and give rise to feelings of distrust among the tribes of whom Sam Bisaye had been acknowledged by the Government to be the chief, —Captain Macpherson, in the course of his present researches, should endeavour to obtain complete testimony to the truth and extent of the acts alleged against Sam Bisaye, and submit a special report on the subject, through the Governor's agent, to the consideration of Government." The views of the Madras Government for establishing an effectual and permanent system for the prevention of human sacrifice, would again be "submitted to the Government of India, without whose concurrence, no partial measures would seem to be expedient." In the meantime, His Lordship in Council "considered it sufficient to encourage Captain Macpherson to go forward among the Khond tribes, during the favourable season, and to endeavour to improve, from the sources of information he had already obtained, every means of giving confidence to those tribes, who were friendly to the cause of humanity, in which the Government was so deeply interested;—and thus lay his plans as he proceeded for a more intimate intercourse with the Khond people." The Government continued to "watch the progress of his work with unceasing interest and anxiety, and regarded, with the highest satisfaction, every advance made to enlighten the sacrificing tribes, whether by the administration of justice, on principles, as stated by Captain Macpherson, which were not to supersede the existing methods and instruments of justice, but to strengthen them for good and to supply their defects; or by every other available species of influence, to inculcate among them a sense of the wickedness, cruelty, and utter uselessness of their savage rites." Captain Macpherson's suggestion as to the appointment of a medical officer, with the peculiar talents and endowments suited to so uncommon a post, and with corresponding emoluments, was cordially approved of by His Lordship in Council; and the resolution formed of recom-

mending such an appointment for "the sanction of the Government of India."

On the 2nd December 1843, we find Mr. Drury, chief Secretary of the Government of Fort St. George, transmitting to Mr. Davidson, officiating Secretary to the Government of India, copies of Captain Macpherson's reports of April and September, of Mr. Bannerman's explanatory letter, of the Marquis of Tweeddale and the Honorable Mr. Chamier's recorded minutes on the subject,—all accompanied with the Resolutions passed by the Madras Government, and earnest recommendations that the measures, which, on more mature deliberation, should be deemed "efficacious for suppressing the savage practices still prevalent," might without delay be adopted and carried into effect.

About a twelve month before, a similar reference and appeal had been made to the Supreme Government, on the occasion of transmitting Lord Elphinstone's last minute on the subject, with the recorded Resolutions of Council. But, from the causes already more than once hinted at, the subject had not been taken up in right earnest by the Supreme Government. Lord Auckland, who had really studied it, must have been too much overwhelmed by the tidings from the North, and too much occupied with preparations for speedily resigning the Viceroyal sceptre of these realms, to give due attention to the newly suggested measures. Lord Ellenborough must have become too busied with his plans and armaments for retrieving the disasters in Affghanistan and the subsequent magnificent triumphal feats on the banks of the Sutlej, to find leisure for so pacific and unexciting a theme as that of the abolition of human sacrifices, by means chiefly of the administration of justice among a barbarous but a politically harmless people. Then followed the complicated negotiations which terminated in the conquest of Sindh and the incorporation of that ill-fated country with the British Indian Empire; and lastly, the celebrated military movements on the heights of Maharajpore and Gwalior, which reduced to a shadow the surviving power of the representative of the once formidable Scindia, the redoubted head of the great Mahratta confederacy. Next, in rather swift succession, came the unexpected recall of his Lordship, and the arrival of his successor Sir H. Hardinge. So that there was scarcely a breathing time for the Khond cause being even heard or spoken of in the highest State quarters. We find, indeed, on the 31st May 1843, the Honorable the President in Council, Mr. Bird, calling for the various documents connected with "the important object of suppressing the Meriah sacrifice." But, we are left to suppose, that, in the absence of his chief,

Lord Ellenborough, he did not deem it advisable to assume the responsibility of issuing authoritative instructions on the subject-matter of reference and appeal from the Madras Government.

Early in January 1844, when the proper season had arrived, Captain Macpherson ascended the Ghats. As no decisive answer had yet been received from the Supreme Government, he was as yet invested with no power except that which belonged to him as head assistant of the Governor's agent. Still, though not invested with the requisite powers for the full accomplishment of his object, he went, greatly fortified by the many friendly assurances and encouragements of the Madras Government.

In accordance with the orders of that Government, one of his first objects was to collect, in a way more formal and minute than he had yet done, the evidence which tended to establish the guilt of Sam Bisaye, in offering sacrifice himself, and in stimulating others to do the same. Such evidence, which he was soon enabled to collect in overwhelming variety and abundance, he embodied in a separate and most elaborate report. Into details we need not enter. Only as a single specimen of the conclusive nature of the proofs we may state, that the principal chiefs of Bora Mutah and Athara Mutah, in General Council assembled, solemnly deposed to the following facts—that, having “listened to the wisdom of Government and consulted upon it, they had become of one mind that the sacrifice was a sin, declared they would give it up, and gave it up accordingly”—that, afterwards, Sam Bissaye came, and in substance, proclaimed by beat of drum, that “the Mahrattas had arrived, that Macpherson sahib had gone beyond the sea, that one of his chief assistants escaped, and the other had been slain”—that his “influence had prevailed with the agent of the Governor to sanction the performance of six sacrifices”—that he “summoned the pledged chiefs, conjured them to avail themselves of the concession won, and to consult and settle with him the order of the offerings”—that, when the chiefs were not moved from their engagements, Sam Bisaye next “announced a sacrifice on the land of his son, and invited the pledged tribes to the festival”—that many persons among them now “solemnly vowed, according to the preliminary usage, the sacrificial flesh to the gods”—that, at the feast, they “found themselves, to their extreme astonishment, excluded from sharing in the victim”—that they were then told to go and “redeem their solemn vows by sacrificing at home, as had been permitted them”—that some of the chiefs were thus led to exclaim, that “every leaf which fell seemed to be

to them the terrible wrath of the disappointed God, and that no man would dare to let his child leave his door, or to let his beasts put their dry mouths to the pasture"—that, when the "fear and distress became intolerable, a chief of the branch of Athara Mutah more under the influence of Sam Bisaye, offered a public sacrifice, and vows were discharged"—and finally, that "two private offerings were then made in the district."

It was also proved, in open council in Hodzoghoro, in the presence of his own sons and adherents, that Sam Bisaye had "levied two head of cattle from the purchaser of each victim among his people, and, besides, two head of cattle twice, from every possessor of a victim, on the pretence of saving it from the Government, and finally, two head of cattle on the performance of each sacrifice." Yea more, it was proved, by the universal admission of a Khond council, in presence of his sons and adherents, whose interest it was to have denied or explained it if at all possible, that Sam Bisaye, in the month of March 1843, "counselled the Khonds of Borogotza, within the Bengal frontier, to resist by force, if necessary, the demand of the officers of the Bengal Government for the surrender of their victims"—thus actually producing their refusal of these victims after they had promised to deliver them.

The evil effect of these proceedings, now substantiated beyond all debate, was, as already indicated, very great. The favourable and striking movement towards the general abolition of the sacrifice was checked and partially reversed. An immediate and unequivocal manifestation of the will of Government was expected by all; and yet the assistant had no power to take the principal step, to guarantee the prevention of sacrifices by Sam Bisaye, by his justly deserved punishment. When Captain Macpherson last reported on the 2nd September 1842, things were in a grievously bad and unpromising state. But, before the arrival of the orders of the Madras Government of the 18th November, they had become still worse. The party of the movement, passed from doubt and despondency to a state of deep distraction; that opposed to it, from hope to insolent triumph. Confidence in the Government on the subject of the religious change had necessarily all but ceased, while Captain Macpherson had fairly exhausted every art to maintain the assurance that the will of the Government was, what he had represented it to be, and that its justice would be alternately vindicated—to keep together the bewildered partizans and instruments of the movement—to preserve above all, the important feelings of personal trust and attachment which had sprung up towards the chief servants of Government. One ground, and one alone, on

which he could maintain any semblance of real authority, was his *civil justice*, regarded apart from the religious change which had been mainly brought about through its means. That justice, supplying as it did, the great social want of the tribes, had now become necessary to them. It was believed to have ceased when the maintenance of the religious change seemed to cease. But, upon its firm assertion, all who desired order, rallied round it; and, through its maintenance alone Captain Macpherson was enabled to hold a position from which he could hope finally to reconquer what was lost.

Many chiefs had, indeed, remained admirably constant to their pledges. But the weak conviction and overstrained faith of the mass of the people, necessarily began to yield to the pressure of the claims of their ancient superstition, when the Government, instead of affording them its full support and unceasing guidance, seemed to array its influence upon the other side. The time was, in fact, come, when plain acts, establishing beyond all cavil or mistake, the will and the justice of the Government, could alone prevent a general and justified violation of the engagements of the tribes.

The receipt of the Madras Government's orders of the 18th November, directing "the immediate suspension of Sam Bisaye from office, with a view to the institution of exact inquiry into his conduct, and to the restoration of confidence," operated like life from the dead. These orders, in the beginning of December 1843, were made adequate to their object by the mode of their execution. The act of suspension was made credible and significant to the Khonds by the promulgated decree for the actual removal of Sam Bisaye out of the Khond country.

When full effect was given to this decree, Captain Macpherson without delay met the Khond chiefs, and challenged their acknowledgment that the past was vindicated, and a guarantee given for the future. Sam Bisaye's deprivation of office, accredited by his exclusion from the Khond country, produced effects more immediate and general than could have been hoped for, and light and repose seemed to return almost at once to the distracted minds of the Khonds. Captain Macpherson soon found his authority more than restored:—

"Only a few of the chiefs, and a small part of their people had actually violated their engagements. All desired to place themselves under a wise and a strong authority for the sake of peace and justice. By far the most influential portion desired also to complete the religious change to which they had solemnly committed themselves. The party favourable to the sacrifice regarded its abolition as now inevitable, and gave up all their remaining victims. Both parties dreaded equally the restoration of any semblance of authority to Sam Bisaye, and prayed that Sudai Panda

Naik, my most able instrument for the two tribes, might be permanently appointed in his stead. All pressed for justice, and decrees were executed by the parties as soon as passed. The difficult account of the past was settled in conformity with the just and severe self-judgment of the Khonds. It was submitted at a full council, at which every chief delivered his opinion,—“that the violation of the engagement by a few chiefs, and those who acted with them, although partly justifiable, was a crime against the Government, and against the tribes,—while the gods had instantly marked its criminality by punishing the chief who first sacrificed by the deepest mark of their displeasure—the death of his wife in child-birth :”—“that those who had violated the pledges and fallen, deceived by Sam Bisaye, were equally false to them and to the Government ;—that the Government had, at its own time, done justice with respect to him, and made it plain, and there could be no doubts to its future course ; —that the three chiefs who sacrificed, confiding in Sam Bisaye, must, like him, be punished by the Government, or there would be no security against the recurrence of similar acts by individuals, involving all in crime and ruin.” I accordingly removed, and now detain those three persons. The authority of the Government, entire confidence as to its future course, the feelings of personal attachment towards its servants which are necessary to the application of any measures, and the movement towards the religious change were fully re-established.”

Thus, again, did victory return to the cause which Captain Macpherson had so zealously espoused and so perseveringly prosecuted—proving at once the sagacity of his foresight and the adequacy of his measures. Ground had been lost. But why? Because the grand central principle of the operations previously carried on, had been shown to be erroneous, or its energy misdirected, or its applicability and strength over-estimated, or the practical measures in which it was embodied, inadequate or ill-concerned? No; quite the contrary. It was solely because of the checks and limitations hitherto imposed on the agent by superior authority—checks and limitations which circumscribed his official power and influence, and did not allow of his carrying out his own principle to the extent which he proved to be safely possible, and insisted, on as absolutely necessary, to the accomplishment of the great end in view. It was because some of the measures which he foresaw to be indispensable, and for the execution of which he strenuously pled, had been long, long postponed—partly from untoward contingencies in high places, and partly from the want of that promptitude in the controlling authority, which tended to keep things swinging in the balances of indecision, instead of vigorously dealing out effective blows. But the moment Captain Macpherson's suggested measures began to be actually carried out, that moment victory began to return to the righteous cause of which he was the champion.

The ground which had been lost, through untoward but very

intelligible procrastination on the part of his superiors, was, as we have seen, speedily and to a great extent retrieved, the instant he was allowed to pursue the course which he had long before proposed, and which the surging swell of circumstances proved more and more to be imperatively required. But, to the maintenance of the ground thus happily retrieved among the formerly gained tribes, it was clear that the complete extinction of the influence of Sam Bisaye as Champion-General of the sacrifice in Goomsur, was necessary. Captain Macpherson, therefore, with his wonted alacrity, proceeded direct to Hodzoghoro, the proper district of the wily chief, where his power was yet undiminished, in order to establish there the authority of Government, and introduce the religious change now in progress else where.

But the task was at once an arduous and a delicate one. For on the agent's arrival, he found all the Khonds of that tract firmly leagued under Sam Bisaye's *five sons and two brothers*, in opposition to his objects. The opinion by which they were chiefly swayed, were such as the follow —

"They believed that I and the agent to the Governor were at direct variance on the question of the sacrifice. That the influence of Sam Bisaye prevailed with that officer over mine, and would certainly avail in the end, to maintain the ancient faith at least in Hodzoghoro. That my authority in that tract was nearly nominal,—extending but to the demand of a few victims. These Khonds avoid their resolution to preserve the old faith unchanged through co-operation with Sam Bisaye, and his family equally devoted to it. They declined to receive the justice of the Government, because the tribes which had received it had immediately fallen into subservience and abandoned their gods. They thought it unnecessary to consider my arguments against the sacrifice. They acted together as one man communicating with me only publicly in a body, and in the presence of some member of the family of Sam Bisaye."

Here was a consolidated front of opposition which might well have scared away a man less resolute of purpose than Captain Macpherson, or one less fertile in resource. But strong in the righteousness of his cause and confident in his own powers, he boldly confronted it. His first object was, if possible, to break up the confederacy, and then deal with the shattered fragments. But he approached such a work of demolition with caution and prudence. Throughout, it was his policy to eschew violent or coercive measures. It was his chief desire, by the conferring of substantial benefits, to convince the ignorant and deluded people, that to yield to him would only be to escape from manifold and acknowledged evils, and to ensure an accession of palpable and coveted good. Accordingly, his *first* attempt was, to endeavour to convince Sam Bisaye's family that

their sole hopes lay in devoting themselves to the objects of Government ;—his calculation being, that their visible co-operation with him would not only afford him direct support, but would also tacitly involve, in the estimation of all around, the exposure of their previous false pretences of devotion to the religion and interests of the Khonds. His *second* attempt was, by every art of persuasion, to induce the Khonds to come to him, and receive justice at his hands ;—his calculation, in this case, being that a general resort to his court would enable him effectually to apply the various forms of influence, which had elsewhere prevailed and conducted to his ends.

In prosecution of these designs, he, with admirable judgment, transferred his court from the centre of the pledged tribes to the neighbourhood of Sam Bisaye's village—there, in the first instance, to transact business not with Sam Bisaye's people, but with the members of those tribes already gained, who spontaneously and thankfully followed him for the settlement of all outstanding variances and grievances. The object was, in this way, to exhibit to Sam Bisaye's people, in the happiness of their immediate neighbours, the practical working and blessed effects of the *justice* of the Government, together with the whole spirit and form of its connection with the Khonds ;—while, in addition to all the favourable impressions thence arising, the opinions of the pledged people with respect to that connection and to the religious change generally, would necessarily be disseminated in every village which gave them hospitality. No plan more judicious could well have been devised. Nor did its author at all miscalculate in the confidence which, by its adoption, was placed in the gained tribes. Their avowed change of opinion was thereby put to the severest test, and their sincerity fully proved in a way at once gratifying and opportune. When the chiefs of Hodzoghoro, at a great council, stated their determination to decline direct communication with the Government, a chief of Bora Mutah instantly stood up and said ;—“ Oh, brothers, the Government found us distracted by sanguinary quarrels. All was confusion. Then, hills had become vallies, and vallies, hills. Now, every dispute is settled, every wrong is righted. Every valley is again a valley, and every hill a hill. And you see us here running after the Government to seek its justice and to shew our gratitude.”

But, notwithstanding the undeniable wisdom and excellence of these varied measures, the malign influence of Sam Bisaye's tuition and example continued to manifest its fatal ascendancy over his misguided subordinates and people. After a fair and anxious trial of seven days, the agent failed in bringing the

family of this strong and wrong-headed chief to commit themselves by the least semblance of co-operation with him. They vaguely protested obedience, while they laboured by every art to multiply the delusions, and to confirm the hostile resolutions of their people. His endurance of their opposition, and his adoption of no ulterior measures for the liberation of the victims, were necessarily regarded as conclusive evidence of the entire want of power so generally and pertinaciously attributed to him. And this conviction, gaining strength through willing credulity, wholly precluded the hope of the general reception of his justice. A few persons, driven to despair by the oppressions of Sam Bisaye, threw themselves upon him, but none else. And every day brought some fresh lying story of the triumphant progress of the influence of the temporarily banished chief with the Governor's agent—an influence, which was alleged to be so far on the ascendant, that the speedy return and removal of the head assistant were inevitable. When, wearied and worn out with unsuccessful effort, Captain Macpherson at length distinctly declared his resolution to adopt a new course, unless Sam Bisaye's family gave immediate proofs of identification with him and his work; it was then concluded that the time was come for delivering up to him the exact number of victims, which he knew it was preconcerted from the beginning should be given, as a peace-offering, necessary to send him away. This consisted of three victims, falsely asserted to be the whole private stock of Sam Bisaye, and of sixteen others reluctantly collected by the Khonds, as a heavy assessment or tax.

Here, however, great as the dilemma appeared to be, and insuperable the difficulty, Captain Macpherson's resolute self-reliance did not fail him, neither was his inventive ingenuity exhausted. But, in order to make the plan which he adopted intelligible, it is necessary to enter into a brief statement of certain circumstances connected with the scene of his operations. This may best be given in the words of the author:—

“The contiguous tracts of Hodzoghoro and Tentilghur are inhabited by a single Khond tribe. The Bisaye or Dulbehra of the latter, was the Hindu head of the whole tribe, and minister of its guardian deity from time immemorial until about forty years ago. The fourth ancestor, in ascent of the present Dulbehra, received a Hindu victim child from the Khonds, and made him his hereditary assistant in the service of the god. The late Rajah of Goomsur, to break the influence of the Dulbehras, who were allies of his enemies the Rajahs of Boad, obtained by force and intrigue, the recognition of a descendant of that child—the father of Sam Bisaye—as Bisaye of the tract of Hodzoghoro—thus dividing the tribe.

Sam Bisaye, from his accession, strained every nerve to accomplish the complete supercession of the Dulbehra; but found the possession of the chief religious office of the tribe absolutely essential to his object.

Despairing of its attainment by any other means, he, about eight years ago, caused the god to be stolen from his ancient shrine, placed him in his stockaded village, and became his sole minister. The occurrence of the Goomsur rebellion, and the investiture thereafter of Sam Bisaye with the authority of Government, made the recovery of the god by the power of the Dulbehra hopeless, and Sam Bisaye acquired from his possession a great accession of influence. The Dulbehra sued for justice from all the officers of Government who have had power in Goomsur; and Sam Bisaye, when challenged, promised restitution. The Dulbehra was the first hill chief who joined the Government in the Goomsur war. He is a very sensible, moderate and just man, and has seconded my objects with extraordinary zeal and success."

Captain Macpherson was soon led to regard this idol, thus surreptitiously obtained, simply in the light of *stolen property*. For, when viewed merely as a material substance, it was clearly the property of him who made it, or of them who contributed to the expense of making and preserving it. The superstitious uses to which it was unhappily devoted did not annihilate the right of property in it, as a piece of lumbering materialism; and did not, consequently, confer any right on others either to steal it or to destroy it by violence. Were its possessors to become enlightened in the knowledge and worship of the one living and true God, and were they, in token of their conversion to the truth and of their abhorrence of "lying vanities," to become iconoclasts themselves, it would be all very natural, very consistent, and very just. Being their own property, they would have a perfect right to do with their own as they pleased; and being led to see the error of their ways, it would not only be reasonably but essentially necessary that they should give the most decisive proof of their sincerity, by casting their idol-god "to the moles and to the bats," or shivering it into fragments, or consuming it in the fire, or sending it to a public museum as one of the trophies of the progress of truth. But, for a neighbouring chief to cause such a piece of mechanism *to be stolen* from its shrine or place of custody—to be violently and lawlessly wrenched from its makers and proprietors,—in what respect could such an act, in its essential principle, be distinguished from that of ordinary theft or robbery? In no way that we can see. The act was plainly an unlawful one—contrary alike to the dictates of reason, and natural justice, and Divine Revelation. Such was the view which, as we have reason to suppose, Captain Macpherson was led to take of it. Accordingly, in the administrations of his *justice*, he resolved to act in this case precisely as he would have done in the case of any other plundered or pillaged property. In other words, after anxious deliberation, he determined to insist on the restoration of that which had been *stolen* to its rightful possessor.

Such an act he regarded merely as one of undeniable justice, which must command general approbation and inspire general confidence. From such an impression he expected to derive the greatest benefit to his cause. By its means, he reckoned that he could signally falsify to the Khonds the prevalent opinion of his want of power, on which the current delusions were mainly founded. In this way, also, he expected to strengthen the influence of his tried partizan, the Dulbehra, and enable him to form a party in every branch of the half tribe of Hodzoghoro. In any event, he fully calculated, that the league would be broken up. Sam Bisaye's family would see their folly and join him at last; or they would be convicted of plain falsehood as to his power. When parties and dissensions arose in Hodzoghoro, his proved authority would next be appealed to—and whenever this began to be, his work might be considered as virtually accomplished.

A general council of the Khond chiefs and their people was summoned at the agent's tents—having previously intimated his resolution to the Dulbehra and his friends. The majority of those present, after sundry preliminary explanations, unhesitatingly acknowledged the great injustice of Sam Bisaye's *theft*, though they had not yet learnt his determination to restore it. When, behold, the stolen idol suddenly appeared in sight, in charge of the Dulbehra and his assistants, who had been despatched to Sam Bisaye's village to fetch it! The assembled Khonds were seized with astonishment and greatly moved; but they soon recovered themselves. Captain Macpherson then demanded whether the restoration of it to its rightful hereditary possessor was not an act of pure and simple justice? The elder chief of the tribe, the representative of its common progenitors, immediately replied that it was—and that those alone who looked to present interests, and not to right, had tacitly acquiesced in the illegal appropriation of Sam Bisaye. All the other chiefs, then promptly admitted that this was true. The act, as the decision of the great religious and social question of the two districts, was regarded as an overwhelming proof of the agent's justice and authority. The ultimate accomplishment of his objects seemed now certain.

The two next days were spent by the Khonds in earnest consultation, alternately with the agent, with the Dulbehra, with the previously pledged chiefs, and with the family of Sam Bisaye. They at length declared that they "were convinced they had been deceived as to the mind of the Government, and as to the agent's power—that they could not resist the wisdom and the strength of the Government—and that they

would consult with, and bring to one mind, all the branches of the hitherto recusant half tribe." The final result of all these counsels,—notwithstanding the unremitted efforts of the incorrigible family of Sam Bisaye to divide them,—was, "*an engagement by the people of Hodzoghoro to deliver up their victims and to relinquish the sacrifice upon the conditions on which the tribes already pledged had relinquished it.*" A consummation, in itself so desirable, and in its consequences so momentous, yet at one time so apparently hopeless, might well warrant the strongest language in commemorating it. "*I cannot,*" writes Captain Macpherson, "*easily communicate a just idea of the importance of this resolution to the objects of the Government. The very stronghold of the ancient faith, where its rites had never been interrupted for a day, where its champion had hitherto defied attack, had yielded;* AND TO MORAL INFLUENCES ALONE. *The conquest of all Goomsur was completed. The moral effect of this fact upon the whole Khond population known to us was necessarily very great.*"

Some of the immediate effects are thus described :—

"The chiefs of Hodzoghoro now assisted daily at my court, and their people began to resort to it. The civil and religious influence of the Dulbehra extended gradually, and he was treated in form as head of the whole tribe.

Forty more victims were almost immediately brought in.

The oppressions of Sam Bisaye and his sons were now openly declared by all, suitors and assessors; and every charge made. was admitted by his son, expressly constituted by him his representative, for no false charges can live in a Khond assembly.

There were, for example, two cases of the seizure and sales of men's wives for large sums by Sam Bisaye, under circumstances of extreme cruelty; and cases without number of the plunder of individuals on the falsest pretences.

Then it was admitted, not as a charge, but as a familiar fact, that two head of cattle had been levied by Sam Bisaye on the purchase of each victim; and that the same payment had been exacted on two occasions for saving each from seizure by the Government, and that it had also been required on the sacrifice of each victim.

It was again stated and admitted by all in public assembly, that the Khonds of the neighbouring tract of Borogotza within the Bengal frontier, had agreed last year to give up victims to the Bengal Government,—that they had then taken counsel of Sam Bisaye, who exhorted them to resist the demand by force, if necessary, "for there were not two Governments "but one Government, of which he was the representative; that he had "delivered no victims from his district, and what had the Government done "to him? And that the Government was, moreover, contending with the "Mussulmans on the one side, and the Mahrattas on the other, and could "not coerce the Khonds. The victims were accordingly refused to the "Bengal officer."

Unhappily, when the agent's measures were thus in rapid

process of execution, severe illness from fever compelled him once more to quit the hills,—leaving so far “uncompleted the conquest of the body of the people of Hodzoghoro by argument and justice, and while many victims yet remained undelivered.” In this exigency, he had plainly no alternative but to impose on the Dulbehra, as head of the tribe, the duty of inducing the delivery of the rest. His own departure from the hill country, as might be anticipated, was the signal for redoubled exertions on the part of the inveterately hostile family of Sam Bisaye, to frustrate his unconfirmed measures. And by dint of sundry lying fictions, they partially succeeded. By the sanction, however, of the agent to the Governor, Captain Macpherson, summoned the guilty parties to Aska. The three most important of them appeared and were detained with their father. This decisive measure immediately produced the desired effect. The last obstruction to the agent of the Government was removed. Delusion upon the old ground was no longer possible, the remaining victims were forthwith brought to the Dulbehra, and his paramount authority was acknowledged by the whole tribe. Of the practical consequences which ensued, the following are particularized as worthy of special notice :—

I have the high satisfaction to state that the great season of sacrifice is past, and that there has been no apparent tendency to sacrifice in any part of the Khond country of Goomsur. The stage of progress attained by each tribe, in the religious change, has, however, been distinctly marked in this period. The tribes of Bora Mutah and Athara Mutah, most advanced, have not received, from the festivals held around them, a particle of the flesh into their soil. Five men of the latter, of whom one was a priest, attended a sacrifice within the Bengal frontier, brought away flesh and buried it secretly in their village fields.

When the act was known, the people instantly compelled them to dig it up, and sent them with it to my chief agent, demanding their punishment by the Government, as false to it and to them, and deeply criminal in the sight of the gods.

I have detained the priest, but hope that it may be possible to release him soon.

The Khonds of Hodzoghoro, as was to be expected, have brought flesh to many of their villages. The districts of Tentilghur and Chokapad, as I am at present informed, have remained almost, but not perfectly pure. The whole number of victims rescued this year is 142, and all are Khonds, or Panwas, or of the other castes permanently resident on the hills, except two Hindu children from the low country bordering on the Ghats. The experience of this and of last year proves that the practice of kidnapping children from the low country has nearly ceased in this part of the district.”

Such was the moral and pacific campaign of the early part of 1844, and such were some of its more remarkable results. The direct authority of Government had been established among

these rude tribes, by supplying their greatest social want—that of *justice*—in a form and in a spirit beneficial and acceptable to them. And that authority combined with influence derived from every other available source, had amply sufficed to induce them to adopt the religious change desired. Of the permanence of that change, little reasonable doubt could be entertained if the measures which had been adopted, should be confirmed ; and if measures productive of similar results, should be immediately addressed to the neighbouring sacrificing tribes, so that the gained population should not be tempted, by seeing unrepressed festivals upon their borders. The sacrificing tribes in contract with the gained tribes were *all within the Bengal frontier*—the sacrificing population of Goomsur being cut off from that of the South by non-sacrificing tracts.

The measures which Captain Macpherson deemed it his duty to recommend as more immediately necessary, to the full accomplishment of the objects of Government in the Khond country connected with Goomsur, were the following :—

“ 1st. Sam Bisaye's final removal from office.

2nd. His permanent exclusion from the Khond country, with the three following members of his family, *viz.*, Lockno, brother of Sam Bisaye, Borjo and Bura, sons of Sam Bisaye, and now removed from it. His return thither, or the return of either of these three persons, would be the re-establishment of the sacrifice. Many members of his family remain, and may be permitted to reside in Hodzoghoro, while they live inoffensively. The elevation of any member of Sam Bisaye's family to his office, under any circumstances, would, in the sight of the whole Khond population, be equivalent to his restoration.

3rd. The confirmation of the resumption by the Dulbehra of Tentilghur, of the office and official lands of his fathers, according to Khond usage, in the district of Hodzoghoro.

This was very strongly desired by four-fifths of the tribe and acquiesced in by all except a few personal friends of Sam Bisaye.

The Dulbehra is now, in fact, fully re-established as Hindu head by his tribe according to its usages. His most able services and tried fidelity cannot be too highly rewarded, and he is absolutely necessary, as head of his tribe, to the work still to be accomplished ; we cannot bear to have a chief of doubtful character upon the Bengal frontier.

4th. The confirmation of Sirdar Panda Naik in the charge of the two districts of Bora Mutah and Athara Mutah and in the Sirdarship of the Mutah of Panchgudda, a tract of forest at the base of the Ghats necessary to the first office, and lately held by Sam Bisaye. The influence of Panda Naik with these tribes is very great. He has, in fact, managed them for the last 20 years, for the Rajah of Goomsur and for the Government,—a few tracts in the immediate vicinity of Sam Bisaye's country excepted. They unanimously desired his appointment. They could not possibly have been gained without his most able aid, and his future services are indispensable.

5th. The Government has not been pleased to communicate any order in reference to my suggestion to permit a party of sappers to afford the aid

necessary to the formation of a road in the Courminghia Ghat. The importance of opening a communication through the Ghats, and the Khond country beyond, in this line, has been fully recognised by Government. There does not now exist a single tolerable approach to the Khond country. This Ghat in which alone, so far as is known, a good approach may be easily made, is now impracticable on horse back, and is almost given up by the Brinjarris who have hitherto struggled through it.

Captain——of the Survey has very carefully traced an excellent line of road in it, deviating, at some points, from the old line. I have expended none of the money granted for it, in the hope that Government may yet accede to my suggestion. No road not constructed with skill can bear the torrents of these mountains for a single season.

The erection of a few substantial Cutchery bungalows at different points in the Khond country will, I conceive, promote in a very important degree the objects of Government. They will conduce greatly to the health of the public servants, and will always afford shelter to the sick. They will certainly produce a very considerable moral effect upon the rude Khonds as signifying the establishment of the authority of the Government and its intentions to maintain it permanently, and they will serve as a place of refuge for victims. These uses and effects have all been experienced in a striking degree from the bungalow built by Government at Courminghia.

I therefore beg leave to suggest that the Government may be pleased to sanction the erection of two Cutchery bungalows at a cost of Rupees one thousand.

With reference to the future, Captain Macpherson conceived that it was established, that if the climate of the southern tracts should be found endurable for one or two months in the year, the abolition of the sacrifice throughout the Khond country might now be hopefully regarded as thoroughly practicable. The great difficulty had necessarily been in the first step; in the acquisition of the requisite knowledge; the formation of efficient instruments; and the completion of an experimental operation upon a scale sufficiently large to test the principles applied. This primary difficulty had now been not only surmounted, but triumphantly surmounted. The singular moral and intellectual aptitude of the Khonds to receive the new ideas, which it was desired to communicate to them, seemed strongly to sanction the expectation that their progress in improvement would fully correspond to the opportunities which should be afforded to them—and that they fairly promised to make a noble return for wise tutelage and the guardianship of equitable law.

The Government having intimated that it was its serious intention to frame a *general* measure for the accomplishment of its objects, Captain Macpherson once more deemed it to be his duty to declare that the views so often previously submitted in his letters and reports, with respect to the principles and conditions of such a measure, had been amply confirmed by subsequent experience. He again announced his conviction that it was absolutely necessary that the Khond agent should

have the immediate management of the hill zemindaries with which the tribes, to whom his operations should be successively directed, happened to be connected. It was a matter which did not admit of a question, that, to a progressive work of social and religious change to be effected mainly through moral influences, unity of design and unbroken continuity of action were indispensable—that operations, like those already described, and which had been carried out by anxious, interrupted, and embarrassed efforts, could be effectually accomplished only upon principles of procedure distinctly recognised by the Government, and by a confidential agent armed with the fullest power adequately to realize them.

In the conclusion of his masterly report of the 8th May 1844, Captain Macpherson brought to the notice of Government the eminent services of his two chief native assistants, whom he characterizes in the following emphatic and generous strain:—

“To my head múnshí, Baba Khan, I owe the acquisition, in the years 1837-38-39, of all the information respecting Khond usages which I had the honor to submit to Government in my printed report. The ability and devoted zeal which he has since displayed in this work could not be surpassed. He commands, in an extraordinary degree, the confidence and affections of the Khonds and of the rude instruments employed amongst them, and his health has suffered much.

Sundera Singh, son of the late Rajah of Souradah, has afforded assistance which has been equally invaluable. Bred amongst the Khonds connected with his zemindary, but still a well educated Hindu gentleman, he brings knowledge and an hereditary influence which no other man can possess. His services in the Khond country, during the Goomsur rebellion, were acknowledged by a grant of land; and he has devoted himself with the utmost zeal to the work in which I am engaged.

I venture to suggest, that the bestowal by Government of a small mark of approbation upon these two servants, may produce important effects. There now exists extreme difficulty in inducing men of character and talent to engage in this work, from ideas connected with caste, from its great danger, its difficulty, and its bringing no desirable influence.

The marked appreciation by the Government of devotion to it, even by conferring an honorary medal, might I conceive tend in an important degree to remove this difficulty.”

Captain Macpherson's report of the 8th May was very promptly forwarded, on the following day, to the Madras Government, by Mr. Anstruther, acting agent to the Governor. In doing so, he briefly adverted to the great evil arising from the divided territorial jurisdiction, owing to the Khond country being situated, partly within the limits of the Madras presidency, and partly within those of the Bengal presidency. There was, he admitted, a communication between the officers in charge of the Khond districts within these two presidencies. But, as they were still separate authorities, deriving their in-

structions from two separate Governments, it was clear that, however cordial their co-operation, the benefits of a complete unity of action could not possibly be attained.

Neither did the Madras Government, to its credit it must be said, lose any time in taking the report into its consideration. In its minutes of consultation of 13th June, it was noted that the Most Noble the Governor in Council (the Marquis of Tweedale) had perused it with the highest satisfaction ; and that his Lordship in Council "desired to record the sense he entertained of the merits and exertions of the principal assistant agent, the chief instrument in effecting so important a change in the Khond habits and religious principles." After minutely reviewing the whole of Captain Macpherson's proceedings, with the remarkable success which attended them, his Lordship in Council had "the greatest pleasure in sanctioning all the measures" which had been adopted, and "in repeating his approbation of the agent's conduct throughout these proceedings."

Also, with respect to the farther measures suggested as immediately necessary to the full and permanent accomplishment of the objects of Government—such as, *the removal from office and attendant profits, of Sam Bisaye, and the permanent exclusion from the Khond country of him and the three members of his family that had been most obnoxious* ; the confirmation of the Dulbhera in his lately resumed hereditary office and lands attached to it ; the confirmation of Sirdar Panda Naik in his important charge ; the construction of the projected road by the Courminghia Ghat ; and the erection of bungalows in the Khond country,—with respect to one and all of these measures, his Lordship in Council thoroughly approved of them, and desired that instructions should be issued for having them "immediately and fully carried out." Medals also were ordered to be struck, with suitable inscriptions, for delivery to the agent's two chief Native assistants, "as a testimony offered by the Government to their meritorious and important services." And, finally, it was resolved again to address the Government of India relative to the proposition that the jurisdiction of the Khond agent should extend over the several hill zemindaries connected with the Khond tribes, as well as the suggestion of the agent on the employment of a single agency for the entire Khond country.

On the same day, the 13th June, Mr. Drury, chief secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, forwarded to Mr. Davidson, officiating secretary to the Government of India, the last report of Captain Macpherson's operations and successes, with the orders of the Madras Government upon it.

Nor was it sent merely in a dry formal official manner—but accompanied with hearty recommendations. The secretary was desired to notify to the Supreme Government, the high satisfaction of the Most Noble the Governor in Council at the verified results of Captain Macpherson's judicious measures; and to express his hope, that the operations on the Bengal frontier might meet with an equally happy termination, as the proceedings on the Madras side;—since, independently of other considerations, it was much to be desired that, the good faith and constancy of the tribes in Goomsur, pledged to non-sacrifice, might not be liable to the temptation of viewing the Meriah rites celebrated with impunity around them. In order to this it seemed essential that all the hill zemindaries, including those on the Bengal side, namely, Boad, Duspulla, and Nyaghur, should be placed under the same general system of management. Whether the working of such a system, with the needful authority, should be vested in a sole agent for the entire Khond country, as Captain Macpherson's more mature experience now inclined him to prefer, or delegated to the officers in Ganjam and Cuttack, engaged more immediately in the suppression of the Meriah sacrifice, by appointing them Joint Magistrates, as formerly suggested by the Principal Assistant, was a subject for the decision of the Government of India. But the former of these plans, or that last proposed, of having one sole agent for the entire Khond country, was that which received the recommendation of the Madras Government—as it tended more effectually to produce that combination of influence and unity of action, and the same directed by one instrument to one system, which the most zealous and willing co-operation of authorities, acting apart from one another, would fail to bring about. And lastly, the secretary was desired to state, that the Madras Government had not yet been favoured with the sentiments of the Government of India on the measures, past and future, relative to the sacrifice in general—and that some definite and organized plan, sanctioned by the highest authority, appeared urgently necessary, and awaited for by the local officers with much anxiety.

Hitherto, we have been simply following the main stream of those operations which were directed towards the abolition of the *Meriah sacrifice*. But, it must not be forgotten that there was another practice scarcely less revolting to the feelings of humanity, which was, *for the first time*, brought to light by Captain Macpherson, in the course of his visit to the southern Khond district early in 1842.* This was the abhorrent prac-

* See "Calcutta Review," No. IX., page 32—34.

tice of *female infanticide*, carried out by some of the Khond tribes to an almost exterminating extent. The portions of the Khond country in which it was ascertained for certain to have prevailed, were included in the zemindaries of Souradah, Coradah, and Chinna Kimedý in the Ganjam district; divided into five districts, namely, Pondacole, Gúldi, Degí, Búri, and Cundami, and possessed by a few tribes which are subdivided into numerous branches, with a population, at a rough estimate, of about 60,000. On his first visit, the information received by the agent led him to conclude that the annual sacrifice of guiltless and helpless female children in these districts, amounted to the fearful aggregate of a *thousand*! Subsequent and more searching investigations, far from shewing that this aggregate was over-estimated, tended rather to prove that it was considerably under the mark. So that, after the inquiries of two years, he reckoned that the number of female infants annually destroyed, averaged from *twelve* to *fifteen* hundred! The extent to which the practice was carried, was found to vary materially in the five districts. In Búri, he saw *many villages of above a hundred houses, in which there was not a single female child*! In Pondacole, in villages of that size, *one, or perhaps two*, might be found! In Gúldi, female infants are very rarely reared! In Degí, the practice of destroying them was limited to a few tracts on its border, next to Gúldi. Respecting Cundami, no information, on which perfect reliance might be placed, could be obtained; though the general impression was that there, too, the atrocious practice prevailed to an enormous extent!

With reference to the Meriah sacrifice, a good deal has been already recorded, relative to its proximate causes;* and some thing also has been advanced respecting the inducements to female infanticide† But, as we are now about to unfold the measures adopted by the indefatigable agent for its abolition, it may be well to inquire into the further light which the experience of two years tended to throw upon the subject. The tribes that practised infanticide were found to belong to the division of the Khond people which did *not* offer human sacrifices. The usage was now fully ascertained to owe its origin and its maintenance partly to religious opinions, and partly to ideas from which certain very important features of Khond manners arise. But, on so delicate and difficult a subject, we deem it better to let the agent set forth his own views, as expounded in his report of 10th July 1844:—

“The Khonds believe that the supreme deity, the Sun-god, created all

* See “Calcutta Review,” No. IX., page 60.

† See “Calcutta Review,” No. IX., page 31.

things good; that the Earth goddess introduced evil into the world; and that these two powers have since conflicted. The non-sacrificing tribes make the supreme deity the great object of their adoration—neglecting the Earth goddess. The sacrificing tribes, on the other hand, believe the propitiation of the latter power to be the most necessary worship. Now, the tribes which practice female infanticide hold, that the Sun-god, on contemplating the deplorable effects produced by the creation of the chief being of feminine nature, charged men to bring up only as many females as they could restrain from producing evil to society. This is the first idea upon which the usage is founded.

Again, the Khonds believe, that souls almost invariably return to animate human forms in the families in which they have been first born and received.

But the reception of the soul of an infant into a family, is completed only on the performance of the ceremony of naming, upon the 7th day after its birth.

The death of a female infant, therefore, before that ceremonial of reception, is believed to exclude its soul from the circle of family spirits, diminishing by one, the chance of future female births in the family, and, as the first aspiration of every Khond is to have male children, this belief is a powerful incentive to infanticide.

But the practice also springs from, and produces alternately, the ideas upon which the relations of the sexes, and especially those which are directly involved in the marriage tie, are mainly founded in these tribes.

The influence of women is, I believe, greater among the Khonds than amongst any other people which has been described, and is strongest in the tribes in which infanticide is practised. Their opinions have great weight upon every public and private question, and their direct agency is essential upon almost all occasions. The presence of the sisters and daughters of a tribe is indispensable at its battles, to afford aid and encouragement. Its wives, who are neutral between the tribes of their fathers and their husbands, are necessary to make peace. The Khond women constantly settle difficult questions between their tribes, and the Rajahs, through their ladies, with whom they are always in communication.—and these ladies it may be observed, are always employed on critical occasions, as irresistible instruments to sway the Khond chiefs. But the ascendancy of Khond women is completed by their matrimonial privileges. A wife in these tribes, is permitted to indulge in intrigue at pleasure; her pretensions not suffering diminution, at least, when fines are levied on her convicted lovers;—while on the other hand, infidelity on the part of a married man is held to be in the last degree dishonourable, and is punished by his complete exclusion from society. A wife, moreover, may quit her husband at any time, except when she is pregnant, or within a year after the birth of a child, and she may then return to her father's house, or contract a new marriage;—while no man who is without a wife may refuse to receive any woman who may choose to enter his house to become its mistress.

Now, a bridegroom in these tribes, gives a large consideration for his wife in cattle and money. The sum is chiefly subscribed by his branch of his tribe, and is paid to the father of his wife, who, again distributes it amongst the heads of families of his own branch. All civil contracts amongst the Khonds being, according to very curious usages, more tribal than personal. But when a wife quits her husband, he has a right to reclaim the whole sum paid for her; while her father at the same time, becomes entitled to levy a like sum from the new husband, to whom she

has attached herself; the tribes of the parties being answerable for each.

These restitutions and exactions, always to be made, it is to be observed, betwixt members of different tribes which acknowledge no common authority, and which have invariably a stock of unsettled disputes, are in the simplest cases, productive of infinite difficulty and vexation, and they have given rise to two-thirds of the sanguinary feuds which distract the Khond country. "A married daughter," say these Khonds, "is to any man but a rich and powerful chief who desires to form connections, and is able to make sudden and large restitutions, and to his tribe, a curse. By the death of our female infants before they are conscious of the light, the lives of men without number are saved, and we live in comparative peace.

In the report from which this painfully interesting extract has been taken, the author proceeds to detail the measures which he had been led to adopt, during the two preceding years for the abolition of this infanticidal practice, and the results which had been attained. And, considering the atrocious nature of the practice in itself, together with the awful extent to which it has prevailed for unnumbered ages, what reader of sound understanding, or correct moral sensibility, or kindly sympathy with the ills and woes of humanity, will not be eagerly desirous to learn the nature of the measures employed, and vehemently to long for and anticipate their success?

Every practising physician will tell us that by far the most difficult and important part of his art is the *diagnosis*—the clear discrimination of the precise seat and nature of his patient's malady. For obvious it must be to the common sense of all men, that a mistake as to the essential character of the disease must produce a corresponding mistake as to the nature of the appropriate remedy—that a clear discriminating knowledge of the former is indispensable to the primary suggestion and seasonable application of the latter—and that an unsuited or inadequate remedy must only aggravate, instead of mitigating or removing, the threatening symptoms of any disorder. Thus judged and thus acted the principal assistant for Khond affairs. His *first* object always was, minutely to inspect the social malady for whose cure or removal he was expected to operate—to trace it, if possible, to its *source* or *primary seat*—to lay bare its roots—and to fix and define its originating or pre-disposing proximate causes. In the present instance, we have seen from the extract quoted, how fully and successfully he endeavoured to accomplish all this, with reference to the social leprosy of the fell practice of female infanticide. The chief causes which at least sustained, if they did not originate it, were these: a belief in its conditional injunction by the Deity: a belief that the practice conduced to the birth of mail offspring: an opinion, that the destruction and bloodshed which

spring from the capricious dissolution of marriage ties by women, made the usage the less of two evils.

Such being the chief sustaining causes of the fatal disease, these will naturally suggest the distinguishing feature of the proposed remedy. Let us now attend to its leading constituent elements. These, as might be expected, will be found partly of a *general* and partly of a *specific* character. Those of the former description are such as are common to the infanticidal and the sacrificing tribes. With these, therefore, our readers must, by this time, be tolerably familiar.

The same general and fundamental conditions characterize, with minor exceptions and subordinate modifications, the state of society among all the Khond tribes, whether infanticidal, or sacrificing, or neither. It is plain, therefore, that the same general principles must govern any civilizing measures which may be applied to any of these classes or divisions. In each division equally, the peculiar genius of the people, the form and the spirit of their institutions, and their physical situation, precluding the application of the forces by which civilized power can act directly upon barbarism, appeared to indicate the general course of procedure so often alluded to. This course consists of two main branches. First, an endeavour to establish the authority of Government over each cluster of tribes, by supplying their chief social wants beneficially and acceptably to them, and above all by conferring on them the inestimable boon of *justice* and *peace*. Second, a continuous systematic attempt to obtain the complete dominion over them which is necessary to sway them to the radical changes desired in their religion and their manners, by combining, with the direct authority so acquired, every form of influence which can be created by acting upon their reason, their feelings, their affections, and on the whole circle of their minor interests.

In three of the five districts in which infanticide prevails—those of Pondacole, Gúldi and Degí, in the zemindaries of Souradah and Boradah—Captain Macpherson endeavoured by degrees to carry out this general plan. A spirit of confidence having, through the varied agencies employed, succeeded the feelings of deep apprehension and distrust which he found to prevail on his first visit,* his primary object was the establishment of authority, through the dispensation of justice. With this view he proceeded to settle questions of importance whenever it was quite certain that he could act with distinct and lasting benefit—always alive to the consideration that partial and tem-

* See "Calcutta Review," No. XV, page 4.

porary measures of interference with any portion of the Khond people can produce nothing but unmixed evil, by weakening or breaking down the existing guarantees for order, without establishing others in their stead. In effecting this object he employed generally the same methods of detail, and in part, the same agency, which he used in accomplishing the like work in Goomsur.

But, without entering into particulars, we may simply state that, within the eighteen months previous to July 1844, these varied operations included the settlement of a large number of questions of every class, in every part of the nearer tracts of Pondacole, and affected to a considerable extent the whole population of Gúldi and Degi. The general result may be very briefly stated. While the superior and more distant tribe of Gúldi* exhibited many favourable symptoms, "*the authority of Government was completely established in Pondacole and in Degi, and the people of these districts anxiously desired the complete extension to them of its justice and protection, as these are afforded to the tribes of Goomsur.*"

The general influence thus obtained from his acceptable dispensation of justice—the greatest of their social wants—Captain Macpherson next endeavoured to apply as an enforcement to his persuasives on the subject of abolishing the noxious practice of infanticide.

But, besides the application of this *general* influence, he resorted to every other lawful expedient of a more *specific* kind, and having a direct and distinctive bearing on the specific object contemplated. And, amongst the more special means thus employed, was the use of arguments directly opposed to the opinions and the reasonings by which the practice of infanticide was supported. Of these the following is the author's epitome:—

"With respect to these, I have held—1st, that the alleged injunction of the deity, by which the usage is justified, is, plainly, but a conditional

* The tribe of Gúldi is reported to be superior in courage, in physical strength, and in most Khond virtues, as it is in wealth, in proportion to its numbers and territory, to any other tribe with which we are acquainted.

It has never suffered a serious defeat, and not having felt our power in the Goomsur rebellion, it entertains very exaggerated ideas of its progress and importance. It is divided into two hostile parties of unequal strength. The weaker of these has sought and obtained our friendship, and is disposed to obedience, although it is not yet brought under authority.

The stronger has availed itself in some instances of our mediation, but is averse to the idea of subordination, and to that of the relinquishment of the practice of infanticide, as its sign. Upon the conduct of this fine tribe, the minds of the whole Khond population in this quarter, both the portion which practices infanticide, and that which sacrifices, is fixed; and upon its complete subjection to the will of the Government very much depends,

permission, authorising it at the utmost, only in so far and for so long, as the men of any tribe shall find themselves unequal to maintain the peace of society undisturbed through their women,—unequal, that is, to the first duties of manhood ;—the admission of the necessity of the practise by these tribes, necessarily placing them in a position of inferiority to all of mankind who are not compelled by their incapacity to do justice in questions of propriety arising out of the marriages of their daughters, to destroy them in infancy.

2nd. I have simply asserted that enquiry will prove the second alleged cause of the usage—the opinion that male births are increased by the destruction of female infants—to be unfounded.

3rd. With respect to the justification which is laid on the ground, that the destruction of infants is a less evil than that which must arise from the contests attendant on the capricious dissolution of their marriages, I have held it to be obvious, that the practice of infanticide, and the cause of those contests re-act upon each other alternately, as cause and effect. Infanticide produces a scarcity of women which raises marriage payments so high, that tribes are easily induced to contest their adjustment when dissolutions of the tie occur ; while these dissolutions are plainly promoted, by that scarcity, which prevents every man from having a wife. On the cessation of infanticide, women would become abundant, and the marriage payment would become small—every man would have a wife in those districts as elsewhere ; women would have less power to change, and when they did, there would be no difficulty in making the requisite adjustment of property. But lastly, the Government is now about to remove entirely this ground for the practice by preventing contests about property involved in marriage contracts, by adjudicating all questions respecting it in these districts, as it does in Goomsur.

Thus the evil which infanticide is held to avert will finally cease, and with it, all pretence of justification founded on the permissive sanction of the deity."

Such arguments and consideration were addressed to the infanticidal Khond in the same spirit as those which had been addressed to the sacrificing tribes of Goomsur. The reason and strong affections were directly appealed to—but in such a way as not unnecessarily to irritate, to offend, or to awaken any natural feeling or sentiment into uncontrollable hostility. Making the amplest allowance for their past ignorance and blind hereditary belief, he did not, in the first instance arraign and denounce the practice which he laboured to abolish, as deliberate presumptuous sins, but rather as sins of ignorance—not as wilful crimes, but rather as deplorable errors. It was, however, eagerly admitted by all the people addressed, that if the usages which we condemned were not founded upon express ordinances of the deity or upon necessity, they were deep crimes ; while the statement, that in them our own forefathers had once participated, but from them had successively been delivered, and elevated to that high position to which we now desire to raise the Khonds,—seemed always to produce a beneficial impression.

Eventually the chiefs of the two tribes of Pondacole and Degí, with a minority of those of Gúldi came to acknowledge the force of the arguments opposed to their opinions in support of infanticide. They appeared to feel deeply the imputation of inferiority with which the agent laboured to associate the practice, as grounded upon the alleged permission of Deity. They readily admitted that the usage and the evil which it was held to avert, reacted on each other as cause and effect; and that, when the latter should be prevented by the promised extension of the justice of the Government, all necessity, if not every cause that might be alleged for the former, would cease.

Besides all these appliances, there was still another special measure to which Captain Macpherson resorted, and which resulted in effects of great importance. As it is one, the nature and propriety of which have often been misunderstood, it is proper to receive the author's own account of it. It is as follows:—

"I conceived that between a people organised on the principle of family, and patriarchally governed, amongst whom contracts between individuals are also engagements between tribes, and the important class of marriage contracts gives rise to the strongest feelings, next to those of religion, which connect society,—I conceived, that between this people and the Government a new bond of connection, involving influence of the highest value to this work, might be created through the marriage to its *chiefs* of the female wards of Government saved from sacrifice—I, accordingly, about 12 months ago, after careful preparation, bestowed 53 of those wards, Khonds and a few Panwas, in marriage upon chiefs and men of influence in Pondacole, half of Gúldi and Degí. In the operation, I subjected both the principals and their followers for a long period to the influences of which I have already spoken,—settling the disputes of all, and reasoning with all; while I at the same time exhausted every art by which I could hope to engraft ideas analogous to those of family connection, upon the existing ideas of civil connection with the Government.

The degree of influence which has been acquired through the gradual development of this measure has surpassed my expectations. Slight differences in manners and feelings respecting persons devoted as victims, rendered both parties at first averse to marriage; but an entire change of feeling on this point took place. When it was found that the bestowal of a ward of the Government denoted its favour and confidence, and was the beginning of a new and beneficial relationship to it,—that the interests of the Government followed its children undiminished into their new families and tribes, giving to these special claims to consideration,—then arose the strongest desire to obtain these wards in marriage.

I have since laboured to strengthen and multiply the ties between them, and all connected with them and the Government, through the maintenance of regular intercourse with them, and the careful observance, as far as possible, of the forms and the duties and the use of the language of the paternal relation. Thus ideas of connection and of authority, analogous to those which arise from natural affinity, have become blended in the minds of these people, to a certain extent, with their existing ideas of civil connection with the Government. Even in Gúldi, where our direct authority is not

yet established, the influence arising from his quasi-family connection has produced very important results.*

The example of fifty-three heads of families who have relinquished the usage, forming a close and distinctive connection with the Government, has necessarily produced a strong impression upon all ; and more authority has been practically derived from this measure, directly and indirectly, than I could have hoped to acquire through the use of all other means which are available, in a very long period."

The general results of these varied measures in the two years of their operation, were the establishment in Pondacole and Degí of the authority of the Government, and of a *general and growing tendency* to relinquish the usage of infanticide. Of the tribe of Gúldi, one division was disposed to acknowledge the authority of Government, and had been induced by argument, and by the pressure of the influence acquired through the marriage of the Government wards, to relinquish the practice to an important extent. Much pains were bestowed on obtaining a correct return of the female children born and preserved in Pondacole, Degí, and the partly-gained half of Gúldi—shewing their tribes, branches, villages, and fathers' names, during the two last years ; and the agent had the high satisfaction to state that above 170 female infants—seventy in Pondacole, forty-five in Degí, and fifty-five in Gúldi—had certainly been saved in these tracts, in that period ; and that, of this number, two-thirds had been saved within the last fifteen months, through the direct and varied influences which he had brought to bear on them. And it was his decided conviction, with respect to the future, that the progress of the work would be co-extensive with the prudent and vigorous development of the measures which were then in active operation.

Here, for the present, we pause. Signal success, as we have seen, continued to crown the well directed efforts of the agent towards the abolition of the two-fold enormity—female infanticide and human sacrifice.

These successful efforts called forth, as might be anticipated, an expression of the cordial approbation and thanks of the Madras Government. Nor was the Honourable the Court of Directors behindhand on the occasion ; as the following extract from a General Letter from the Court, dated 2nd April 1845, will abundantly shew :—

"We have perused with much interest the further reports submitted by Captain Macpherson of the measures which he has adopted with so much success for the suppression of the practices of human sacrifice and female infanticide amongst the Khond tribes. The judgment and energy which

* Fifty five infants have there been saved.

characterize his benevolent efforts, warrant us in the confident expectation that he will, at no distant period, succeed in altogether banishing these barbarous rites from the tracts under our control; the more especially as they will be no longer obstructed by the adverse influence exercised by Sam Bisaye, whose removal from office, as well as that of the more active members of his family, appears to have been a measure absolutely required and justly merited.

We approve generally of the measures which have been sanctioned by your Government, and with respect to those which you have referred for the decision of the Government of India; such as the extension of the authority of the Khond agent over certain of the hill zemindaries, and the placing all the Khond tribes, whether within your own presidency or in the neighbouring district of Bengal, under the authority of the same officer."

The sphere, as we have already seen, within which Captain Macpherson had reaped the fruits of his skilful and indefatigable labours, was hitherto comparatively limited; and the great object was to extend those measures, of which experience had proved the applicability and the effectiveness, to all the surrounding Khond territories. But as these lay within the two separate presidencies of Madras and Bengal, and were parcelled out under different local jurisdictions, an act of the Supreme Legislature was required to sever them from existing relationships and place them unitedly under one paramount authority. Partly on account of health, and partly in order to assist in the concoction and expedite the passing of such an act, Captain Macpherson, in the month of October 1844, came to Calcutta, leaving the agency in charge of his head-assistant, Dr. Cadenhead,—a gentleman who was thoroughly conversant with the views and plans of his superior, and pre-eminently endowed with every requisite qualification of head and heart to watch and direct their progress.

On reaching Calcutta, the agent was naturally very anxious to secure the passing of an enactment, in time to enable him to return, armed with the necessary powers, to the scene of active operation, during the ensuing cold season. But unexpected causes of hindrance and delay, in strange and bewildering succession, were found to interpose in the way of such a consummation. Of these we do not care now to speak. The explication of them may well be reserved for another opportunity. Suffice it to say that, at length, towards the latter part of the following year, the required legislative act was really passed by which the Khond territories were segregated, unitized, and collectively placed under Captain Macpherson's jurisdiction and control. About the close of 1845, he was enabled to return to his favourite work, and at once, in virtue of his enlarged authority, commenced an aggressive movement on the principality of Boad on the Mahanuddi river, in the Bengal presidency. Now,

however, the incalculable evils which had sprung from the long delay in passing the legislative act, too plainly manifested themselves on every side. The gained party of the abolitionists had been greatly disheartened; while that of the anti-abolitionists had risen in courage. The procrastination had proved too severe a strain to the patience and resolution of the former; it served mightily to cheer and embolden the latter. Despondency had begun to seize and paralyse the ranks of the one; hope, buoyant with the opening prospects of success, visibly animated the other with the glow of an unwonted exultation. The real and happy crisis for striking a decisive blow was undoubtedly at the close of 1844. Then, every thing was favourable. The success of the agent was great and notorious. Those friendly to his measures were consequently inspired with confidence; while the energies of all who were inimical were correspondingly depressed. With the *prestige* of success in his favour, the tide was rising and the breeze freshening; and had he only been enabled then to float the vessel of his abolitionary and remedial measures freely over the surface of Khondistan, he might, after circumnavigating the whole, have only to report on the varied fruits and felicities of a thoroughly successive voyage.

“There is a tide in the affairs of man,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Neglected,—all the voyage of his life,
Is bound in shallows.”

But though, in consequence of the long delay, the difficulties now thrown in the way of the agent, were vastly increased, the cause was not for a moment regarded by him as hopeless, nor the mischief irretrievable. Accordingly, he entered on his chosen task, with his accustomed energy and zeal—determined to grapple with and demolish every interposing obstacle, by the variously adapted application of the same means which had heretofore cleared for him a highway to the goal of triumph. Nor were his calculations falsified. Amid obstructions the most intricate and interminable, he soon began to make decided progress. And had he been left to pursue his own measures unmolested, there is scarcely any reasonable ground for doubt, that long ere now the horrid rites of female infanticide and human sacrifice would have been abolished throughout the larger portion of the Khond territories. But, in an evil hour, a small Irish-Boulah-like rebellion broke out in a remote district, *wholly unconnected with the agent's abolitionary measures*—its sole object being to set up, as a Rajah, some member of the petty royal family of Goomsur which had

been formally deposed after the recent Goomsur war, and its territory annexed to the Honorable Company's dominions. Even this miserable miniature of a rebellion, Calcutta in Macpherson, if properly seconded, would have easily and promptly quashed. But unhappily, it came to be magnified at a distance in so disproportionate a degree, that it was deemed necessary to send General Dyce with an army to quell it. And, still more unhappily, it came to pass that the said General, on his arrival in Goomsur, utterly mistaking the *real spirit and intention* of his commission, began officiously, gratuitously, and arbitrarily, to intermeddle with matters which in no way whatever belonged to him. His sole and exclusive vocation was, to put down "the tempest in a tea-pot" rebellion. But, in his total ignorance of Khond affairs, he somehow or other, took it into his head to imagine that there was some causative connection between the said rebellion and the operations of the Khond agency. And though with the latter he had nothing conceivable to do, he took it upon himself, not only unwarrantably to assume a directive control over the agency, but actually, in a way the most summary, insulting and despotic, to order it, without any inquiry and in disgrace, out of the country—as if it had been tried and convicted of felonious or highly aggravated criminal offences! Nor did the gratuitous indignity end even here. In order, it may be supposed, to justify so indefensible and unheard of a procedure, the General followed up his monstrous decree of banishment, by a string of *alleged* charges against the agency—on the principle, it may be surmised, of what is popularly known in Scotland under the designation of "*Cupar justice*," which simply consists in hanging the accused first and trying them afterwards!

Conscious of his own integrity and innocence, the agent promptly challenged, or rather respectfully demanded, the most searching inquiry on the spot. To this respectful and reasonable demand, the Supreme Government, much to its honor and credit, instantly responded. And to prove its sincerity in desiring that the inquiry should be no mere sham, or piece of official formalism, one of the ablest and most practised members of the Civil Service, Mr. J. P. Grant, late commissioner in the Mysore, was appointed to conduct it. About the time when this appointment took place, we were led to remark* that, as regarded "*the result of the inquiry on its more immediate bearing on the official credit, conduct and character of the Agent, we knew no valid ground for fear or misgiving.*" Such a favourable judg-

* See "Calcutta Review," No. XV. page 49.

ment we were led confidently to anticipate, solely from our previous acquaintance with the skilful and judicious proceedings of the agent, and a consequently intense persuasion that the *alleged gross exaggerations, but absolutely unfounded and calumnious libels*—the sheer inventions of some malicious and interested parties, who must have imposed on the General's profound ignorance and all-devouring credulity. And it now affords us no ordinary satisfaction to be enabled authoritatively to report that,—after a twelve month's investigation of the most searching character, conducted throughout on the part of the commissioner with consummate ability, and the drawing up of reports on each of the alleged charges, extending, in the aggregate, to about *two thousand five hundred folio pages*,—the deliberate verdict of the Supreme Government has been, *not merely one of bare acquittal, but in most cases of TRIUMPHANT VINDICATION*. This vindication extended equally to Dr. Cadenhead, and Lieut. Pinkney, who also had been calumniated.*

With respect to the agent personally, his honored assistants, this is so far well. If it is not all which his warmest friends could possibly wish for ; it is beyond what most of them, alive to the host of difficulties arrayed against him, could hopefully expect. It cannot fail to cover his enemies with the confusion and disgrace which their ill-omened counsels and machinations have retributively entailed. But, however vexatious to a man of rectitude and honor, the charges which had been so wantonly and cruelly preferred against him, and however gratifying to his own feelings the signal victory which he has eventually gained ;—we have reason to know that his vexation and regret were greater

* The vindication would have been still more complete, had the Commissioner been able to extend his inquiries, not merely to those matters which bore more immediately on the calumnious charges, but also to *the whole character and working of the Agent's policy*. By this *limitation* of the inquiry, nothing like full or proper justice has yet been done to Captain Macpherson. To render it even now, is, we venture to say, a duty which the Supreme Government owes to itself, not less than to the character of a greatly injured public officer. But if unhappily withheld by the Government now, the day is assuredly coming, when, on the whole, facts of the case being made public, the Agent will have his full reward in the approval and sympathy of the world at large. In the meanwhile, it affords us pleasure to add, that, as the result of acquittal from offences so wantonly and outrageously imputed, and as a proof of the undiminished confidence of Government, Dr. Cadenhead immediately obtained a staff appointment in the South-West Agency ; and we have reason to know that the Government would in like manner have shewn its practical adoption of the truths established by the inquiry, by employing Capt. Macpherson in the political department, in a position suited to his standing, had he not been compelled by illness to return for a time to Europe,—his health having been shattered and his life all but sacrificed by his devotion to a great philanthropic undertaking in a deadly climate. It is understood, however, that when he shall again be able to encounter the fatigues of Indian service, his high and acknowledged claims upon the justice of the Government will not be overlooked.

still, on account of the sudden abrupt and mischievous suspension of all his abolitionary labours,—and that the joy at his own deliverance from the meshes of his foes, has been not only tempered but almost congealed into icy coldness, by heartfelt sorrow at the violent upturning of all his plans and measures—plans and measures so fraught with golden promise—and the consequent indefinite postponement of those splendid results to the cause of civilization and humanity, which were on the very eve of emanating from them, in the form of ripe and mellow fruit. The melancholy doings of the last two years have of course served to upheave, disarrange and complicate all previously existing relationships. But, our hope is, that the time may yet come, when the Supreme Government, untiringly bent on this philanthropic enterprize, shall be enabled to call on Captain Macpherson, with his able co-adjutor Dr. Cadenhead, to proceed to Khondistan, and there complete the great work which he so nobly begun, and for the furtherance of which he has given indisputable evidence of possessing peculiar qualifications, alike in the way of knowledge, aptitude, and experience, beyond all other men, living or dead. And if it should ever be his destiny to set out anew on a mission, on the prosecution of which he has already, a hundred times over, perilled his very life, without being in any way daunted or dismayed, and on which, therefore, he would doubtless be still ready to enter, with undiminished alacrity and zeal,—we trust that he may, from the outset, be invested with all but unlimited discretionary powers. The forms and technicalities of British law, with all the tedious crossings and delays which these indissolubly involve, are utterly and preposterously inapplicable to so rude and barbarous a state of society as that which prevails in Khondistan. There, *personal* influence, unmistakable sympathy with the people, patience and forbearance towards them even in their frivolities and follies, together with a clear manifestation of the spirit of justice, kindliness, conciliation and charity,—can alone do every thing. And in all dealings of every description, simplicity, directness and promptitude of inquiry and decision, can alone be intelligible to their unexercised minds, and alone influential for the accomplishment of good. What could Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak, have done towards obtaining a paramount influence over the Dyaks of Borneo, had he been hampered and hemmed in on every side by the technicalities of British law, and liable at every step to have the *formality* of his proceedings canvassed and called in question by British judges? A really able and trustworthy Commissioner to the Khonds should be virtually as free and

unembarrassed in his actings and movements, as the Rajah of Sarawak in his primordial dealings with the barbarous Dyaks.

Before concluding, we may as well remark, that the only part of Captain Macpherson's proceedings during the period embraced in this article, to which, in any quarter, any exception has ever been taken, is that which relates to the disposal of *a portion* of the rescued *female* victims in marriage to the Khond chiefs. The gist of the objection, so far as we can understand it, seems to lie in this—that, whereas these victims do become, by right of their delivery from a violent death, the wards by a Christian Government, that Government ought to retain, cherish and educate them, not merely in the elements of general knowledge, but in the principles of the Christian faith, instead of allotting them for wives to men who are still heathen.

It is worth while to pause a little and coolly consider this objection in its various lights and bearings.

No one can question the uprightness and benevolence of the agent's *motives* in suggesting and partially carrying out this arrangement; nor the pre-eminent excellence of the *great end* contemplated, which was *to prevent the shedding of innocent blood—to save the lives of hundreds now, and of thousands of thousands in the generations that are to come!* Still, if any of *the means* proposed or adopted for the accomplishment of this noble and praiseworthy end, could be proved to be intrinsically and indisputably sinful or wrong, we should, with all our "might and main," denounce the employment of such means as utterly unwarranted in the eye of reason, of conscience, and of revelation. That "the end justifies the means" is one of the most pestilent dogmata that ever emanated from the bottomless pit. "To do evil," on the pretext, "that good may come," is a course of procedure laid under the special anathema of Heaven itself; and well it may,—since it is a course, which, in such a world of ignorance, superstition, selfishness and sin, would soon produce a state of things that could not fail to glut even the ravenous appetite of "the Anarch old," whose delight and gain consisted in "tumult and discord and confusion," in "havoc and spoil and ruin." No, no: if we cannot bring to pass what we conceive to be a good and desirable end, except by the employment of morally wrongful means,—instead of resorting to such means, we ought at once to conclude, either that the time had not yet come for the accomplishment of the end in view, or that we were not the parties ordained, in the overruling providence of God, for the honor and privilege of achieving it.

The simple question then arises;—cheerfully admitting the

excellence of the *end* designed by Captain Macpherson, was that part of the *means* employed, which consisted in giving the Government wards in marriage to Khond chiefs, morally right and justifiable? Let us calmly view the subject in its various bearings and relationships.

The Meriah victims rescued by the Government agent must have been either feloniously stolen from their parents, or unnaturally sold by them, as in the lamentable case already recorded;* or destitute orphans, or poor abandoned outcasts without a friend. If they belonged to the *first* of these classes, the plain and obvious dictate of reason and humanity would be, to find out the surviving parents, if at all possible, and restore to them their stolen offspring. If the poor victims belonged to the *second* of these classes, it might be a question, how far the Government would be justifiable in restoring children to parents, who, by the supposition, had virtually forfeited all parental rights, by monstrously violating all parental obligations. At all events, it is not without the most rigorous and binding covenants that such restoration could even be contemplated. But should the parents or friends of the rescued victims be no more discoverable; or should these be found to belong to the two last classes above specified,—in all such cases they plainly become the wards of the Government that interposed for their deliverance from a cruel death.

The question next arises,—what is the Government to do with *such* victims? How is it to dispose of them?

We must next regard these as consisting of *two* classes—those that have reached *years of maturity*, years of discretion, or in a loose sense, what is called, the *marriageable* or *legal* age—and those that have *not*. Those that have *not* reached this age are *children*. What is the Government to do with them? Plainly, the Government which stands providentially to them *in loco parentis*, ought to train them up for future usefulness—in other words, ought to provide for them the means of a sound education. And the Government itself being Christian, it ought, beyond all question, carefully to initiate these, its own youthful helpless wards, in the reviving, subduing, and soul-elevating principles of the Christian faith. To such a line of procedure many, we are aware, even of those who bear the Christian name, have strangely objected. Either, say they, bestow on them an exclusively secular education, or if religion be taught at all, let them be handed over for instruction to the priests of the faith to which their parents must have belonged—

* See "Calcutta Review," No. XI., page 53—56.

whether Hindu, Mahommedan, or Khond. The principle involved in such objection, and such surrender and transference of acquired providential right, we must utterly repel and repudiate. Religion is, or ought to be, the transaction of the soul with God, its creator and preserver, governor and judge. No child therefore can possess an imprescriptible right to inherit the religion of its parents, *merely because it happens to be theirs*; in the same way as human law, founded on dictates of nature, may confer an absolute and exclusive right on the child to inherit the material property of deceased parents. *merely because it was theirs*. Parents, of course may, according to human law, under solemn responsibility to the great God, initiate their children into their own ancestral faith, or into any other of which they may better approve. And if the parents are dead, or if they cruelly abandon their own offspring, their rights naturally devolve on those who become the preservers, the guides, and the guardians of the children. Such guardians, therefore, are entitled, under responsibility to God, to exercise the parental right, not only of bestowing upon their wards the advantages of general knowledge, but of indoctrinating them in the principles of that faith which they themselves conscientiously embrace and uphold. In the case of a Christian Government, that faith is Christianity.

As this is a subject of great practical importance we may refer to certain home proceedings from which the *principle* we advocate received a remarkable confirmation. In London, Edinburgh, and other great towns in England and Scotland, the attention of the public had been powerfully directed to the fearful condition of out-cast children, who,—nurtured in the hot bed of vice, profligacy, ignorance, and want,—grow up to become the scourges of society—replenishing its jails, penitentiaries and hulks—and terminating their wretched existence on scaffolds, or in foreign penal settlements. Considerable efforts have, in consequence, been put forth to rescue these degraded out-casts from infamy and ruin, and to train them up to usefulness and decency. Then arose the “vexed” question as to the *kind* of religious training which they ought to receive. The parents might have had no religion at all of their own; or they may have nominally belonged to different persuasions. Many were doubtless Romanists. Then started up in certain quarters the Romish priesthood, claiming a right to the possession of such children, with the view of rearing them in the dogmas, ceremonies, and superstitions of their own system. In Edinburgh, in the month of June 1847, a public meeting of the inhabitants was summoned by the Lord Provost, on a

requisition signed by Lords Abercrombie, Murray, Jeffrey, and other influential persons, for the express purpose of considering this subject in connection with the recently established "Ragged School." On that occasion, the Rev. Mr. Guthrie, of the Free Church of Scotland,—to the pleadings of whose eloquent pamphlet, noticed with such eclat in the June number (1847) of the *Edinburgh Review* the school had owed its origin,—is reported to have thus spoken :—

"The truth is that they (the ragged children) are nothing at all—perfect out-casts,—neither Protestants nor Roman Catholics; and it is in that light and character that I would look at them here. What is my position, then, in regard to these out-cast children? I deny the right of the priesthood—I deny it before God and man—I deny the right of any man, be he parson, or priest, or clerk, or whatever he choose, to stand between a perishing sinner and God's word. Mark how I stand; I say that the responsibility of the religious upbringing of the child lies upon the parent; and if there be no parent that will act a parent's part—if the parent be a worthless, profligate, wicked, cruel, monstrous mother, on whom does the responsibility next lie? I join issue with the Catholic. He says that it lies with the priest; I say it lies upon the good Samaritan who acts the parent's part. I say that it neither lies with the priest nor the Levite that passed by on the other side. *It lies with the man who resolves by the strength of his own exertions, to save the poor out-cast child.* I shall never forgive myself in this world that I did not save a child from ruin once. When there was no ragged school, what could I have done? I would have brought it, a homeless, helpless out cast, to my own house, and before God and man, I would have felt myself bound to give it the Bible I give to my own children. What is a ragged school but a gatherer of such miserable out-casts? *They are cast upon my care,—they become a sharer of my humanity and of my Christianity. What difference is it to me whether I save a poor child from the wreck of society or from the wreck of the sea?* I would like to know the difference. It were a mercy to some of them that they perished in the wreck of the sea, rather than in the wreck of society. Let the meeting put the case: I strip myself and plunging headlong into the billows, buffet them with a strong arm till I reach the wreck. I take a boy that has hung to it; I bear him to the shore; I take him home through the crowd who watched my rising and falling head, and blessed me with their prayers. Forth steps a Roman Catholic priest and forsooth, because yon ship contains a number of Irish emigrants, he claims the prey of my humanity—the boy that clings to his preserver's side,—he would take him away and bring him up in what I think dangerous error. Now, I have two answers to give to this demand. My first is, *I saved the boy.* The hand that plucked him from the wreck is the hand that will guide him to heaven; my second answer is, *to point him to the wreck where there are others perishing.* I tell him to strip like me, and to save those that are perishing there. I have heard a story of a man who had a little ewe lamb, which ate of his bread and drunk of his cup, and lay in his bosom, and was like a little daughter unto him; and I say, if I adopt any poor, perishing, homeless, helpless out-cast—that out-cast is my little ewe lamb, and, with God's help, I will resist the man that would take it from me."

The soundness of *the principle*, here so strikingly illustrated,

was enthusiastically and all but unanimously approved, by one of the most numerous and intelligent popular assemblies that could be found in Christendom there being literally but five individuals present, to express a feeble hesitating dissent from the strong and clear convictions of the overwhelming majority. But apart altogether from such a striking corroboration of it, we have always considered the principle itself to be one whose soundness could never be competently disputed or called in question. A Christian government, therefore, which generously interposes its authority, while it grudges not to lavish a fair proportion of its resources, in the attempt to rescue poor, hapless, unoffending out-cast children from a death of unparalleled cruelty, plainly acquires towards them all the parental rights of guidance and of guardianship, and consequently the right of training them up in that religion which itself professes as the only true and saving faith.

But there is still another class of rescued victims, namely, the class, which, in a loose sense, may be said to have reached the *marriageable* or *legal* age. What is to be done with them? How are they to be disposed of? During the period of infancy, pupilage or non-age, the right of control on the part of parents and guardians is, in all things lawful, altogether absolute. But when children arrive at the age of puberty or majority, they are plainly entitled to assume the responsibility of their own conduct; in which case, both the responsibility and the right of parents and guardians wholly cease. Earnest counsel may still be given, and salutary influence exerted, and all manner of means employed for the promotion of their welfare; but the exercise of absolute authority is clearly at an end. And what holds true of the rights and duties of parents and guardians generally, holds equally true of the rights and duties of the British Government with reference to its wards—the rescued Meriah victims.

Now, it affords us very sincere pleasure to be enabled authoritatively to state that the conduct of Captain Macpherson, and the Government of which he was the accredited agent, in the disposal of these hapless persons, whether old or young, male or female, was very much in accordance with the incontrovertible principles of rectitude involved in the preceding general considerations.

The victims of both sexes, who had been *stolen* from parents that could be discovered, were, in every such instance, restored to their families. Those whom their unnatural parents had sold, were not, save in one or two very special excepted cases, restored to them, because it was all but certain that they would sell them again.

The males under age, whose parents or natural guardians could not be discovered, and who consequently remained under the sole tutelage of Government, were variously disposed of in such ways as promised most for their benefit. In the year 1843, and subsequently, when Captain Macpherson acted as head assistant to the Governor's agent, Ganjam, he gave of those children to all the Christian house-holders, whether European or East Indian, who offered and engaged to support and bring them up usefully until they could maintain themselves. Of the rest, for reasons unknown to us, he gave a few for *bond fide adoption* by Mussulmans whom he knew to be men of substance and good character. In this mode of distributing a portion of them he acted according to the rule which he found in existence, of giving only one victim to each individual applicant.

Mr. Sutton of Cuttack having applied for a large number (150) of victims, Captain Macpherson transmitted his application to his own superior, Mr. Bannerman, who alone could warrantably deal with it. On Mr. Bannerman's leaving the district early in 1844, and Captain Macpherson's assuming temporary charge of his office, the latter found that nothing had been done in the matter of Mr. Sutton's application. He then at once addressed the Madras Government, proposing that it should empower him to *distribute the victims in considerable numbers amongst the several missionary and charitable institutions, that would engage to support, train and educate them*—given to each institution according to its apparent means of making effectual and permanent provision for them. Before receiving any reply to this communication and under the direct instruction of Mr. Anstruther, who soon succeeded Mr. Bannerman, as acting agent, he gave some eight or ten boys into the charge of the Military Chaplain at Vizagapatam, who made them over to a missionary there, from whom they effected their escape back to Captain Macpherson, a few months after; when, with the chaplain's consent, they were delivered to the Baptist Missionaries at Berhampore.

At last, the Madras Government wrote, in reply to the letter of the beginning of 1844, that its desire was, that such of the victims as were not otherwise already provided for, should, if possible, be re-united, if not to their families, at least to their tribes or race; and directed Captain Macpherson to report if this could be accomplished. In reply, he stated, that they might be ingrafted on the low country Khonds by settling them in their villages, and setting them up, each with a plough, and a pair of bullocks, and a year's seed, with a grant of a piece of jungle land. The Government adopted this proposal, and sanc-

tioned the expenditure of *fifteen* rupees a victim, which its execution would entail. Before, however, the plan could be fully carried out, Captain Macpherson was compelled by ill-health to leave the district. But it is specially worthy of note, that throughout the whole time, a *school-master* was employed by him to teach the boys to read and write Uriya—the language already spoken by some, and more or less understood by the majority of them, and the only one containing any ready made books ; and this the agent found, by occasional examination, that they were very fairly taught. The females were also employed in spinning thread ; but the results of their labours in this department did not amount to any thing very considerable.

As to *adults*, or those who had reached the age of puberty, they were variously disposed of, under sundry checks and guarantees, for their welfare. Young men became servants or apprentices, or were set up as petty farmers, in the manner already indicated. Of the rescued *females* all, with a very few exceptions were of marriageable age, or just approaching to it. Many of them were married to male victims and to persons of inferior caste in the low country, receiving small dowries of ten or twelve rupees from the Government. Of the rest, four-fifths were married to Khonds of substance and influence in the infanticidal tribes ; and arrangements were made for a like disposal of the remainder ;—all, all, under the strongest securities for proper treatment and adequate provision—any failure or shortcoming in the stipulated contracts or engagements being foreordained as sure to incur the serious displeasure of the Sirkar, or supreme sovereign power.

Here, however, it is proper to remark that it would not be doing full justice to Captain Macpherson merely to say, that he distinctly contemplated the educational training of such of the rescued victims as were under age, and capable of benefitting by scholastic instruction. His design was greatly more expansive than this. His fixed purpose was, as early as possible, to carry *education into the hills*—his great object being, through the moral and religious advancement of the Khonds, by educating them, to complete and render permanent the change in their ancestral faith and usages, which he had first brought about through personal, social and political means. While he was in Calcutta in 1845, he repeatedly wrote to his chief assistant, Dr. Cadenhead, expressing his great anxiety that some measures should be adopted as speedily as possible to attempt to establish *schools on the hills*. To effect this, the first thing to be done, was, to reduce the Khond language to writing and exactness, in order that it might be properly taught to the persons who

should be fit to undertake the office of schoolmasters, so that they, in their turn, might be duly qualified to communicate with their pupils. Towards the end of 1845, therefore, Dr. Cadenhead began the acquisition of the Khond language—but had been able to make comparatively slow progress from the numerous demands upon his time and attention. The increasing difficulties in the agency compelled him again and again, temporarily to suspend his labors in the matter. Nevertheless he persevered, and eventually he succeeded in collecting and writing out, in the Uriya character, an account of the manner in which the Meriah rite is performed, and of its origin—as nearly as possible in the words of the religious songs or hymns which are chaunted at the time of the sacrifice by the parties engaged in its performance; an account of the origin of a feud between two tribes and of the sacrifices and ceremonies to the God of War on the commencement of hostilities—of the battles—and of the return to peace; an account to the Khond view of the creation of man; an account of the Khond reasons why men, but not animals, are doomed to labor; four purely Khond fables, and two fables translated from the Uriya. All these, extending to about fifty closely written foolscap pages in the Uriya character, are translated word for word into Uriya—each Uriya word being placed exactly underneath the corresponding Khond word, after the Hamiltonian interlinear style. Dr. Cadenhead is now in a position to translate these pieces into English, word for word, in a few weeks, and to complete an already half finished grammar from them. He has also written out a short vocabulary of a few hundred words, not included in the above accounts, songs and legends,—a vocabulary which could have been enlarged at pleasure. The intention was, on the language being thoroughly mastered, to translate interesting pieces which convey general information, with moral and religious extracts from the Bible and other approved books, adapted to the capacity and religious position of the people; and when qualified teachers were raised up, to proceed to the establishment of schools at suitable points in the hills, in which the Uriya and Khond languages would be taught through these translations. It was also intended to teach as much arithmetic and other branches as might seem necessary. Of course, these arrangements were considered merely as pioneering operations—tending to pave the way for the more efficient and systematic labours of those, whose more peculiar vocation it is to bestow the inestimable blessings of a liberal and comprehensive Christian education.

Surely this statement of the laborious preparatory efforts and enlightened *designs* of Captain Macpherson and Dr. Cadenhead

can scarcely fail to exalt them in the estimation of all right-hearted men; while they cannot but serve immeasurably to enhance our regret at the cruel arrest which for a time, has been laid on the progress of these extended philanthropic schemes. In the meanwhile, we trust that the Government of India will not lose a day in obtaining and publishing so singular a collection of Khond literature as that which is now in the sole possession of its truly meritorious and indefatigable author—Dr. Cadenhead. That the Government is not blind to the importance of reducing the Khond language to a written and grammatical form, is undoubted. Of its due appreciation of this object it has given the most positive proof. Some time ago, as we have been credibly informed, an officer on the South-West frontier applied for leave to devote himself exclusively, for a certain definite period, to the task of collecting and arranging Khond vocables and phrases, which might form the materials for dictionaries and grammars of that hitherto unknown tongue. His work not having been satisfactorily completed within the prescribed time, he asked for, and, if we mistake not, obtained a farther extension of his leave. Here, then, is the Government giving ample proof of its sense of the unquestionable utility of the object by sanctioning a special agency, at a considerable expense, for its accomplishment. But, before the institution of this new and expensive agency at all, that very object had been already voluntarily undertaken and virtually accomplished, free of all expense, by Dr. Cadenhead and his assistants. How it came to pass, that before burdening the State exchequer with the needless cost of the more recent agency, it did not occur to the responsible authorities to enquire, what progress, or whether any, had been made by Captain Macpherson and his co-adjutors in the acquisition of the Khond language, it is not in our power adequately to explain.

Before finally concluding these statements, which have unexpectedly extended on our hands, we would fain endeavour once more to draw attention to the *enormous waste of human life* in Khondistan, from the two-fold atrocity of *human sacrifice* and *female infanticide*, in order that the abolitionary efforts of our Government and its agents may be better appreciated. On the singular and unparalleled horrors of the *former*, by which every year *three* or *four hundred* of innocent human beings are savagely torn in pieces, we have heretofore expatiated.* And now we would implore our readers to realize, if they can, the *extent* of suffering and loss of life, from the equally abhorrent

* See "Calcutta Review," No. IX, p. 59 63.

practice of *female infanticide*. By minute inquiries on the spot, during the agent's first visit, it was ascertained, that "at the lowest estimate, *above one thousand female children* must have been destroyed annually in the *three* districts of Pondacole, Gulodye and Bori alone"! And subsequent enquiries, as we have seen, instead of diminishing, tended only to augment this aggregate.

What a shocking picture of humanity have we here! What a prodigious waste of innocent life at the very dawn of being—and that too, within so limited a space!—a waste, the extent of which it is difficult for imagination itself adequately to realize! Talk of famine with its biting hunger and sinking leanness—of pestilence, with its raging virulence of disease—of war, with its horrid devastations:—and who will not mourn over the wreck and the ruin which ever mark the train of these ruthless destroyers? But these monster evils are, in their visitations, comparatively rare, and in their causes, comparatively intelligible. The sinful negligence of a people, or the aggravated misdeeds of their rulers, may, under a righteous overruling providence, at length evoke the judgments of high retributive justice, in the frightful forms of famine and its grim attendant pestilence. The uncontrolled lust of plunder, or power of fame, may fire the breast of the savage conqueror with matchless and destructive energy—hurrying him along, with the impetuosity and speed of a resistless hurricane—and impelling him unconsciously to fulfil his fatal destiny as "the scourge of God" to the guilty nations. In this way, famine has numbered its hundreds of thousands of victims. During the year that has now gone by, it is said, directly and indirectly, to have diminished the population of Ireland by two millions; but never before have we read or heard of such a famine in that unhappy land. Pestilence or the plague has numbered its hundreds of thousands of victims. But of really great, universal, or œcumenical plagues, authentic history records but four,—that vulgarly designated "the plague of Athens," merely because of the intensity and extent of its prevalence in that devoted city—and those still more spreading and destructive ones which so memorably signaled the third, the sixth and the fourteenth centuries of the Christian era. War, whether of plunder or of conquest, has also numbered its hundreds of thousands of victims. Who can reckon up the hecatombs of "untimely slain" that were strewn in the rear of Tamerlane's earthquake invasions? But in the records of Asiatic ambition and Asiatic crime, we read but of one Tamerlane. In the terrific wars of Napoleon, it has been calculated that upwards of two millions must have perished in battle, siege, conflagration or disastrous flight. But since the

days of Alaric the Goth, Genseric, the Vandal, and Attila the Hun, there has been but one Napoleon to scourge the European nations. From these appalling tragedies, enacted on the public stage of this world's history, we next turn to a region and a people, heretofore unheard of in "story or in song"—to the sequestered glens and smiling valleys of Khondistan, with their aboriginal races of rude but unsophisticated men. And what do our eyes behold? Spectacles, intrinsically not less appalling, though vastly more inexplicable, than those at whose portentous magnitude we have now been taking a cursory glance—spectacles of unmitigated cruelty, bloodshed, and death! Fixing our gaze on the present, and seeing in it only the sensible type of the past, which ascends upwards till, like the "fame" of Virgil, it muffles its head in the clouds and obscurities of an undated antiquity,—we have presented to our view, crowds, yea, literally, myriads or rather millions of hapless beings perishing before their time!—perishing, not from famine, or pestilence, or red-stained war—the ordinary rods that are wielded for the chastisement of a sinful rebellious world,—but perishing, as the trophy-victims of fatally erroneous opinions! *There*, as the result of one class of errors, we find hundreds of adults systematically reared for the slaughter—hundreds annually offered, with savage brutality, as propitiations to an imaginary but sanguinary deity. And as the practice has prevailed from time immemorial, it must now reckon up its victims by myriads of myriads! *There*, again, as the result of another class of errors, alike pestiferous, we find hundreds of unoffending innocents annually massacred by the hands of those who instrumentally gave them being; and who, therefore, were bound by every obligation, human and divine, to feed, nourish, and cherish them. And as this practice also has existed from the earliest periods, it, too, must reckon up its victims by myriads of myriads. What a frightful conclusion, then, are we compelled to arrive at! Looking at a single obscure and narrow nook of this mighty land, we find two revolting practices in busy and constant operation, which furnish an ascertained annual average of about *fifteen hundred* victims, barbarously slain. And this annual average, calculated only from the commencement of the Christian era, supplies the amazing aggregate of *nearly three millions*!—three millions, thus, mercilessly swept away from the stage of time, by the inexorable requirements of a sanguinary superstition or mistaken honor;—when, all the while, high heaven has been jubilant with choral songs of "peace on earth and good will to the children of men"! Would that, with reference to the hydra-headed tyrannies of Khondistan, and every other

region of this magnificent empire, we could warrantably adopt, in all its plenitude, the glowing language of the poet, and with him exultingly exclaim :—

"Tis past. Too long oppression's tyrant race
Have ground her children with their iron mace !
Too long has silence heard her whisper'd fears,
And glens impervious drank her flowing tears !
'Tis past. Her bosom stung with conscious shame,
Awaken'd Albion re-asserts her fame ;
Inclines in pity to a groaning land,
Wrests the foul sceptre from the spoiler's hand ;
And greatly lavish in the glorious cause,
Grants with her JONES, her science and her laws.
But chief Religion, venerable maid,
Raptured repairs where first her footsteps stray'd,
When down to earth she came, an angel guest ;
And man, yet pure, her genial presence blest.
On guilt's dark brow her glittering cross appears,
His sullied cheek is wash'd with pious tears ;
And Ganges, hallow'd still for holier ends,
Death-stream no more, his wave baptismal lends.
E'en now from yonder strand I see them move,
The mild evangelists of peace and love ;
And bear (strange merchandise,) to Asia's shore
The gospel's bright imperishable ore :
Unsold to deal its unbought wealth, their plan ;
Their traffic, to redeem the soul of man.
Her banner'd cross victorious Albion waves,
Beneath that symbol strikes, beneath that symbol saves.
O beauteous queen ! O dear-loved mother-isle !
Thine is each gallant aim, each gen'rous toil.
For thee, while fame her wreath of am'ranth twines,
And with her palm thy native oak combines,
The succour'd orphan lisps his little prayer,
And the slave's shackles crumble in thine air.
Hold then thy high career. Be this thy art,
Not to corrupt, but meliorate the heart :
Where'er mankind in Gentile darkness lie,
Instruction's blessed radiance to supply ;
O'er the oppress'd soft mercy's dew to shed,
And crush with ruin the oppressor's head.
O haste your tardy coming, days of gold,
Long by prophetic minstrelsy foretold !
Where yon bright purple streaks the orient skies,
Rise Science, Freedom, Peace. Religion, rise !
Till, from Tanjore, to farthest Samarcand,
In one wide lustre bask the glowing land ;
And, (Brahma from his guilty greatness hurl'd
With Mecca's, Lord) MESSIAH rule the world !"

SATARA,—AND BRITISH CONNEXION THEREWITH:

BY REV. DR. MURRAY.

1. *Report on the territories conquered from the Peishwa*, by the Hon. M. Elphinstone, Calcutta, 1821 : Bombay, 1838.
2. *Minute of a visit to the Satara Court*, by Sir John Malcolm, in 1828. Lithographed 1829.
3. *Papers relating to the Raja of Satara, 1818—1842, Parts I. and II. presented to the House of Commons*, 1843.
4. *Further papers relating to the Raja of Satara, presented to the House of Commons in 1843, in 1847, in 1848*.
5. *Debates at the India House, on the Satara Question, 1840—1847*.
6. *Speech of the Right Hon. Sir John Hobhouse, Bart., on the Satara Question, in the House of Commons, July 4, 1847*.

IT has not been without some degree of misgiving that we have transcribed the titles of the different publications, to which we are about to invite the attention of our readers. We are well aware that SATARA has become a word of significant omen, both in England and in India. We are conscious of the fact, that there exists no more potent talisman than this to clear the benches of "the House," and to induce even the most "constant reader" to skip whole columns of an evening edition of *the Sun*, or an entire issue of *the British India Advocate*.* In the face of all this discouragement, however, and notwithstanding the recent and memorable denunciations of the leading journal,† we have resolved, with the "halter round our neck," to introduce our readers to the Satara court, and to lay before them a brief outline of the recent history and government of that State. And we have come to this resolution, because we are satisfied that there is no chapter in British Indian history which exemplifies, in so many and such various ways, the good and evil effects of our Indian political system—none where the causes of success and failure are so clearly marked and so little liable to question.

Our purpose, then, in the following pages, is to take a general review of British connection with the Rajas of Satara. In the

* There are probably many of our readers who are indebted to the spontaneous generosity of some unknown benefactor for occasional numbers of the two papers named in the text, and who never open them, on such occasions, without a painful foreboding of their contents.

† "If, after such a thorough exposure as this case has received, any person should again rise to speak about the Raja of Satara, he ought to do so, like the legislators of antiquity, with a rope about his neck, and the proper functionary close behind him awaiting the decision of the audience."—*The Times*, July 13, 1848.

course of this retrospect, we shall be led to examine the internal administration of the Satara State ; to trace more minutely than has yet been done, the more remote causes of the unequal conflict between the ex-Raja and the British Government ; to weigh, with an impartial hand, the justice and policy of each step in a series of measures, extending over several years, and carried out by successive agents ; to point out the errors which, on a dispassionate review of all the circumstances, may appear to have been committed ; and finally, to draw from the history of our connection with this small State, such instruction as may admit of useful application in our dealings with other semi-independent native sovereignties.

THE SATARA STATE—as we are now to describe it—owes its existence to the generous and enlightened policy of MOUNT-STUART ELPHINSTONE. Its establishment formed an important element in the political measures which that great statesman adopted for the subjugation and settlement of the territories of the Peishwa. For three-quarters of a century all the substantial attributes of royalty had passed from the house of Sivaji, and the titular sovereign of Satara was now a prisoner in Baji Row's camp, when the intention was publicly announced of rescuing him from captivity, and of re-instating him on the Satara Musnud—not to exercise independent rule over the extended dominions of his ancestors, but to govern, under British supremacy, a new and limited principality.

The considerations which principally weighed with Mr. Elphinstone, in founding a new sovereignty for the descendant of Sivaji, were to conciliate the great body of the Mahrattas, with whom such a measure could not fail to be popular ; and thus to induce them to quit the Peishwa's standard, to which they were found to adhere, with an obstinacy arising more from the dread of the complete extinction of their national independence and of the entire loss of their means of subsistence, than from affection for Baji Row's person, or interest in his cause. The success of the measure in detaching the Mahrattas from the standard of the Peishwa was soon apparent : while it was well calculated to serve the ulterior object of providing employment for a portion of the Mahratta soldiery whose habits were unsuitable to our service, and a maintenance for some of the civil and religious orders whom it would have been difficult to dispose of under our own Government.*

Opposed to these political advantages were some counter-

* Parl. Papers, 498—508.

balancing evils, which did not escape the penetration of Mr. Elphinstone. The total inexperience of the Raja, and of the people around him, in every thing connected with the government of the country; the extravagant ideas of their own pretensions which he and his family were known to entertain; and the facilities which the indulgence of such notions might afford to the intrigues of evil and designing men, rendered it expedient that the administration of the new government should for some time be entirely conducted by the British Political Agent.

The Raja, having been rescued from captivity on the field of Ashta six weeks before, was installed with great pomp in his new sovereignty by Mr. Elphinstone, on the 11th of April 1818; and Captain GRANT (now GRANT DUFF) was selected for the important office of Political Agent at His Highness's Court. In order the more effectually to impress upon the Raja's mind the true nature of his relations to the paramount state, and to convince him that it was not intended to revive even in name the empire of Sivaji, the whole of the districts which were to be afterwards incorporated in the Satara State were, on their conquest from the Peishwa, taken possession of in the first instance, in the name of the British Government. Even the precise limits of his territory and the terms on which it was finally to be conferred upon him, were at first left undetermined, on the distinct understanding that they would be in a great measure regulated by the disposition which he might evince during a prescribed period of trial.

But while these necessary restraints were at first imposed upon the Raja, they were enforced in a spirit of the utmost conciliation; and every care was taken to uphold his dignity, and to win his confidence and good will. Nor was the important object neglected, of endeavouring, by every possible means, to give him a taste for business and a knowledge of the principles of government. Having been given to understand that he would be entrusted with power in exact proportion to his proved ability to exercise it, we are told by Grant Duff that in a short time he labored as assiduously as any Karkūn under his government.

After a probation of eighteen months, a treaty of friendship and alliance was concluded with the Raja at Satara, on the 25th September 1819. This engagement, it must be remarked, differs altogether in its nature and provisions from the treaties contracted with pre-existing States. The treaty of Satara called a new State into existence, defined its limits,* and spontaneously

*The ceded territory, as most of our readers are aware, comprises the compact and fertile tract lying on the western border of the Dekhan, between the Nira and

conferred it, in perpetual sovereignty, on the Raja, his heirs and successors, under certain specified conditions, on the observance of which the continuance of the sovereignty was declaredly to depend. The most important of these stipulations were, *First*,—That the Raja should hold his territory in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and be guided in all matters by the advice of the British Resident (Act. II.);—and *Secondly*,—That he should forbear from all intercourse with foreign powers and all persons whatsoever not being his own subjects, except through the Resident—this being expressly declared a fundamental condition, the breach of which was to subject him to the forfeiture of his sovereignty (Act V.) The British Government, further, charged itself with the military defence of the territory, and guaranteed the possessions and rights of the Jaghirdars placed under the Raja's government.

Such was the title-deed of the Satara sovereignty. Its provisions are clear and explicit: and it is particularly important to remark (what His Highness and his partisans in after years *alleg their lost sight of*) that the infraction by the Raja of any of the conditions under which the grant was conferred, and more especially of the non-intercourse clause, involved not simply the dissolution of the alliance but the entire forfeiture of his dominion. The restrictions imposed upon the Raja's authority may at first sight appear rigorous: but it was deemed advisable under the circumstances to take high ground in the treaty, so as to admit of a gradual and voluntary descent should the conduct of the Raja safely admit of it. Although the Government, by retaining the right of civil as well as military control over the new State, reserved to itself ample power to protect the prince from external aggression and the people from oppression and misrule, it was far from their intention to exercise any systematic interference with the internal administration of the country. So far from wishing to reduce the Raja to a state of pupillage, and to make him a sovereign only in name, it was considered essential to the respectability of the State, to its efficiency as a subordinate ally of the British Government, and to the success of the whole arrangement, that he should be as little fettered as possible in his internal government, and in the exercise of his authority over his own subjects. "I hope" (writes Mr. Elphinstone to the Governor-General a month after the conclusion of the treaty) "that in the course of two years the Raja may be left, in a great mea-

Bima rivers on the north, and the Wama and Krishna to the south; and extending from the western ghâts eastward to the districts of Bijapur and Pundarpur. It yields a revenue of from 14 to 15 lakhs of Rupees, and is noted for the salubrity of its climate.

sure to conduct his own internal government : but the military protection of his country, his political relations, and perhaps a general and distant superintendence of his whole proceedings, must always remain with us. We must also retain the power of knowing exactly every thing that passes in his court and territory ; and it will, for a long time, be a necessary part of our policy most carefully to destroy all connexion between him and the Mahrattas not subject to his control.* In short, it was clearly intended that the nature and degree of British interference should be regulated by the disposition which the Raja might evince on being entrusted with the full power of the State ; and that his sovereign authority should be respected and upheld so far as this was compatible with the more important objects of maintaining the public tranquillity and of securing just and good government to the people.

The personal character and disposition of PERTAB SEN. The newly-installed sovereign appears to have produced a favorable impression on all who were brought into contact with him. Though imperfectly educated, and shut out from his birth from all intercourse with the world, he evinced a considerable degree of shrewdness and intelligence, united with a prepossessing frankness of demeanour. Beneath this outward semblance of openness and candour, however, there was concealed a good deal of cunning and dissimulation. Brought up from infancy amid the petty plottings of a captive court, he had acquired a taste for intrigue, the unrestrained indulgence of which, under the influence of evil advice and the promptings of his own vanity and ambition, was destined ultimately to lead to his ruin. On his enlargement he expressed, and probably felt, great gratitude for his restoration to liberty and a throne, and made great professions of attachment to the Government by whom these important boons had been conferred. But surrounded as he was by ignorant and designing men who had shared his captivity, and who now flattered his vanity with extravagant ideas of his consequence and claims as the hereditary King of the Mahratta nation, he soon exhibited symptoms of dissatisfaction with the dependent and limited sovereignty to which he had been raised.

Such feelings were not unnatural, under the circumstances, to the descendant of a long line of kings, who, even amid the privations of his captivity, had been treated with the pageant forms of sovereignty : and every excuse was, therefore, to be made for him. It was no less necessary, however, that his extravagant pretensions should by all possible means be repressed. Accord-

* Parl. Papers, 508.

dingly we find that Captain Grant Duff lost no opportunity of impressing him with a just sense of his position; discountenanced on every occasion the indulgence of his ambitious projects; and never failed to notice, in the strongest terms of reprehension, any attempt on the part of His Highness, to extend his intercourse or connexions beyond the limits presented by the treaty. "To hold the most distant intercourse with foreign powers," he informed him on one occasion, "*was just signing the order for the sequestration of his own territory.*"*

Under the firm but friendly and judicious guidance of this able and efficient officer, the young Prince gradually acquired habits of business, and a considerable acquaintance with the principles and details of the government, and in 1822 he was formally vested with the direct management of the country under the general control of the Resident, as provided by treaty.

The administration of the country, under His Highness' government, continued for a series of years to be the subject of general admiration. It was pre-eminent among native states for the general mildness and equity of its rule, and for the utility and extent of its public works. The traveller, as he passed through the Satara territory, bore witness to the prosperity of the country and the apparent comfort and contentment of the people—successive Governors who visited the Raja's court were favorably impressed with his character, and testified their high admiration of his rule—and the Home authorities cordially re-echoed their tribute of praise.

The late Sir Robert Grant has remarked, that the administration of the Raja, like every thing else about him, has been overpraised. In this opinion we are not disposed to concur. With the exception of the management of the Jaghirdars—which, as will hereafter be shewn, was marked by a spirit of unjust encroachment—the Government of the Satara state appears to have been deserving of all the praises that was bestowed on it.

* The occasion on which the above warning was given occurred within a few months after the ratification of the treaty, when the Raja made a proposal that he should have cognizance of the affairs of his own immediate caste all over the country. Satisfied that this proposition had originated with some of his intriguing relations, and believing that the Raja himself did not consider it to be in any way objectionable, the Resident, nevertheless, warned him, that if the smallest attempt of the kind had been made clandestinely, he would have been under the necessity of representing it to his government as a direct infringement of the obligation by which he was bound to abide. He at the same time took the opportunity of impressing upon him in a friendly but decided tone, "the immediate danger that would be incurred by his holding the most distant intercourse with foreign subjects, and that *with foreign powers it was just signing the order of sequestration for his own territory.*"—*Parl. Pap.* 512.

At a later period we find that a native of good family was expelled from Satara, by the same officer, for having become the channel of some communication between Scindia and the Raja. It would have been well for His Highness had equal vigilance been exercised by all Grant Duff's successors.

But its efficiency and success are to be ascribed, not so much to the personal character and capacity of the Raja, as to the admirable arrangements of the first British Resident, by whom the foundation of the government was laid.

The name of GRANT DUFF must be familiar to all our readers as the able and impartial historian of the Mahratta Empire : but probably few of them have had opportunities of knowing his great capacity for civil and political administration. We are happy, therefore, to have it in our power to lay before them a brief outline of the system of government which he so successfully introduced into the Satara State.

The mode in which our political influence was exercised at the courts of the different native states, which, at the close of the Mahratta war, became subject to the control of the British Government, varied almost as much as the personal characters of the agents employed. The general tendency of their policy, however, was in a direction opposite to the system pursued by the majority of officers in those portions of the conquered territories, which at the same period came under our direct rule.

It is no disparagement to the numerous very able men included in the latter class—the predecessors of our present race of collectors, magistrates and judges—to say that, with scarcely an exception, they attempted to effect, in the compass of a few years, the work of generations ; and, as a natural consequence, not only frequently failed, but occasionally produced results the very reverse of what they intended. They found the revenue and police administration of the country in the utmost confusion : and it would have been strange if zealous and energetic men, entrusted with ample powers in such situations, had not frequently attempted to stimulate artificially the maturity of reforms, which can be only permanent when they are the growth of ages.

The prevalent error of most *political* officers was of an opposite character. The nature of their duties rendered them better acquainted with, and more disposed to pay attention to, the feelings of the upper classes of natives, than the collectors and judges in our own districts, who, under the influence of Revenue Boards and Sudder Adaluts, were reforming perhaps somewhat too vigorously on the models of Blackstone, Malthus, and Bentham. Our residents and political agents, on the other hand, acting through, and more or less influenced by native durbars, pursued a somewhat too conservative line of conduct. Some suffered abuses to exist, from a fear of exciting prejudice by unpalatable reforms. Others clung to the hope of stimulating

healthy independent action by a steady adherence to the principles of non-intervention. But, with some brilliant exceptions, few left behind them any such improvements as might have been expected from the vast power and influence, the brilliant talents, and the sincere wish to do good, which so many of them possessed.

The course steered by Grant Duff seems to have been, as nearly as possible, the happy medium between these two erroneous extremes.

In addition to judgment, energy, and talents for business of no ordinary kind, he possessed, in an eminent degree, the power of appreciating the character of the people over whom he was placed, and of adapting his measures to suit their peculiarities. Where a practice was vicious, and its reform not incompatible with the national character, no period of prescription was permitted to sanction the abuse: but, on the other hand, he seems never to have forgotten, that after a brief period the State was to be handed over to native management, with no direct control from any European authority. Hence he never committed the common error of providing for the management of the State machinery which, though admirable in itself, and working well under the vigilant and praised eye of the English engineer, was too fine and complicated for the ignorant or apathetic native workman.

After retiring from India, Captain Grant applied himself to the improvement of an ample estate which came to him with the name of DUFF, and he is now, we believe, honorably distinguished among the able, intelligent, and energetic men who have made the farming of Fife, the Lothians, and Aberdeen, a pattern to even the best cultivated districts of England. It has often struck us, that the same character of practical sagacity which distinguishes the successful Scotch agriculturist is clearly traceable in the system of government which formed the work of his earlier years.

When he assumed the Government of the districts which were to form the future kingdom of Satara, every thing was in disorder: and many important branches of the administration had not so much to be re-modelled as created. Where former precedents might be safely followed, he seems to have set before himself the practice of the best rulers in the best times, and steadily to have worked on this model, regardless alike of more faultless theories or the vicious customs of later years. Where the altered state of affairs rendered it necessary to lay down new rules, he legislated with the enlightened views of a statesman, who, with his eyes fixed on some lofty object of distant attain-

ment, never forgot the nature and characteristic defects of the instruments with which it was to be acquired.

He had to organize the DURBAR of a Prince nursed with ideas of his own importance as extravagant as those of an Emperor at Pekin, and used to means and powers as narrow as those of a king of strolling players. The great nobles were used to none but nominal and theoretical fealty—those of inferior rank were some of them rustic mountain chiefs—others broken down denizens of the dissipated courts at Puna or Gwalior; while the few who had been faithful adherents of the royal family in its debasement, were ill-fitted, by early training, to fill their old places about their Prince when trusted with real powers and responsibilities.

To introduce due subordination among such discordant elements—to assign to each his appropriate place—and to enforce the performance of duties under an entirely new regime, would of themselves have demanded a rare union of personal weight of character, with the power of appreciating and attending to petty and apparently unimportant details. Many men would have considered the subject as either beneath their notice, or as likely to be best arranged if left entirely to the Raja and his courtiers: but Captain Grant judged otherwise; and to this day the organization of the Court, the laws of precedence, the duties of the various officers, the amount and mode of disbursing and checking every branch of the expenses of the Raja's household, down to the minutest item, are regulated on the rules he laid down; and the judgment with which this was done is shewn by the result. The Durbar has always been reckoned by competent judges, one of the most orderly native courts in India, and one of the very few, which, for thirty years, has never been involved in any pecuniary difficulties, either as regarded the public or private treasury of the sovereign: and we have been assured that the order and regularity of all disbursements of the household more resembled that of an English nobleman than of a Mahratta Raja.

There is probably no other portion of the territory conquered from the Peishwa, except Satara, in which the REVENUE settlement made at the first conquest is still unchanged, or free from glaring defects which call loudly for reform. In all this portion of Captain Grant's arrangements, we trace the same proof of practical shrewdness and sagacity, and of power to adapt his measures to the circumstances with which he had to deal, which distinguished his proceedings in other branches of administration.

It is antiquarian researches might well have tempted him, as

they have so often tempted others, to recal land-tenures to what he might imagine them to have been in the time of Manu. Or economical theories, true enough on the banks of the Thames or the Forth, might have led him astray, with a still larger section of our Indian administrators, into hasty perpetual settlements, attempts to create a race of landlords, or other fiscal experiments, captivating in theory, but as little adapted to the tenures and customs of the country, as an English farmer's top-boots and great coat are to the person of the Dekhan ryot. And there was yet a third and still more dangerous error, of which many instances might be cited elsewhere, that of continuing, as sanctioned by the custom of the country, the system of universal farming to the highest bidder, and consequently of equally universal rack-renting, oppression and misery, which had long prevailed every where under the Peishwa's government.

Into none of these errors did Captain Grant fall. He appears to have diligently enquired into the characteristics of the land-revenue settlements, in the best times within the memory of man ; to have discovered where, and when, and why, the ryots were most prosperous, and the revenue most flourishing ; and wherever he discovered the traces of a tenure, sanctioned by both the usage of the country and the practice of the best native rulers, he did his best to restore, define, and render it as permanent as detailed records could make it.

Here, as in almost every other portion of the Peishwa's dominions, the necessity of a systematic SURVEY was early apparent ; and survey operations were commenced, almost as soon as the permanent tranquillity of the country was secured, and a regular scheme of Government organized. In almost every other district of our acquisitions from the Mahrattas, these early surveys have proved useless, or worse than useless. In Satara alone, the survey conducted by Captain Adams of the Bombay Army, under the instructions of Grant Duff, is still the standard authority on all points to which it was originally intended that it should apply.

This difference in result is easily accounted for. In other districts, our revenue officers attempted not only more than it was possible to perform, but more than was immediately required for any practical purpose. They found land measures of ever-varying standard, and often conveying no precise information as to the superficial quantity of land, with assessments almost always arbitrary and ill-defined in amount. The want of a general re-measurement and re-assessment of the land, according to uniform standards, was obvious enough : but, to supply these

wants, even now tasks to the utmost all the talent, professional skill, and experience in revenue management, which can be brought to bear on the subject. Yet the undertaking, on the most extensive and complete scale, was entered upon in almost every collectorate of the newly-conquered districts, at a time when we knew little of the country, its resources, or its tenures,—the processes of its agriculture—the character, or even the language, of its inhabitants.

It is hardly necessary to describe what followed. It was soon discovered, that, owing to overhaste in the execution of the work, and want of competent or trustworthy native agency, even the correctness of the measurements and other mechanical parts of the work could not be relied on; while all that related to the assessment of the land was so lamentably erroneous, that it was frequently thrown aside as useless, without an attempt being made to apply it as the basis of even a single annual settlement. Thus, in most cases, the only result of a vast expenditure of money, talent, and energy, was to unsettle the minds of the cultivators; to make our intentions the object, at once of suspicion and ridicule; and to render more difficult than before the task of settling the land-revenue of the country on a certain and permanent basis.

In Satara alone, the practical good sense of Captain Grant saved the survey from such a lamentable failure. He saw that no practical good was likely to result from the attempt to enforce uniformity of system where custom had sanctioned differences of tenure, or where local peculiarities were observable in the character of the country or its population. He knew that it was vain to attempt regulating the demand of a landlord (which was the position in which Government stood throughout the Mahratta territory) by any invariable standard, applicable alike to the fertile or the barren district—to a population of cultivators, wealthy, industrious, and intelligent; and to one poor, apathetic and ignorant. He saw that almost the only pressing *practical* want, which a survey could at that period supply, was the deficiency or incompleteness of records of measurement and other tangible elements for forming a settlement: and he consequently directed the chief attention of his survey officers to these objects. Boundaries of villages and fields were ascertained and marked: the superficial extent of lands, especially those which claimed to be rent free, was measured; and of all these particulars careful and intelligible records were preserved.

In forming his assessments,—instead of nice estimates of gross and net produce, grounded on elements so varying and uncertain as almost to defy calculation, Captain Grant proceeded much as

any practical and humane man would, on succeeding to an estate of whose resources he had little certain knowledge, and few trustworthy records. He ascertained, as nearly as he could, what his tenants had actually paid in former years—he judged for himself, from the appearance of the people, their villages and lands, the facility and uniformity of collections, and other obvious marks of prosperity or poverty—whether the demand had borne hard on them or otherwise—whether he should listen to the clamour of the cultivators for abatement, or to the invariable advice of his native subordinates to enhance his assessments—and having thus settled, on plain common sense data, what he thought the cultivators could afford to pay, and yet thrive on the remainder, he troubled himself little with enquiring whether the institutes of Manu sanctioned a tax of the fifth or the tenth of the produce, or with calculations as to whether his demand were $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the gross, or $\frac{1}{2}$ of the net produce of the soil. If he found that the assessments thus settled were paid in an ordinary season without difficulty, he fixed them permanently, as the extreme limit of the Government demand. If otherwise, he reduced them, acting invariably on the golden rule, that where perfect accuracy is unattainable, it is best to err on the side of moderation.

During the quarter of a century which has since elapsed, our own collectorates, which were once ruled by the Peishwa, have been the theatre of constant changes; at one time taxed at the rates and on the system of their former Governors—then rapidly surveyed and assessed according to the most approved modern European theories—anon a want of practical adaptation to the circumstances of the country became unmistakeably apparent in the new order of things, and the old Mahratta system was revived: whilst in some districts, a mongrel assessment, intermediate between the two, was devised and levied for several seasons. It is only within the last twelve years, that by the joint efforts of Mr. Williamson the late Revenue Commissioner, Mr. Goldsmid, the present Revenue Secretary to the Government of Bombay, and Captain Wingate of the Engineers, a systematic revision of measurements and rates has been commenced on a practical plan: and it will be several years before this survey and assessment, which bids fair to be at length all that could be desired, can be completed throughout even the Dekhan districts of our acquisitions from the Peishwa.

The surveys conducted by Grant Duff in Satara have no pretensions to the completeness of these latter operations, in any one particular; but they still preserve their original character of perfect practical adaptation to the purpose for which they

were designed; and an appeal to "*Adams Sahib's survey*," or "*Grant Sahib's settlements*," is, to this day, "an end of all strife," on any point to which they relate.

Similar principles seem to have guided, and equal success attended, the arrangements made by Grant Duff for the POLICE of this tract of country. In the report on the territories conquered from the Peishwa, by the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, will be found a graphic sketch of the Mahratta system of police, as he found it on the conquest of the country. He points out its excellencies and defects, and indicates, in almost prophetic terms, the points in which any system we might introduce would be likely to fail. Our limits forbid our making any extract: but we would recommend to any devoted admirer of the superior excellence of our own police, and to any one who is puzzled to account for the continued prevalence of violent crime in our oldest settled districts, a perusal of Mr. Elphinstone's pregnant remarks on the subject; which, like all he wrote, had an application far more extended than the particular case under discussion.

It is sufficient to say of the system of police established by Grant Duff, and maintained to the present day, that, whilst most of the faults of the old Mahratta administration were lessened, if not entirely removed, its characteristic excellencies were preserved. This is not the place for entering into lengthened details: but to those who have seen the native system in operation in a well-governed native State, much will be conveyed in the remark, that Satara is probably the only part of the Dekhan, where the ancient village police, with its powers and responsibilities, has been kept up unimpaired.*

The result justifies the opinions of Mr. Elphinstone, and the measures of his assistant. Notwithstanding the local difficulties arising from the strength of the country, and the existence of large communities of Ramusis and other semi-barbarous and predatory tribes—difficulties greater, probably, than in any part of the Peishwa's dominions, Candeish excepted—there is no portion of those dominions which has enjoyed such complete immunity from any thing approaching systematic resistance to Government, or where person and property are so

* Among many other records of Grant Duff's well-directed zeal for the organization of an effective government service, is a code of instructions for all officers, but especially village officers, pointing out clearly and succinctly the duties of each, the various channels appointed for the transaction of every kind of business, and particularly the arrangements established for the maintenance of tranquillity, the administration of civil and criminal justice, and the repression of crime. This brief code has ever since been annually read over to the village officers, assembled at the time of the Revenue settlement, and few expedients could be devised better calculated to remind them of their more important duties, which in our own provinces they are so frequently left to learn as they best can.

secure from violent crime. Rebellion has been raging on the very border, in Kolapur, Sawunt Warri, and the Southern Mahratta country to the South; and something closely approaching rebellion has been repeatedly experienced in the presence of organized bands of plunderers under Vomaji, Ragoji Bangria, and other robber chiefs of local fame in the Puna and Nuggur districts to the North, where, sometimes for months together, they have levied black-mail unresisted by the inhabitants, and successfully eluded a large police force and considerable bodies of troops of the line. But the Satara districts have for thirty years enjoyed the most perfect immunity from disturbance of any kind;* and in no case has any rebel or free-booter been fairly proved to have taken refuge in the Satara territory, without the certainty of his being speedily seized and surrendered to his own government for punishment.

Our remarks on the system of revenue and police administration adopted by Captain Grant Duff have detained us so long, that we have no time to describe the Courts of CIVIL and CRIMINAL JUSTICE which he organised, or the simple and comprehensive Regulations which he drew up to guide judicial officers in the administration of justice. Neither have we space to enumerate the internal improvements. The roads and bridges, the aqueducts and other public works which he either executed, or planned and left to be completed by the Raja under the advice of his active and public-spirited successor. Still less can we detail his judicious measures to rescue the finest of the ancient buildings at Bijapur from inevitable destruction, or his antiquarian and historical researches, of which he has left an ample and enduring monument in his admirable "History of the Mahrattas." But the immediate object of the present article requires that we should not altogether pass over in silence the constant attention he paid to the training of his royal pupil. It was his constant practice, while he held the reins of Government, to associate the Raja and his brothers with him in the transaction of all public business, pointing out to them the reason of all that was done, and explaining to them, and interesting them in all his plans of public improvement—in this, as in all other matters, sparing no pains, and omitting no personal sacrifice, by which he might ensure the future good government of the country, when he himself should be far from the scene of his labors.

Such, in brief outline, was the admirable system of Government planned and matured by the genius of Grant Duff. Hav-

* The resistance of Akulkote to the authority of the Raja in 1829 can scarcely be reckoned as invalidating the truth of this remark.

ing intrusted his royal pupil with the direct management of the country in 1822, he returned to his native land in the early part of the following year. A quarter of a century has since passed away: but the name of GRANT SAHIB is still familiar as a household word in every hut and hamlet of the country.

The reader will now have no difficulty in understanding how it came to pass that the Raja of Satara attained so great a pre-eminence among the native rulers of India. He was doomed in after years to become the dupe and victim of interested and designing men: but the fabric of political and civil polity which Grant Duff had so skilfully reared, remained intact, and continues to this day—a monument of the practical wisdom and sagacity of its founder. This, indeed, constitutes the great merit of Pertab Sen's reign. No lapse of years—no subsequent change of feelings and circumstances ever induced him to alter the established *system of Government*. It would have been well for his future happiness and fame had he adhered with equal steadiness to the *rules of conduct* which his great masters so anxiously impressed upon him. But his actions soon proved that he was as regardless of the one, as he was mindful of the other. His first object was—and it continued the ruling passion of his life—to emancipate himself, as far as practicable, from the future control of the Resident. The firm and vigilant guardianship of Grant Duff—of whom he never failed to speak with affection, but whom he feared as well as loved—had latterly been felt a somewhat irksome bondage: he determined, therefore, not to submit quietly to any such thralldom under his successor. His grand aim was to reign supreme over his own immediate subjects, and above all, to establish a right of absolute control over the affairs of the Jaghirdars. To the attainment of these objects (to which were soon-added other projects of a more reprehensible character) all his future efforts were unceasingly directed.

It is here important to remark, what has indeed been already indicated, that after the Raja had been entrusted with the direct management of the estate, no disposition had been evinced, on the part of the Government or its representative, to exercise any interference in the details of the administration beyond such a general controlling authority as might be required to maintain the general tranquillity, and to prevent misrule in a country which was avowedly under our protection. But the relations which had been established with the Jaghirdars, who equally with the Raja were under our protection and guarantee, rendered it especially incumbent on the Resident to watch over their interests, and prevent any infringement of their rights.

Some of these chiefs traced their descent back to the earliest periods of Mahratta history: others were the representatives of the hereditary counsellors and aristocracy of Sivaji and his descendants. Two or three generations had passed since they had paid allegiance to the Rajas of Satara. They boasted a more ancient ancestry than their nominal lord paramount, the Peishwa, and had been tacitly allowed, under the Puna government, to exercise an authority nearly independent within their own jaghirs. On the subversion of the Peishwa's dynasty, their jaghirs were freely restored to these chiefs, and they were, of their own choice, made feudatories of the Satara State, on receiving a special guarantee from the British Government for the preservation of their rights and privileges. The separate agreements entered into with each of them, as well as the treaty with the Raja, required all transactions affecting their interests to be regulated in concert with the Resident.

The object of attaching these chiefs as feudatories of the Raja was to impart additional strength and dignity to his Government: but the arrangement was now found to be attended with inconvenience, and ultimately led to much discussion and embarrassment. Not satisfied with the exercise of a general control over the administration of their estates (such as the British Government exercised over the Raja himself) His Highness interfered in their affairs on every possible occasion and on the most trifling pretexts, and endeavoured to render them entirely subservient to his will. In utter disregard of the obligations of good faith, and of the stipulations of treaty, he even went so far as to propose that the British guarantee should be set aside on the death of the present incumbents, and evinced a strong inclination to revive the ancient practice of the Mahratta empire, under which the Rajas of Satara exercised the prerogative of creating and removing jaghirdars at pleasure, and of imposing managers upon such of them as were suspected of disaffection, or mismanagement, in the administration of their jaghirs.

Against these unauthorized encroachments there were, of course, frequent appeals to British authority. The office of Resident was at this time held by an officer of high reputation and experience. Of the different able men who represented British interests at Pertab Sen's court, no one appears to have exceeded Colonel Briggs in an ardent desire to promote the best interests of the Satara State, or in the success with which he encouraged its ruler in the work of public improvement. And he has left behind him many substantial proofs of this well-directed zeal. But with all his high qualifications in other

respects, he did not possess the judgment, temper and tact which were required to restrain the Raja within the prescribed limits of his authority. He appears to have meddled too much, and in matters of too trivial a nature : and too often his interference led to no other result than unseemly altercations and mutual loss of confidence. Had the Resident confined the exercise of his controlling authority to subjects of importance, and taken adequate measures to render his interference of good effect, he would have better upheld his own influence, and the supremacy of his Government, and at the same time have put a more effectual check on the Raja's encroachments. As it was, the good that resulted was neutralized by its evil effects on His Highness' mind. He became more and more tenacious of his prerogative, and more impatient of control : and, in his efforts to carry out his wishes, he evinced a want of candour, and on one or two occasions, a disregard for truth, which were singularly at variance with the apparent openness and sincerity of his manner.

Although the Raja had thus given such decisive indications of a resolute determination to exceed the limits of the authority prescribed by the treaty of Satara and by the agreements with the Jaghirdars, there appeared no grounds for suspecting, that His Highness' views extended further than the establishment of an absolute control within the limits of his own territory. But the keen penetration of Colonel Briggs, sharpened probably by the recent discovery of a petty intrigue which the Raja had treacherously attempted against himself, foresaw the danger into which his vanity and his extravagant ambition, unless watched and restrained, were likely to lead him. In a very able report which he submitted to Government, on the eve of quitting Satara, he discloses his apprehensions in terms which have often been before quoted ; but which, from the striking fulfilment they were so soon to receive, are worthy of being introduced on the present occasion :—

"He is, however, tenacious of his prerogative, and will every day more and more resist our control. * * * * * It will be fortunate, perhaps, for His Highness himself, if events afford this Government an early opportunity to give him timely warning of the danger he is incurring, or I should be very apprehensive that he may succeed in involving himself in secret communications with those who may, at some future period, provoke the resentment of the Government, when it is likely that a development of a system of intrigue with His Highness may take place, which will altogether shake our confidence, and may lead to his ultimate ruin."*

The ink was scarcely dry, with which these prophetic words

* Parl. Papers, 425.

were recorded, when intelligence reached the Government of His Highness having entered into some secret intrigues with the Kolapur Durbar, which was at that time disaffected towards the British state. Although there was no reason to suspect the Raja of designs hostile to the British Government, the alleged intercourse was viewed in a serious light, as constituting, if established, an infraction of a very important article of his engagements. They consequently directed the assistant in charge of the Residency,* to apprise His Highness of the reports which had been received, and to warn him against the risk of being insensibly drawn into a violation of this fundamental condition of the Treaty. The Raja having earnestly denied the truth of the report, and renewed, his professions of gratitude and friendship, his assurances were accepted and declared to be satisfactory to the Government.†

At a later period of the same year (1827), distinct intimation was given to Colonel Brigg's successor, by his native Agent, of the commencement of that system of treachery and political intrigue which twelve years afterwards consigned this infatuated Prince to perpetual imprisonment and exile. The accuracy of this report was fully confirmed by the enquiries of the Political Agent in the southern Mahratta country ; and no room was left for doubt that a clandestine intercourse had, for some time, been kept up with the Goa state ; that presents and money had been sent to Goa, and that a mission was then about to be dispatched from Satara, with further presents of horses and honorary dresses for the Governor of that settlement.‡

This was an important crisis in the Raja's history. Had the Resident on that occasion interposed the firm exercise of the influence and authority with which he was vested, His Highness might have been arrested at the outset of the dangerous course on which he had embarked. But unhappily for the interests of both Governments, an altered policy was introduced by the new Resident at the Satara court—the system, namely, of passive non-interference—a policy, which, in a state dependant on our protection and declaredly subject to our control, can never be carried out for any length of time, and which, when attempted, invariably and inevitably entails future embarrassment on the

* Colonel Briggs proceeded to England on medical certificate in the beginning of 1827. His departure was hastened by the discovery of the intrigue alluded to in the text, and by the incidents of his memorable interview with the Raja which followed the disclosure.

† Parl. Papers, pp. 406-1272.

‡ Parl. Papers, 1022. The accuracy of the information supplied to the Resident at this early period, *even to the names of the Agents* employed, was strikingly confirmed by the evidence obtained by Colonel Ovens twelve years afterwards.

paramount Government, with additional restrictions on the dependant state ; and too often, as in the present case, terminates in the irritrievable ruin of its Prince.

No one knew better than the able but misjudging officer who then represented British interests at Satara, that the two great defects in the Raja's character were inordinate ambition and a passion for intrigue ; and that the introduction of the non-intercourse clause of the treaty, with the heavy penalty attached to the breach of it, was specially intended to avert the dangers into which the indulgence of these feelings was likely to draw him. Mr. Elphinstone, in various parts of his dispatches, notices the importance which he attached to rigid enforcement of this restriction—Grant Duff, as we have seen, denounced in the strongest terms a proposed infraction of it, even for innocent purposes—Colonel Briggs had predicted that its infringement would prove the cause of his ultimate ruin—and the Government only a few months before, on the mere suspicion of a breach of the prohibition, had made it the subject of a formal representation. And yet, in the face of these facts and opinions, a clandestine communication was permitted to be opened between the Governments of Satara and Goa, and presents were allowed to be secretly forwarded to the latter State, without any direct official warning being addressed to the Raja, or any report being made on the subject to the Bombay Government.

The two facts we have now noticed—the mission from the Raja to the Governor of Goa, and its having been passed over without any direct notice—are established on the clearest evidence, and were admitted, indeed, several years afterwards by the Resident himself, who, after the Raja's deposal, became one of his most strenuous advocates. In a letter to Dr. Milne, the ex-Raja's accredited agent, dated 14th March 1838, he thus writes :*—

“ Thus [the mission to Goa] occurred in my time ; and my proceedings on it are on record.† I thought it *a foolish thing* of His Highness, but not of importance enough (as I did not see a likelihood of his repeating it) to say any thing to him or to Government about it. *How came it to be found out ?*”‡

* *Parl Papers*, 1167.

† This must have been a mistake. No official record appears to have been made of the transaction.—*Parl. Pap.* 1022.

‡ We find, from a speech delivered by this officer at the India House on the 16th July 1841, that he had requested Baliji Punt Nassu [an influential native sirdar unconnected at that time with the Satara court] to take an opportunity of adverting to the subject in conversation with the Raja, *as a matter he had himself heard of ; and, as a friend, from himself to suggest that he ought to avoid all such communications in*

The Goa mission was, indeed, "a foolish thing," as the Resident remarks : but it was more than foolish. It was a flagrant infraction of the letter and spirit of a fundamental article of the treaty, and the determination to overlook it was a fatal error. To this most injudicious forbearance, and to the subsequent remissness in protecting the interests of the jaghirdars, may be ascribed all the misfortunes which subsequently befell the Raja. He had been permitted to commence a foreign intrigue with impunity, and he was now encouraged, rather than checked, in his arbitrary treatment of his feudatory chieftains. The consequence was, he became involved in quarrels with the greater number of them ; and in one of the jaghirs,* the people broke out in open hostility. He contrived, also, on some pretence or other, to get the direct management of three of the jaghirs entirely into his own hands : and the other two narrowly escaped the same fate. In short, the sequestration of all the jaghirs seemed to be the great object of his ambition. In all these measures he was supported by the Resident, who claimed for His Highness a degree of absolute sovereignty over the chiefs quite incompatible with the due observance of our existing engagements with them.†

There was the less excuse for this total relaxation of control, on the part of the Resident, because the general principles by which our intervention should be regulated were clearly indicated on different occasions by Mr. Elphinstone, as well as by his successor in the Government.‡ Both these eminent men concurred in opinion that the Raja should be allowed as much freedom of action, as was possible, in the internal Government of his country, the administration of which, throughout his reign, continued to be the subject of general admiration : but they at the same time enforced the necessity of watching with vigilance his proceedings towards the jaghirdars. This caution would have been necessary under any circumstances, for the strict maintenance of our obligations towards these chiefs : but it was more especially called for by the strong disposition which His Highness had shewn to encroach on their rights—a disposition which was in

future." This statement is confirmed by the evidence of Bahji Punt himself, to whom the Resident further remarked, that "*the affair would be the ruin of the Maharaj and his Raj.*"

* The Jaghir of the Raja of Akulkote.

† The terms of the agreements with these chiefs not only guaranteed the integrity of their estates, but required that all transactions affecting them should be regulated in concert with the Resident.

‡ The late Sir John Malcolm.

striking contrast with the general mildness and justice of his rule over his own immediate subjects.

The Raja's pretensions were now no longer to be confined within the limits of his own territory. In 1831, he advanced a claim, for the first time, to the full rights of sovereignty, present and prospective, over the whole of the estates of his feudatory chiefs, whether situated within or without the Satara boundary. The acknowledgment of this right would have led to "the extension of the arm of his sovereignty" (as Mr. John Warden expressed it) not only into the heart of Khandeish, but even beyond the Dekhan itself into the Southern Concan, where one of the chiefs possessed landed property. The validity of the claim was strenuously supported by Colonel Lodwick, who had in the early part of the year succeeded to the office of Resident. It was unanimously decided, however, by Lord Clare's Government, that the sovereign rights of the Raja were circumscribed within the boundaries of the Satara State, as defined by the treaty, and did not extend to any territory situated beyond those limits. This decision was confirmed by the Government of India.

It is now quite unnecessary to enter into the merits of this question, which gave rise to much subsequent discussion. Of the *intentions* of the framer of the treaty, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. With the full knowledge we possess of the principles by which Mr. Elphinstone was influenced in establishing the Satara State, it is altogether impossible to believe, for an instant, that in framing the treaty, he could have contemplated the extension of the Raja's sovereignty, with all the attendant evils of a divided jurisdiction, into isolated portions of the British territories. The wording of the treaty and of the schedule annexed to it was, no doubt, deficient in clearness and precision. But, if we interpret one part by another, we can scarcely fail to arrive at the same conclusion as the Bombay Government did. The 7th article of the Treaty specifies that "the possessions of the jaghirdars *within His Highness' territory* are to be under the guarantee of the British Government;" and the schedule, annexed to the treaty, after specifying the boundaries of the Satara territory and enumerating the different pergunnas and villages, contained within these boundaries adds, "together with the possessions of the Raja of Akulkote, the Punt Suchew, &c." The accidental omission to add the words "*within the before mentioned limits*" created all the difficulty. That such was the intended meaning seems clearly deducible from all that goes before.*

* I he only difficulty attendant on this construction is the argument urged by Colonel Lodwick—that the above mentioned restriction would have altogether excluded the

Nor does any doubt appear to have arisen on the subject, on the part either of the British or the Satara authorities, for a dozen years after the conclusion of the treaty. We find, that, during this period, the British authorities at Puna had invariably and without challenge exercised jurisdiction over the possessions of the Punt Suchew situated on the northern bank of the Nira. Moreover, on the occasion of receiving a proposal for adoption from this chief in 1827, His Highness, in the first instance, applied to know "the intentions of the British Government as to the property of the Suchew *within its* [the British] limits." To this communication Mr. Elphinstone's Government thus replied: "In answer to the Raja's question regarding *the Suchew's possessions in the British territories*, he may be informed, that in this instance the Government will continue them to the adopted son."* This decision, given eight years after the treaty was executed, distinctly and unequivocally shews the construction put upon the disputed question by the distinguishing personage by whom the treaty was framed.

The pride of the Raja was deeply mortified by the rejection of his claims. It was the first check given to the unbridled power which he had been permitted to exercise for a period of five years, and was therefore felt with greater keenness: though his wounded feelings were soothed for a time by the hope that the judgment of the Indian Government might be reversed by the home authorities. Disappointed in this expectation, however,† he appears to have become more and more impatient of control, and gradually estranged himself from the Resident, Colonel Lodwick. Though from the first he supported His Highness' present claims, he had very properly interposed his authority, on

jaghir of the Raja of Akulkote, the whole of which is situated beyond the Satara limits. But on the other hand, the accuracy of the interpretation seems to be proved (as Mr. Warden has argued) from the very first line of the schedule of the treaty, which, in defining the territory ceded to the Raja, specifies "that portion of Nirthuri in the Puna Prant, and that *share of Sirwul which lies south of the Nira river.*" Now, as *the whole* of the Sirwul district belongs to the Punt Suchew—part of it being on the *North*, and part on the *South* bank—the irresistible conclusion is, that that part of it which lies to the *northward* of the river, as it is not once alluded to in the treaty, never was intended to be placed under the Raja's sovereignty at all.—Parl. Paper, 544.

* Parl. Paper, 543.

† It has been stated by some of the Raja's partisans that the Court had decided in favor of his claims, in their letter of the 26th September 1834 which contains the following passages. "In default of heirs, by birth or adoption, the obligation of our guarantee ceases, and the jaghirs must lapse to the Raja." But "our guarantee" is limited by the 7th article of the treaty, to "the possessions of the jaghirdars *within His Highness' territory*," his claim to which had all along been recognized by the Bombay Government. That authority disputed only his sovereignty over possessions situated in *British territory*: and to this question, the Court's letter does not make the slightest allusion.—Parl. Paper, 495.

various occasions, in order to shield some of the chiefs from insult and oppression, and had in consequence incurred the Raja's displeasure. The Raja, in short, considered himself to be an injured Prince—injured by the Government who had refused to recognise his pretensions to sovereignty over the possessions of his chiefs in British territory; and injured by the Resident who protected these chiefs from oppression within the Satara dominions. To avenge himself of these fancied wrongs, he gradually ceased to consult the Resident on the affairs of his government, and paid little respect to his advice when it was proffered.

Simultaneously with the decline of Colonel Lodwick's influence, His Highness appears to have withdrawn his confidence in a great degree from his own ministers, and to have attached himself to other advisers. His new counsellors were men of most unprincipled character, and they soon established a complete ascendancy over their master. To their evil and corrupt counsels are to be ascribed many of the acts which so soon involved him in ruin.

The period of his fall was now rapidly approaching. Having shaken off the control of the British representative at his court, this misguided Prince, in utter disregard of the obligations of treaty and of good faith, clandestinely appointed a native agent in Bombay for the purpose (as he afterwards avowed) of transacting political duties, and of procuring the reversal of the decision and orders of the paramount Government, whose supremacy he had solemnly stipulated to respect.* From that period,† he evinced "*an almost hostile disposition*" to the Resident, and "*acted as he pleased as if he were independent of the treaty and of all control.*‡ Surely it will not be denied that a subject Prince, who had thus insultingly violated two of

* The Raja assigns, as a reason for his having appointed a foreign agent, Sir Robert Grant's neglect to transmit to the home authorities a statement of his claims which had been sent in by the Resident, at Sir Robert's request in the previous year. Although a reference had been immediately made to the home authorities regarding a case the decision on which, it was supposed, would settle the general question, Sir Robert Grant subsequently admitted that the Resident's special report, above referred to, had been accidentally mislaid, and consequently had not been forwarded to the court, as he had promised and intended. This delay was an untoward occurrence: but it afforded not the smallest justification for the insulting infraction of the treaty for which it was made the excuse. The paramount Government had three years before pronounced a decision on the case, and that decision had not been reversed by the home authorities; and by it, therefore, the Raja was bound in honor and good faith implicitly to abide. The great oversight made by Sir Robert Grant was in not having fully explained the grounds of the decision, and enforced the necessity of its strict observance, on the occasions of the interviews he had with the Raja, at Mahabuleshwur, in the hot seasons of 1835 and 1836.

† June 1836.

‡ See Colonel Lodwick's Evidence.—Parl. Paper, pp. 345-6.

the fundamental conditions on which he received and continued to hold his territories, had thereby placed himself entirely at the mercy of the British Government, even if he had never tampered with a single seapoy, or intrigued with any foreign power. And these facts, let it be observed, rest on no doubtful authority. They are supported by the unimpeachable testimony of an officer, who, during the whole period of his connection with the Satara court, as well as subsequent to his retirement, was one of His Highness' most zealous and strenuous supporters. Nor were they, indeed, denied by the Raja himself. He not only avowed, but attempted to justify his conduct, and persevered in his headstrong course, after having been repeatedly, warned by the Resident that such perseverance would inevitably lead to his ruin.

The prompt and vigorous interposition of the Government, in support of the Resident's authority and in vindication of their own rights, might even at the eleventh hour have saved the infatuated Raja. But unhappily the time for *action* was permitted to pass in *deliberation*: and in the meanwhile the consideration of this question was superseded by disclosures of other and more momentous occurrences at the Satara court. And this brings us to the consideration of the causes and circumstances which more immediately led to the Raja's deposal.

We enter on this part of our narrative with much reluctance. The "SATARA QUESTION," as it is termed, has already been the subject of ten years' controversy: and it still furnishes a theme for periodical declamation. The unprecedented duration of the discussion has not arisen either from the difficulty or the importance of the subject, but it is to be chiefly ascribed to the persevering and unscrupulous advocacy of a well-paid and well-organised agitation. Doubtless there have been many, who, impressed with the popular qualities of the Raja and the monstrous wildness of the intrigues imputed to him, have either questioned the reality of his guilt, or arraigned the severity of the punishment with which it was visited. But a far greater number have been misled by the daring and flagrant mis-statements with which the subject has been so elaborately distorted and obscured. The stipendiary philanthropist and the professional patriot have vied with each other, on the present occasion, in the grossness of their calumnies and in the desperate recklessness of their misrepresentations.

It does not fall within our present purpose to enter at any length into the details of this much-vexed question. Our object rather is to confine ourselves to a brief outline of the case—di-

vesting the subject of all its minor details, and restricting our attention to the leading and essential points.

It was during the monsoon of 1836—a few weeks after the breach of treaty before noticed—that the Government received from the Resident the startling intelligence of a treacherous attempt, on the part of the Raja and his Dewan, to seduce from their allegiance, certain native officers, and through them the seapoys of the 23rd Regiment of Native Infantry, then stationed at Satara. Had the Government been aware of the intrigues with Goa which had come to Colonel Robertson's knowledge nine years before (and which had never since been relinquished) they would have been less unprepared for the present announcement. But, even in the absence of this information—the recent discussions on the jaghir question, the personal bearing of the Raja towards Sir Robert Grant at their last interview, and the still more recent establishment of a foreign agency for the furtherance of his political objects, could scarcely have failed to satisfy the Government of the disaffection of their dependant ally, and of his increasing estrangement from their authority. Still, notwithstanding these hostile indications, it appeared scarcely credible that their highly favored ally could have so far forgotten his obligations, or that he could have embarked on so wild and perilous a scheme. Notwithstanding the monstrous folly, however, of the prospect imputed to the Raja,—the charge came before the Government endorsed by the Resident with his personal conviction of its truth. Under such circumstances, further enquiry became a matter of imperative obligation. But by what method was the requisite investigation to be conducted?

No tribunal existed for the trial of political offences imputed to a dependent sovereign ally: and perhaps, no mode of procedure could have been devised for the purpose that would have been altogether free from objection. The delegation of the duty, on the present occasion, to a special and secret Commission, did not escape animadversion: and it cannot be denied that it was open to strong objections. To some of these we may afterwards have occasion to refer. But however inexpedient may have been the assembly of such a tribunal at the capital of a Native state for the trial of its sovereign, it cannot be denied that the Commissioners* discharged the delicate and important duty entrusted

* The Officers selected for this important duty were the British Resident Colonel Lodwick, Mr. Willoughby, the Political Secretary to the Government, and Colonel Ovens, the Quarter-Master General of the Army. The nomination of the Resident and the Political Secretary as Members of the Commission was an objectionable arrangement. It placed the former, as the local representative of the Government, in a false position towards his colleagues, and practically put his office in Commission for the time being; and it involved the latter in personal discussions, with which, as the official

to them with great ability, and, we are bound to add, with unimpeachable impartiality. After a laborious and searching enquiry, they came to the unanimous conclusion that the charge had been proved both against the Raja and his minister. The evidence on which this decision rested, was subsequently corroborated by the confession of the minister, and by other collateral testimony.

From a careful examination of all the testimony adduced at the trial, and of the corroborative evidence obtained at a subsequent period, it appears to us to have been conclusively established ;—That, after some preliminary interviews with a subordinate agent, two clandestine meetings took place between two subedars of the 23rd Regiment and Govind Row Dewan, at the residence of the latter ; that, at the termination of the second interview, the two native officers, disguised in dresses obtained at a neighbouring shop for the purpose, and attended by the Dewan's servant, proceeded in the night to the palace ; that they there held a secret interview with the Raja, to whom they were introduced by the Dewan ; and that the whole tenor of His Highness' language at this meeting unmistakeably indicated hostile feelings and intentions towards the British Government—his declared object being to induce the officers, with as many of their men as they could secure, to throw off their allegiance and join his ranks on some future occasion when these intentions were to be carried into effect.*

organ and adviser of the Government, he ought not in any way to have been mixed up. But whatever objections might have been urged to the composition of the tribunal, as regarded the *official* position of its two senior members, it would have been difficult to have chosen three officers better fitted, by personal character, to institute a searching and impartial enquiry.

They who have spoken of the appointment of the Commission as indicative of a hostile feeling on the part of the Government towards the Raja, would do well to remember, that the Resident of that Court was not only an officer of high character and long service, but was known to be the firm and strenuous advocate of His Highness' claims in the Jaghir question, in opposition to the recorded opinion of the Government.

Again—in the whole range of the service, it would have been impossible to have selected any one whose character for unswerving adherence to what he thought right and just, than Mr. WILLOUGHBY. His early political life had been passed at the Court of the Guicowar, and in Kattywar, where he will be long remembered, (though not the earliest) as the most untiring, most practical, and most successful of the able men who have laboured to suppress the crime of female infanticide. His talents and energy brought him at an early period of his career into the Government secretariat ; but more than one instance might be cited in which his inflexible refusal to surrender his conscientious opinions to the smiles or frowns of those in power, hindered his advancement for a time, though it gained him the respect even of those to whom he was opposed.

Of Colonel OVANS' character and services, we shall have a more fitting opportunity to speak hereafter. It will be sufficient, for our present purpose, to remark in this place that, in clearness and soundness of judgment, and in unswerving rectitude of purpose, he is second to none in the ranks of the Bombay Army.

* The conclusions above recorded are borne out by the evidence of the Native

The force of the evidence, on which these facts were established, was strengthened rather than weakened by His Highness' defence. There had been, in the first instance, on the occasion of the Resident requiring him to give up his Dewan, no expression of indignation at the bare possibility of the participation of his minister or any of his subjects in acts of treachery and hostility to the British Government, and no anxiety evinced to punish the guilty authors of such misdeeds. And now, when he appeared before the commission for the purpose of hearing the nature of the charges preferred against himself and his minister, with the evidence by which they were supported, the commission remark that "there was considerable difficulty in drawing His Highness' attention to the charges against himself [the secret interview with the native officers at the palace] and it was long before he gave it a distinct denial."* He declined the repeated offers and advice of the Commissioners to hear the statements from the mouths of the witnesses themselves—observing that he had perfect reliance on the Commission : and it is worthy of special notice that the only question which he requested to be put to any of the witnesses, was the following remarkable one to the Brahman accomplice of the Dewan ; "*who first commenced this conspiracy—the Brahman or the Maharaj ?*" No attempt whatever was made, by counter-evidence, to disprove the reality of the secret visit to the palace, which, had it not taken place on the night specified, must surely in some way or other have been capable of disproof. Nor in the written statements laid before the Commission does the Rajah make any specific reference to the special charge preferred against him. He simply disclaims any hostile feelings, endeavours to impugn

officers themselves, men bearing the very highest characters in their regiment—by the Commandant and staff officers of the regiment, under whose orders the subedars acted throughout these proceedings, and to whom they regularly communicated, verbally and in writing, the occurrences as they took place—by the corroborative evidence of the performer at whose shop the officers put on their disguise—by the testimony (obtained under very peculiar circumstances) of the Dewan's domestic servant who gave *pan-sopari* to the officers on their first visit to his master's house, and after the second visit accompanied them to the palace—by the statement of a person named Abbamohinty, who saw the subedars enter the palace on the night in question, accompanied by the Dewan, and who mentioned the circumstance at the time to three of his friends, all of whom corroborated the fact—by the confession of an accomplice by whom the several meetings were arranged—and lastly, by the important confession of the Dewan himself as taken before the Session Judge at Ahmednuggur, which strikingly confirms, in every essential particular, the evidence of the other witnesses, and thus completes the proofs of the Raja's guilt.

For the detailed evidence on these various points, see the report and proceedings of the Commission (Parl. Pap. 308) and for a condensed summary of it, reference may be made to Colonel Ovens' statement.—(*Ibid.*, 1063.)

* Parl. Pap. 313.

the credibility of some of the witnesses (most unsuccessfully as regards the native officers*) and dwells upon the improbability of the accusations generally, the great benefits he had derived from the British Government, and his undiminished attachment to the Power by whom he had been raised to the throne. Of the hollowness of these friendly professions, the reader has had abundant evidence in the foregoing pages.

In the justice of the verdict pronounced by the Commissioners, and in their recommendation of visiting the offence with a mild penalty, the Bombay Government unanimously acquiesced. They were fully satisfied that the Raja had placed himself entirely at the mercy of the Paramount Power, and had justly subjected himself to the forfeiture of the powers and possessions which he had so grossly abused. But a variety of considerations occurred to Sir Robert Grant to justify him in following the dictate of his own humane and generous nature, and in recommending a lenient course. The Raja had owed his elevation to British favor—he had governed his dominions with credit to himself and with benefit to his subjects—and his attempt to corrupt the fidelity of our native troops, though in itself the most heinous offence of which a dependent ally could be guilty, was viewed at the time as an act of incredible folly rather than a crime, into the commission of which he had been duped by the instigation of corrupt and unprincipled advisers. Influenced by these feelings, and by a sensitive apprehension lest the purity of their motives might be suspected, he was anxious that the penalty awarded should be such as to inflict a *moderate degree of privation* on His Highness, with the *least possible benefit* to the British Government. In accordance with these views, he recommended that one of His Highness' principal jaghirdars, the Raja of Akulkote, whose estate lies beyond the Satara limits, should be altogether disconnected from the Satara state, and transfer his allegiance to the British Government. In addition to this punishment, he proposed to deprive His Highness of the privilege of having a British Resident stationed at his Court, and to appoint a political agent for the combined duties of Satara and the southern Mahratta country.

It is impossible to peruse the able minute in which the upright and enlightened statesman, who then presided over the Bombay

* It is worthy of particular notice, that the overtures were made in the first instance to only *one* officer, and that the second (specially selected for the purpose on account of his high character) was subsequently associated with him by order of the Adjutant of the regiment, for the express purpose of confirming his testimony as to what might take place at the secret interview. This at once negatives the charge of a combination having been got up between the two Subedars for the purpose of criminating the Raja.

Government, recorded his sentiments on this first part of the Satara case, without a deep feeling of regret that the wise and merciful policy which it recommended had not at once been carried out.* But the Governor-General took a more stern view of the case. The proceedings of the Satara Commission having left no doubt on his mind of the Raja's guilt, Lord AUCKLAND considered his hostility to the British Government, to whom he had been indebted for every thing he possessed, to be monstrous and unpardonable. He refused to admit the principle that in such a case the British Government should "from fear of imputations on the purity of its motives, refrain from the plain course of resuming territories and power which those whom it had entrusted with them were using for its destruction: and saw no reason why such treason should not recoil upon those who contrive it, and be made at the same time a source of additional strength to the British Government"†

But while the question was still under consideration, the mother of the convicted Dewan, finding that her son had been delivered up to imprisonment by the Raja without any apparent effort to save him, and that "he was likely to become the scape-goat for the transgressions of others far more criminal than himself," forwarded a petition to the Bombay Government, in which she indicated the existence of other intrigues at the Satara Court, and denounced their various authors by name. A renewal of the enquiry was, in consequence, deemed necessary, for the purpose of ascertaining the authority of this petition, and the truth of the allegations which it contained: and the task of conducting this important enquiry was entrusted to Colonel Ovens, the Quarter-Master General of the Army, who with a view to the performance of this especial duty, was appointed to officiate as Resident at Satara, in supercession of Colonel Lodwick.

A year had now well nigh elapsed since the first disclosure of the Satara intrigues.‡ This untoward delay—the blame of which must be equally shared between the Local and Supreme Govern-

* Parl. Paper, p. 53.

† Parl. Paper, p. 70.—The late Mr. Shakespeare was the only member of the Supreme Government, who considered the evidence to be insufficient for the conviction of the Raja and his Dewan. What then seemed to him so obscure and inexplicable was satisfactorily cleared up by subsequent enquiries, the results of which he did not live to witness.

‡ The Satara Commissioners completed their Report on the 6th November 1836. Sir Robert Grant's Minute on the case bears date the 30th January 1837; and the Governor-General's Minute was not recorded until the 29th April following. Six months' deliberation on a matter which the Commission had investigate and reported upon in little more than three weeks!—Again—three months were allowed to intervene between the receipt of the petition of the Dewan's mother and the appointment of Colonel Ovens to enquire into the truth of its allegations.

ments—was a great evil in itself: but other causes concurred to aggravate its mischievous effects. While the Government were allowing months to elapse in deliberating on matters which ought to have been disposed of in as many days, they left their representative without instructions, and without the countenance and support which, under existing circumstances, were so imperatively required for the maintenance of his own authority, and for upholding the honor and interests of the British Government. Sir Robert Grant complained that the Resident had lost all influence over the Raja, and that he had become an object of his personal dislike.* But, surely the withdrawal of all support from him, under such trying circumstances, was not a very likely method of re-establishing his influence.* Nor could Sir Robert have been blind to the fact, that his own Government had become equally powerless and equally unpopular at the Satara Durbar—and for very similar reasons. The Raja had been checked by the Resident in his oppression of the jaghirdars, and by the Government in his efforts to extend his sovereignty to the Northern bank of the Nira. Hence his resentment against both authorities; and his avowed determination to shake off their control, and to manage his affairs by foreign agency. Under such circumstances, it cannot, we think, admit of a moment's doubt, that the prompt and firm assertion of British supremacy had become the first and paramount duty of the Government, and that the omission to reinforce the strict observance of this essential provision of the treaty, was infinitely more prejudicial to the public interests than even the delay in deciding on the penalty to be inflicted for the offence of tampering with the Satara seapoys. The consequences of this inaction on the part of the Government, were such as might have been anticipated. The Raja increased the number of his Native agents, and finally put himself into the hands of irresponsible, injudicious, and (we fear we must add) unprincipled European advisers, who instilled into his mind the most fallacious hopes, and the most extravagant ideas of his claims—and in short, placed every possible obstacle in the way of a satisfactory settlement of the case.

Colonel OVANS assumed charge of the Satara Residency in June 1837, and applied himself with his characteristic energy to the prosecution of the enquiry which he had been instructed to

* If the Government attributed the Raja's insubordination to the incapacity or mismanagement of the Resident, they ought at once to have exercised their undoubted right of removing him: but by allowing him to remain for so many months totally unsupported, in a position of great difficulty, they cannot be acquitted of personal injustice towards their representative, while they materially aggravated the difficulties of the Satara question.

institute. These enquiries were followed up, in the face of the most formidable obstacles, with great ability and with unflinching firmness of purpose, until a long series of treacherous and treasonable intrigues were detected and exposed, which at once furnished a key to what had before been considered so inexplicable in the Raja's proceedings. The parties with whom this clandestine intercourse had been principally kept up were the authorities at Goa, and the ex-Raja of Nagpur. Following up the principle before laid down, of restricting the present observations within the narrowest possible limit, we shall confine our attention exclusively to the first of these charges.

The clear and concise report of Colonel Ovens on the Goa intrigues with its appendices of proofs exhibited in the order and form in which they were originally obtained ;* the methodized summaries prepared by Mr. Willoughby, each of which forms a digest of the evidence bearing on a specific fact or feature of the case, † and the masterly analysis of the whole case contained in Sir Robert Grant's able and elaborate Minute of the 5th May 1838,‡ bring the subject before us in so complete and comprehensive a form, that it seems scarcely possible for the most incredulous to resist its force. That various discrepancies on minor points, may here and there be detected in this voluminous testimony, cannot be denied. And, indeed, the absence of such occasional discrepancy regarding a series of transactions extending over a period of eleven or twelve years, and deposed to by forty or fifty witnesses, some more, some less immediately connected with the events which they severally narrate, would rather have excited a suspicion of collusion, and have tended to throw distrust upon their testimony. But their coincidence, on all material points, is very remarkable. In truth, when we look at the overwhelming mass of separate and independent evidence adduced in this case, and the circumstances (to be presently noticed) under which it was obtained, we can scarcely fail to be impressed with its general consistency and with an irresistible conviction of its truth.

Much has been said and written in England regarding the alleged fabrication of documents in the name of the ex-Viceroy of Goa, and the use of seals different from those which they were intended to represent. Engravings of genuine seals and forged seals—of *morthules* and *siccas*—have been published and exhibited with much unnecessary parade, and a great deal of superfluous argument has been used to prove what no one, so far as

* Parl. Paper, p. 403. See also Colonel Ovens's Abstract Statement—*Ibid.*, p. 1065.

† *Ibid.*, p. 995 to p. 1026.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

we are aware, ever attempted to deny, and what Colonel Ovans was the first person to bring to the especial notice of his Government, *viz.*, that the seals used in the prosecution of these intrigues were different from those used by the Raja. This undisputed fact by no means carries with it the conviction that the use of these seals was not authorized by the Raja.* But even the admission of their absolute forgery would go a very short way in disproving His Highness' guilt. To expect that the subordinate agents in a treasonable conspiracy should never, in the prosecution of the r schemes, exceed the authority delegated to them by their principals, would be as unreasonable as it would be to expect from them an unswerving adherence to truth in their subsequent narration of the plots in which they had been the guilty actors. Nay, even the admission that the Viceroy himself was guiltless of any share in the plot, and that his name and even his person were falsified on the occasion, would in no degree lessen the criminality of those who intrigued with his counterfeit representative.

We will consent, however, to waive for the present all the *documentary evidence*, genuine or fictitious, with the important exception of that furnished by the banker's books—which of all species of proof, is universally admitted to be the most trustworthy. But we cannot be equally accommodating in regard to the oral testimony of the *fifty witnesses*. That perjury is a common crime in India, as well as in other more highly civilized countries, we at once admit and lament. We might even be disposed to meet the wishes of the Raja's partizans so far as to admit that one, two, three—nay half a dozen witnesses may not, perhaps, have spoken the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. But when we are called upon on the simple unsupported assertion of Mr. George Thompson, or Mr. Peter Gordon, or Mr. Anybody else to charge wholesale perjury on *half a hundred witnesses*, many of them persons of good character, some of them relatives and connexions of the Raja, and several of them holding a respectable position in society at the present day—we must at once decline acquiescence in any such monstrous proposition. And really, when we look at the numerous host of witnesses—when we consider that many of them were traced out and apprehended in various and distant parts of the Dekhan and Concan, and in the foreign territories of Goa and Sawunt-warri—that they were brought to Satara under circumstances which

* The dying testimony of the principal agent, *directing that the seals, then in his possession, should be returned to the Raja* after his death, would rather go to sustain the impression, that His Highness was aware of their being in his possession, and of the uses to which they had been applied.—Parl. Paper, p. 1023.

effectually prevented concert or collusion—that only one witness, so far as we have observed, volunteered his evidence—that their evidence was in many instances directly opposed to their personal interests, and that separate enquiries were conducted by different officers at the distant stations of Rutnaghery and Darwar, quite independently of those carried on at Satara, as well as of one another, it will require an extraordinary amount of scepticism to resist such an accumulation of proof.

To us—weighing the evidence with all the strictness and impartiality besecming the character and office of CALCUTTA REVIEWERS—it appears to have been most conclusively established,—that, for a series of eleven years (from 1825 to 1836) the Raja, in violation of his engagements with the British Government, carried on a secret and treasonous intercourse with the authorities of Goa; that, for the prosecution of this intrigue, he accredited and recognized a man named Nago Deorao as his principal agent, to whom with his co-associates he paid specific salaries and money for the payment of their expenses; that he admitted to secret interviews, on various occasions, two *professed* agents of the Viceroy of Goa, assigned salaries to them, and received through them letters *purporting* to be from the Viceroy, in which allusion was made to the receipt of previous letters said to have come from the Raja himself; that on various occasions valuable presents were made by His Highness, in person or on his behalf, both to his own agents and to the (real or pretended) agents of the Viceroy, as well as for the Viceroy himself;* and lastly, that a great portion of the presents and salaries, (amounting in all to Rs. 36,000) was paid through a Satara banker, as certified by the entries in his original account books.† Of the reality of these several facts, there is not, we believe, a single human being in Satara at the present day, who has attained to years of discretion, that entertains the shadow of a doubt, and there cannot be less than two or three dozen persons wholly unconnected with the intrigues, who were aware of their existence a couple of years, at least, before they were disclosed to our Government.

* The ex-Viceroy has since declared to Mr. Joseph Hume (Parl. deb. 24th June, 1844) that he “never had any correspondence on *political* subjects” with the Raja of Satara. If we might offer a suggestion to the veteran patriot, we would recommend him, on the next occasion of his addressing that nobleman, to enquire whether he ever held any communication, *other than political*, with the Raja, and whether he ever received any presents from His Highness. On this latter point we have the unexceptionable testimony of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, of the Scotch Free Church Mission, who mentions, in a private letter, his having seen at Goa, the horses sent to the Viceroy by the Raja.

† For the methodized evidence by which the above facts are supported, we would refer to Mr. Willoughby’s summaries, (Parl. Paper. p. 995) more particularly to those marked A. A. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 12.

And what, it may be asked, were the ulterior designs of this infatuated man in establishing, for so many years, this clandestine communication with a foreign state? For, as Sir Robert Grant has remarked, no native prince would have systematically broken so capital an article of the treaty without some object to justify the risk he incurred. There is abundant evidence to shew that his great object was to establish his independence, and to regain the extensive dominions once governed by his ancestors—in short, to re-establish the Mahratta empire on its ancient scale of grandeur. These, it may be urged, were wild and extravagant projects—projects so hopelessly impracticable, that no intelligent person, such as the Raja is admitted to have been, could for a moment have entertained them, much less have been deluded into a belief of the possibility of their ultimate accomplishment.*

But, setting all other testimony aside, the most undeniable evidence of the Raja's pretensions to the ancient Mahratta sovereignty is supplied in a bukbur, or memoir,† drawn up by the Chitnis under His Highness' orders, and bearing his seal, and in a paper entitled "an account of the sovereignty of the Government of Satara," &c.‡ drawn up in His Highness' name, under date the 31st October 1837, both of which official documents were transmitted to the Governor-General by the Raja's accredited agent, the late Dr. Milne. This is not all. In his frantic efforts to attain the objects of his distempered ambition, he has with unparelled baseness and ingratitude, made an impotent attempt, in these papers, to fix a charge of violated faith on the purest and brightest name that graces the page of Indian history—his earliest and his best benefactor—THE HONORABLE MOUNT-STUART ELPHINSTONE!!§ Could the most rancorous of his Brahminical enemies (if any such really existed) have brought forward any thing more condemnatory of his character and conduct, than what is contained in these documents, written by his confidential adviser, attested by his own seal, and put forward in his defence (!!) by his accredited European advocate? Or are they like the Goa papers, to be considered as forged documents, put forward with fabricated seals, under the counterfeit signature

* This, which might have been a weighty argument in 1838, will hardly carry conviction to those who have lived to see in 1848, men educated as British statesmen and legislators, with no excuse from want or oppression, talk themselves and hundreds of their fellows into attempts at revolution, compared with which the wildest scheme ever charged against the ex-Raja was a prudent and sensible enterprize.

† Parl. Paper, p. 886.

‡ Parl. Paper, p. 898.

§ In these supremely absurd papers it is gravely asserted, that Mr. Elphinstone had secretly pledged himself to restore to the Raja all the possessions of the Peishwa—that on the faith of this promise, the Raja deserted Baji Row—and that this pledge was subsequently violated!!!

of his professed advocate? For the credit of the Raja it were devoutly to be wished that they could be thus charitably accounted for.

The extended enquiries which had been so ably conducted by Colonel Ovens, were now brought to a close: Let us pause, then, for an instant to survey the exact position in which the Raja now stood towards the British Government. We find—

First—That, on the refusal of the Indian Governments to acknowledge his pretensions to sovereignty over the possessions of the jaghirdars in British territory, he had, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the Resident whose advice he had bound himself to follow, and in direct opposition to the non-intercourse clause of the treaty, entered into communications with agents in Bombay for the avowed purpose of procuring the reversal of the decisions of the Government whose supremacy he had bound himself to respect, and in subordination to whose paramount authority he had originally received and now held the Satara dominions;—

Secondly—That he had, for a long succession of years, kept up a series of perfidious intrigues with the authorities at Goa,* during a period of professed friendship, and when no apparent cause of collision had arisen between the two Governments;—

Thirdly—That, in pursuance of these intrigues, he at last countenanced an attempt to seduce a portion of the British troops from their allegiance;—and

Lastly—That he continued openly and systematically to set the authority of the British Resident at defiance, and to act “as if he were independent of the treaty and of all control.”

In a word—The alliance between the two states was virtually dissolved—the title-deed which constituted his only claim to his sovereignty had been trampled in the dust—and, as a necessary consequence, the power and possessions which that title-deed conveyed, had been forfeited to the state by whom they were originally conferred.

That such a state of matters should have been permitted so long to continue, passes belief. For two years had the Western presidency presented the unseemly spectacle of a protracted conflict between the paramount state and one of the most dependent of its allies—a conflict derogatory to our character, and most prejudicial to the public interests. Of the two pressing duties that, under the existing state of our relations with the Satara court, claimed the urgent

* We purposely leave out of consideration all the other alleged intrigues on which the evidence was less complete and conclusive. They are reviewed, with consummate ability, in a series of masterly minutes, recorded by Sir Robert Grant, under dates the 5th, 15th, 24th, 26th, and 31st May.—See Parl. Pap. pages 118 to 206.

attention of the Bombay Government—they rigorously discharged the one while they totally neglected the other. Through the able and well directed exertions of their representative, they succeeded in unravelling the complicated web of the Raja's intrigues ; but they neglected the other, and (as we think), more important duty of compelling him to a strict and rigorous observance of the treaty while these investigations were in progress. Week after week was this dependent ally permitted openly to violate his obligations with impunity. Parties, whose possessions had been guaranteed to them by the British Government in former days, were subjected to confiscation : and the remonstrances of the British Resident were treated with neglect, and almost with insult. Widows of *British subjects*, deceased in British territory, brought their husbands' bones to Satara and there performed Sati, not only with the connivance, but with the direct sanction of the Raja, who appeared to encourage such sacrifices for the sole purpose of proclaiming his independence of British influence and authority. We find Colonel Ovens again and again pressing upon the Government the paramount necessity of checking these outrages, but without effect. They saw very clearly, and pointed out in the strongest terms to the Supreme Government, the baneful effects of the Raja's unbridled proceedings : but they unfortunately found themselves precluded from *acting* on their own sound views without the Governor-General's sanction. Here the evils arising from the curtailed powers of the minor Governments were most painfully apparent. But, notwithstanding their subordinate position, a bolder and more energetic Governor would have promptly vindicated his authority, by instructing his representative to follow up the first breach of obligation on the part of the Raja, with a distinct intimation that any repetition of the offence would be considered *an act of hostility*, and be visited with instant *suspension* from his sovereignty. And, having issued these orders, he would have transmitted a copy of them for the Governor-General's approval. His Lordship, we think, would scarcely have ventured on the responsibility of directing their recall : and we are very certain that much of the subsequent embarrassments of this untoward case would have been thereby avoided. But we have wandered somewhat from the direct course of our narrative.

The local and the Supreme Governments unanimously concurred in opinion—that the guilt of the Raja on the three principal charges* had been conclusively established ; that his

* These three charges were,—his attempt to seduce the native officers from their allegiance, and his treasonous intercourse with the authorities at Goa, and with the ex-Raja of Nagpur. Into the last charge we have not deemed it necessary to enter.

offences were of too serious a nature to be either overlooked or forgiven; that, originating as they must have done (to use Lord Auckland's words) "in a deep-rooted spirit of resistance and aversion to the British supremacy," lenient measures would be perfectly inapplicable; that he ought therefore to be deprived of the sovereignty which he had so justly forfeited, and that his territories should be annexed to the British empire. On these several points there was not a dissentient voice in the councils of Calcutta or Bombay.

But an important question arose as to the expediency and the practicability of bringing the guilt of the Raja to the test of judicial proof, before a special commission, or some other competent tribunal. In the policy of this measure, coupled with the *ad-interim* suspension of the Raja's authority (as recommended by the Bombay Government) the Governor-General was at first disposed to acquiesce. But a subsequent consideration of its difficulties and risks induced him to withhold his sanction from its adoption. In this view of the case, the Council of India* unanimously concurred. They considered any further proceedings to be impolitic and altogether unnecessary, and were prepared to recommend the immediate deposal of the Raja. This part of the question was well argued at the time by Mr. Wilberforce Bird, and was, at a subsequent stage of these proceedings, discussed at considerable length and with great ability in an admirable minute recorded by the late Mr. Edmonstone, and concurred in by many of his colleagues in the Direction.† Referring the reader to this able State paper, we must content ourselves with the following short extract from Mr. Bird's minute:—

"In regard to the appointment of a Commission, I am not aware that the Raja could legally be tried by a tribunal so constituted, or that there exists any law by which the form of procedure for the trial of a sovereign prince, accused of political offences, could be regulated. I am quite sure that the constitution of such a court would be attended with insuperable difficulties and perplexities, and it cannot, I think, admit of a doubt, that the present state of India,‡ the discussion, the intrigues, and the excitement to which such a procedure must unavoidably give rise, might be followed by the most disastrous consequences.

"Nor does it appear to me that the case requires to be treated judicially. It is one entirely of a political nature, and as such, all that it behoves us to do, is to satisfy ourselves that the stipulations of the treaty have in fact been treacherously violated. This has been done by an enquiry, than which none was ever more patiently, labouriously, and dispassionately conducted, or more minutely and critically revised, and by all the authorities

* The Governor-General was at this time separated from his Council.

† Parl. Paper, p. 1273.

‡ At the time this minute was recorded, the army was on its march to Kabul.

who have had successively to pass judgment in the case, the Raja has been unanimously condemned.

"I think, therefore, that the Raja may at once be set aside. It is the course which has been resorted to in other cases, and which in this, under all the circumstances, ought, I am of opinion, to be adopted." *

THREE YEARS had now elapsed since the commencement of this perplexing enquiry; † and the prospect of a final settlement seemed as distant and uncertain as ever. Meanwhile the subject had excited considerable discussion in England. The home authorities viewed with disfavour the protracted and extended investigation to which the case had given rise. A feeling seemed to be gaining ground that its importance had been unduly exaggerated; and that friendly remonstrance and advice, if judiciously used, could not fail to bring back the Raja to a due sense of his obligations to the British Government.

Under these circumstances the nomination of SIR JAMES CARNAC to the Government of Bombay was hailed with satisfaction by all parties, as holding out the most favourable hopes of an early and amicable settlement. He had been distinguished, throughout a long public life, as the warm and steady friend of the natives of India, and was the strenuous supporter of the policy of upholding native states: he was, moreover, an enthusiastic admirer of the character and Government of the Satara Raja; and had avowed himself to be one of those who considered that his alleged intrigues had been greatly exaggerated, and were unworthy of serious notice. Instructions were forwarded to the Governor-General to suspend his final decision on the case until the new Governor's arrival: and not a doubt was felt, either in Leadenhall-street or Cannon Row, of his success in re-establishing our relations at the Satara Durbar on their former friendly footing. "Well do I recollect," says Sir John Hobhouse, "that taking leave of him at the Board of Control, I impressed upon him our desire that he should deal leniently with the Raja, and received from him an assurance that he would follow that advice" ‡—an advice which was in cordial unison with his own feelings and wishes on the subject.

* Parl. Paper, p. 262.

† We have before noticed the delays in the consideration of the first charge: those which were permitted to occur in the subsequent stages of the proceedings were still more injurious to the public interests. Colonel Ovens' final report on the Goa and Jodpur intrigues is dated the 30th Nov. 1837. Sir R. Grant's minutes, in review of these intrigues, were not recorded until May of the following year; Lord Auckland's minutes were written in September and December following: and those of the Council of India in April 1839. Eighteen months of deliberation! And the question still unsettled!

‡ Speech on the Satara Question: House of Commons, July 6, 1847.

Sir James Carnac assumed charge of the Government of Bombay on the 1st of June 1839, and applied himself without delay, to an anxious consideration of the Satara question. The impression left on his mind by that enquiry was very different from what he had anticipated. Favorably disposed as he was towards the Raja, he could not resist the unwilling conviction that his guilt, on the three principal charges, had been clearly and conclusively established, and that he had justly incurred the forfeiture of all the advantages of the treaty which placed him on the throne. Nevertheless—taking into consideration the extravagance of his intrigues, the utter impotency of those with whom he conspired, and his own political insignificance—he considered that it would be more befitting the magnanimity and generosity of the British Government to overlook and forgive his past misconduct, than to proceed to the extremity of his deposal, and the annexation of his territories to the British dominions. In accordance with these views—which were directly opposed, it will be remembered, to the sentiments unanimously recorded by all the Indian authorities—he purposed to proceed in person to Satara, in the hope of rescuing the Raja from the dangerous position in which he had placed himself. To effect this object, he proposed to extend to him a general amnesty, unclogged by any stipulations, excepting such as might be found necessary for enforcing a more strict observance of the original treaty of 1819, and for ensuring efficient protection to the witnesses who had received our guarantee. This lenient and generous policy was, in deference to the presumed sentiments of the home authorities, promptly assented to by the civil members of his Government,* and received the sanction of the Governor-General.

Thus vested with full powers, and sanguine of success, the veteran diplomatist proceeded on his mission of reconciliation to the Satara Court. But he came too late. Three years of unbridled indulgence had worked its baneful effect on the mind of the infatuated Raja. His Bombay agents had urged him, in the strongest language, to listen to no conditions,† except such as were dictated by himself: and he followed the fatal advice. He peremptorily rejected the terms of the proffered amnesty.

The conditions, thus rejected, were at once moderate and

* Sir James Carnac gratefully acknowledges the cordial co-operation of his civil colleagues, who had previously recorded their opinions in favour of a very different procedure.

† One of the terms to be proposed by the Raja was, that the British Government should restore to him "the whole raj" (that is, *all the territories conquered from the Prishwa*) as they had pledged themselves to do, when he deserted the *Prishwa* and assisted the English!!!

reasonable—fewer in number, indeed, and less stringent than those which had received the Governor-General's sanction. After a preamble, intimating that His Highness, misled by evil advisers, had exposed himself by his breach of the treaty to the sacrifice of the alliance of the British Government, the agreement specified as the conditions of the amnesty ;—That His Highness should strictly and in good faith, act up to the existing treaty—more particularly to the second article ;* that he should continue to pay the allowance, heretofore granted to his brother Appa Sahib, who had recently thrown himself on our protection ; that he should dismiss from his counsels—Bulwunt Row Chitnis—the man whose evil and corrupt advice had brought the Raja into his present position ; and that he should respect the guarantee extended to certain of the witnesses.

Now these three measures (for the first was simply a repetition of an existing engagement) were not only in themselves, reasonable or rather indispensable under the circumstances, but they were such as under the provisions of the second article of the existing treaty we had an undoubted right, either then or at any subsequent period, to prescribe and enforce. But the *mode* in which they were submitted was injudicious, and calculated to defeat the object in view. The great error committed was—in conveying the decision of Government in the form of *an offer to conclude a new treaty*—instead of presenting it in the shape of a *final decision* pronounced by the Paramount Power on a subordinate ally who had violated his engagements. There should have been no option given, either to accept or to reject ; but the decision ought to have been accompanied by a distinct official intimation, that it was the fixed intention of the Government to exact hereafter a strict and literal compliance with the terms of the original treaty ; and that any future departure from them would be followed by the immediate forfeiture of all the advantages which that treaty conferred.

But, while we make these observations, we are bound to add our deliberate conviction, that no management or persuasion, at this period, would have brought back the Raja to a just sense of his duty, or to a strict observance of his engagements. How was it, indeed, possible to maintain friendly relations with a Prince who publicly repudiated the solemn compact under which he held his sovereignty—who, with unparelled effrontery informed the British representative that he had refused three several times to sign the original treaty, before he at length

* " The Raja engages to hold the territory in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and to be guided in all matters by the advice of the British Agent at His Highness' court."

reluctantly consented, and that *his renewal of it would reduce him to the condition of a Mamletdar!** That, with these facts before them, there should still be found in England clear-headed sensible people, who consider the Raja to have been an innocent and injured man, is a mystery which we are utterly unable to solve.

The peremptory and obstinate refusal by the Raja of the conditional amnesty now tendered, and his distinct repudiation of an important part of his existing engagements, rendered his deposal no longer a question of policy, but a matter of immediate and inevitable necessity. Accordingly, in virtue of the authority with which he was invested, the Governor was reluctantly compelled to enforce the penalty prescribed by the 5th article of the treaty of Satara. Instead, however, of resuming the territories thus justly forfeited, he resolved (and under the circumstances resolved wisely) to invest the Raja's younger brother and next heir, with the sovereignty of the Satara State.

Having thus failed in the accomplishment of the mission he had so much at heart—a failure which caused him the bitterest disappointment—the Governor returned to Dapuri, his Dekhan residence, to issue the requisite orders for the deposal of the Raja. This was quietly and peaceably accomplished by Colonel Ovens on the morning of the 5th September, and on the same day his brother Appa Sahib, was proclaimed his successor, under the title of Shaji Maharaj. These measures received the sanction and approval of the Supreme authorities, both in India and in England.

The remainder of the ex-Raja's history is unfortunately too well known, and may be disposed of in a few words. After a residence of three months in the immediate neighbourhood of Satara, he set out on his journey to Benares, which had been selected as the place of his future residence. An allowance of a lakh and twenty thousand Rupees was assigned to him from the revenues of the Satara State, for the support of himself and his family. He survived his dethronement eight years, and expired on the 14th October 1847, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

The whole history of the "Satara case" strikingly exemplifies the baneful effects of a hired political agency, whether Native or European, on every native state that has recourse to it. No greater misfortune can befall a native Prince than to be taught to look for advice or protection, beyond the British Resident

* This observation His Highness made to the Resident at his second interview (Parl. Pap., p. 1142), and it is repeated, on two subsequent occasions, in the account drawn up by himself of his different conferences with the Governor and the Resident.—(Ibid., 1199-1221.)

at his Court or the local Government whom he represents. The moment that he puts himself into the hands of irresponsible mercenary agents, he embarks on a course which must sooner or later lead to the subversion of his friendly relations with the British Government, and which too often carries him on headlong to his ruin. In the unhappy case before us, the communication being in itself illicit, was necessarily exposed to all the corruption and intrigue inseparable from the maintenance of a secret agency. That an intercourse which thus wantonly infringed an express fundamental article of the treaty, and the baneful effects of which were so often and so strongly impressed upon the Government by Colonel Ovens, should have been allowed to be kept up for three years, was the result of the same irresolute policy which, month after month, permitted the advice and remonstrances of their representative to be neglected and his authority to be set at open defiance.

Many of the evils and perplexities of the case must doubtless be ascribed to the completely subordinate position in which the minor presidencies were placed by the last Charter Act—or rather, we ought to say, to the subordination in which they are kept by the practice of the Calcutta Council Chamber. Had the power for the final settlement of the case, ultimately vested in Sir James Carnac, been at once entrusted to his equally humane predecessor, as soon as the Supreme Government were satisfied of the Raja's moral liability to punishment, Pertab Sen would, in all probability, have died on the Satara throne. But, even without such plenary powers, a more prompt and resolute exercise of authority on the part of the local Government, in the first instance, might have saved all future embarrassment. The grand point to have been looked to, was that the decision, on all that was known or suspected, should have been *immediate* and *final*. If, on the first disclosure of the alleged conspiracy, the Governor had at once proceeded in person to Satara (from which he was distant only a day's journey), and had there, in concert with the Resident, instituted a summary investigation, and passed a final decision on the spot, there would have been no occasion for a Court of Enquiry, or for the prolonged investigations, and the still more protracted deliberations which followed it. The result of his visit would probably have been the expulsion of the Dewan, the Chitnis, and perhaps one or two other unprincipled advisers, from the Satara Durbar *—the immediate dismissal of

* As the interview between the Raja and the Native officers had not taken place at the period we are supposing, there would have been no direct proof of his participation in the attempt to seduce the seapoys, though there would have been enough to call for the exercise of increased vigilance on the part of the Resident.

the Bombay agents—and the future enforcement of a strict and literal observance of the treaty, more particularly of the controlling and restrictive provisions of its second and fifth articles. But, on the other hand, if the Raja had pertinaciously resisted the supremacy of the Paramount Power, and had refused to comply with the Governor's personal requisition, and to conform to the obligations of the treaty—the obvious course would have been, in such case, instantly to suspend him from his sovereignty, and to assume the temporary management of the country on his behalf, until the pleasure of the Home authorities had been made known.

Long as we have dwelt upon this part of our subject, it seems incumbent upon us, before finally quitting it, to notice some of the virulent and disgraceful attacks which have been made by the agents and partizans of the ex-Raja, on the character and official proceedings of the local authorities whose duty it was to investigate and decide on this case.

It should seem a very unnecessary duty to defend the memory of the late Sir Robert Grant from the groundless accusations with which his good name has been assailed. If ever there was a public man of high principle and sterling integrity, who exercised the functions of his high office under a deep sense of moral and religious obligation—it was the amiable and accomplished person we have just named. But his high character and unblemished reputation have not protected him from the slanderous charge of having accomplished the ruin of the ex-Raja by a departure from the sacred principles of truth and justice. The base calumny is refuted in almost every page of these voluminous papers. Every Minute which he recorded, evinces his deep and anxious solicitude to discover the truth, and the scrupulous care with which he weighed every circumstance and incident, however trivial, in order that he might form a just and impartial judgment on the case. In fact, the only errors with which he is chargeable in the management of the case arose, as we have seen, from causes the very converse of what has been so unjustly and so absurdly imputed to him. Had he been less conscientious—less scrupulously apprehensive of doing wrong—less fearful of responsibility—he would have asserted the supremacy of his Government with a firmer and more resolute hand, and in so doing, he would probably have saved the Raja from ruin, and his own fair fame from unmerited obloquy and reproach.

But against none of the official authorities connected with the Satara proceedings have these unblushing calumniators directed their poisoned arrows of malice and revenge with greater and

more persevering ferocity, than against the able and distinguished officer on whom devolved the invidious duty of carrying out the enquiry which led to the ex-Raja's deposal. In a letter addressed to the President of the Board of Control, which has been recently laid before the House of Commons,* Colonel Ovens has most fully and triumphantly vindicated his character from the calumnious imputations which have been so foully and so falsely cast upon it. The reader will find in the Parliamentary papers just referred to, a separate and successful refutation of each of the twelve methodical charges preferred by Mr. George Thompson against the late Resident : and he will find, in the same volume,† an exposition by Sir George Clerk's government, of the character and recent proceedings of the infamous reviler, on whose unsupported testimony the hireling‡ arch agitator and his parliamentary confederate have endeavoured to blast the reputation of that distinguished officer. With the publication of these official documents we might safely dismiss the subject. But the question involves other and more general interests than the vindication of personal character : we must therefore entreat the indulgence of our readers while we advert shortly to some of its leading points.

At the period of his selection by the late Sir Robert Grant, for the delicate and important mission to Satara, Colonel Ovens held the high office of Quarter-Master General of the Bombay army, to which he had been appointed by the late Lord Keane solely on the grounds of his high character and services. He, had, in the previous part of his career, filled various offices of high trust : § but he was more particularly distinguished as the great civilizer of the Bhils of Candeish. The ability, judgment, and zeal which he had so strikingly evinced in the accomplishment of this great and benevolent reform—a reform which has been attended with *perfect* and *permanent* success—pointed him

* Parl. Pap. (1848), p. 1-32.

† Ibid., p. 32.

‡ We feel ourselves amply justified in applying this designation to one who, within a brief period of less than three years had, to our certain knowledge, a sum of upwards of *sixty thousand* rupees transmitted to him on account of the ex-Raja, through a late mercantile firm in Calcutta ; and this altogether independent of an additional sum of *twenty thousand* rupees forwarded to him through the same firm, on account of the titular Emperor of Delhi.

§ In earlier life he distinguished himself as an Assistant in the Gujarat survey. The reports of Colonel Morier William, on a portion of this work, are standard authorities to this day on all that concerns the topography and fiscal condition of the cotton districts ; but the labors of the survey generally are little known beyond the province to which they relate, though it may be doubted whether there has yet been executed in India, any survey so detailed, and at the same time so practically adapted to the wants of the rich, highly cultivated, and minutely subdivided lands of Broach and Kaira.

out as an officer pre-eminently qualified to conduct the important enquiry about to be instituted at Satara.*

On the completion of that duty the Governments, both at home and abroad, unanimously concurred in their admiration of the eminent ability, deep penetration, and indefatigable industry with which he had discharged the painful and arduous task. And, truly, the more we consider the extraordinary difficulties and hazards attendant on such an enquiry, conducted within the dominions of the Prince whose treacherous and hostile conspiracies formed the subject of his investigation, the more we see reason to admire the firmness and address which overcame them all without conflict or collision.

But Mr. George Thomson has made these official measures the ground-work of a series of grave accusations against Colonel Ovens. The charges, which are twelve in number, may be reduced to three classes: First,—obtaining evidence by unjustifiable means; Secondly, the suppression of evidence, and Thirdly, treating the Raja at his dethronement with harshness and cruelty.

Of the accusations included under the first class, the principal are, that he intercepted the ex-Raja's correspondence—that he seized and imprisoned a large number of the Raja's subjects without accusation, kept them in prison without trial, and only released them on the Raja's deposal;—that he extorted evidence from the Dewan by the foul means of imprisonment and duress. —and that he redeemed certain documents which were at the time in pledge for a debt due to the person to whom they were said to have been entrusted by the principal agent in these intrigues. These allegations contain a strange and discreditable mixture of truth, mis-statement, and absolute falsehood.

It is perfectly true, that Colonel Ovens intercepted portions of the Raja's hostile correspondence with his secret agents in Bombay, which he laid before his Government; and it is equally true, (Mr. Thompson might have added) that he repeatedly warned the Government that the continuance of such correspondence was most prejudicial to the interests of both Governments, and, if persisted in, would inevitably lead to the Raja's ruin. The hostile character of these letters is manifest in every page of them, and this case, probably, affords the first example where the right of Government to intercept such correspondence has ever been

* It is to be distinctly observed that this investigation *had been previously decided upon* by the Supreme and the local Governments. The institution of such an enquiry may have been expedient and necessary, or it may have been the reverse: but the responsibility of the measure does not rest with Colonel Ovens, who neither originated nor advised it. The Government took upon itself the responsibility—and it selected that officer to carry its orders into effect.

questioned. It is unnecessary to add, that to correspond at all with the agents was a positive breach of treaty.

It is also true, that several of the Raja's subjects, who were implicated in the intrigues then under enquiry, were detained in custody by Colonel Ovens, as state prisoners under the special orders of his Government. But it is *not* true that any of these parties were seized by him—all of them having been given up by the Raja on his requisition.* Neither is it true that these parties were detained without accusation. Mr. George Thompson must be too familiar with the Satara blue books to require us to refer him to the 1118th, and six following pages for the disproof of his assertion : but the reference may be useful to some of our readers, who will there find a list of the persons in custody, with the charges against each, and the evidence by which they were supported. It appears that none were detained except those against whom there was strong and conclusive evidence ; and they were all pardoned and released by the Bombay Government immediately after the Raja's deposal,† “ on the humane and wise principle, that the chief agent having been punished, the British Government might safely overlook the crimes of the inferior instruments.”

In disproof of the charge of extortion of evidence, we have the unimpeachable evidence of the Session Judge at the station where the Dewan was detained. Mr. Hutt distinctly states‡ that the Dewan, so far from being in strict duress, was at the time living under surveillance in a private house in Ahmed-nuggur ; and that he voluntarily wrote his confession with his own hand in his (Mr. Hutt's) presence. The last accusation under this head is utterly unworthy of notice.

The question naturally arises after the perusal of the whole of this class of charges,—If the partizans of the ex-Raja consider the mode of obtaining evidence to have been so exceedingly objectionable as to make it the subject of public and formal accusation, what other method of procedure would these gentlemen have recommended to substitute in its place ? Colonel Ovens was instructed to institute a searching enquiry into political matters affecting the Raja, and several of his relations, ministers, and others enjoying his confidence. Would his opponents have wished him to set himself down at the Satara residency, and there wait patiently and contentedly, until evidence criminating the sovereign and principal people of the Satara State was brought to his door ? And if they were not prepared to recommend this passive line of conduct, what more active

* Parl. Pap., p. 428.

† Parl. Pap., pp. 472-474.

‡ Ibid, 1845, p. 46.

procedure would they have desired? We have examined these proceedings with some degree of attention, and we can only bring to recollection one instance in which a witness *volunteered* his evidence. If not volunteered, how was it to be procured? These are questions which the ex-Raja's partizans find it convenient to evade.

We now proceed to the second class of charges preferred against Colonel Ovens,—accusing him of having, for eleven months, suppressed the evidence of a man called Krishnaji Bhidey, which evidence, it is alleged, established the fact that he (Bhidey) was the author of the petition attributed to Gírajahye the mother of the imprisoned Dewan—in other words, that he had forged the petition in Gírajahye's name. This petition, it will be recollected, disclosed the names and designs of various parties alleged to be implicated in the Satara intrigues, and formed the ground-work of the enquiry then in progress. Now, in the first place, it will scarcely be credited by our readers, that the evidence thus alleged to have been suppressed, so far from proving the petition to have been a forgery, most satisfactorily confirmed the proofs previously recorded of its authenticity, by discovering the Karkún who had been employed by Gírajahye to write and forward it to Bombay on her behalf, and whose name she had previously concealed when she admitted the genuineness of the document. Bhidey never once affirms, as Messrs. Thompson and Hume continually assert, that he forged or fabricated the petition, but that he wrote it for Gírajahye, and that he never had been paid for the trouble and risk of doing so.*

It must be obvious, therefore, that if Colonel Ovens had in reality been actuated by the unworthy motives imputed to him, he would not have lost a day in transmitting evidence which conclusively established the authenticity of the petition, and confirmed (instead of falsifying as Mr. Thompson has the hardihood to assert) the general accuracy of the conclusions at which he had arrived on the question from Gí-

*Krishnaji Bhidey having complained to Colonel Ovens that he had not been paid for his trouble, was naturally told by that officer, that he must look for remuneration to those who had employed him. This reply, to which Bhidey over and over again refers, in itself conclusively proved that the man was no agent of Colonel Ovens. Failing in getting anything from the Resident he betook himself to Bombay, where he fell in with an agent of the ex-Raja employed in communicating with Mr. Hume. This man promised Bhidey to bring his claim to the notice of the authorities in England, and sent, with a statement of his own, a petition from Bhidey, so artfully drawn up in English (which Bhidey did not understand) as to give some color to the agent's assertion that it confessed to a fabrication of Gírajahye's petition. But if Bhidey's own statements be carefully read, it will be seen that almost the only point on which they are uniformly consistent is, that he wrote Gírajahye's petition for her, and by doing so, subjected himself to considerable danger, and entitled himself to reward

jabhye's own confession, and which he had communicated to the Government. But he found it necessary to institute further enquiries into the subject, and finally transmitted the whole of the documents to Government *within ten days, after the date of the last deposition* taken before the Post-master at Puna. And after all, the authenticity, or otherwise, of this celebrated petition did not in itself in any way affect the question of the ex-Raja's guilt: for though it furnished a *clue* to the alleged intrigues, it formed no portion of the evidence finally recorded against him.

The third class of accusations—charging Colonel Ovans with cruel treatment of the Raja at his deposal—are so absurd as to be scarcely deserving of notice. But the interests of truth and justice require that falsehood should be exposed, however ridiculous be the garb in which it presents itself.

In a petition bearing the signature of Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., Chairman of the British Indian Society, of which Society Mr. George Thompson is, or was, the itinerant Secretary, and presented to the British Parliament in 1841, it is gravely and solemnly averred—"That colonel Ovans invaded the ex-Raja's chamber at dead of night, dragged him from his bed, and trust him almost naked into a palankeen with his cousin Bala Sahib Suenapatti;" and that "the present [late] Raja was without, assisting Colonel Ovans in these outrages." Into these few lines the British Indian Society managed to compress no less than six distinct falsehoods. It is false that Colonel Ovans went to the palace at dead of night—it being day-light when he arrived. It is doubly false that he invaded the Raja's chamber and dragged him from his bed—for he never went beyond the courtyard of the palace, where he remained in the open air until the ex-Raja descended from his sleeping chamber and joined him. Neither is there a word of truth in the absurd assertion, that he thrust the ex-Raja into a palankeen with his cousin the Suenapatti. And lastly, it is a slanderous untruth that the ex-Raja's brother was present assisting in these outrages—he being at that time at the Adalut, about half a mile distant. Three false statements follow in the next sentence of the petition,—but it would be utter waste of time to expose such discreditable mis-statements. Notwithstanding their official refutation by Colonel Ovans upwards of six years ago,* with an appeal to the testimony of three British officers who accompanied him on the occasion, two of whom are still alive,† we find that Mr. George Thompson still persists in charging

* Parl. Pap., p. 1290.

† Captains Cristale and Follet of the Bombay Army.

Colonel Ovans with unnecessary and gratuitous harshness and indignity in carrying out the ex-Raja's dethronement—a measure which, as was well known to every one at Satara at the time, had been accomplished without the slightest collision or disturbance, and with every consideration for the comfort and feelings of the deposed Prince of which the circumstances of the case admitted.

There remains one more calumny to be noticed—and it is the basest and most atrocious of them all. For a series of years had Colonel Ovans been assailed with every species of slander and abuse which malice and revenge, aided by Benares silver, could purchase or invent. Unable to procure the ex-Raja's restoration by direct and legitimate means, a select band of his partizans set to work to accomplish their ends by traducing the character and conduct of the officer who had been instrumental in detecting His Highness' guilt. But while they unceasingly and unscrupulously scrutinized and impugned all his official acts, it was not until after the utter failure and discomfiture of all their other efforts that his columniators had dared to cast an imputation on his integrity and honor. It was not until the 22nd day of July 1845, that Mr. Joseph Hume ventured to stand up in the British House of Commons, and accuse that upright and honorable public servant of bribery and corruption, and on what authority did he found the atrocious accusation? On nothing more than the information of the infamous Bhidey, one of the most worthless and unprincipled of Brahmans—a man whom Mr. Hume himself had previously denounced as a forger, and who has gone on from one villainy to another until he is at length expiating the penalties which ought long ago to have been inflicted on his crimes.*

* This man, in the course of last year, presented a variety of petitions to the Governor of Bombay, containing a great number of charges of bribery and misconduct of every kind against Balagi Punt Nattu, a native of high character, who had assisted Colonel Ovans in the Satara enquiry; and stated that they were brought forward in compliance with written orders and a promise of reward alleged to have been received under the hand and seal of the (late) Raja. The result of a minute and searching enquiry by Mr. Frere, the Resident at Satara, into the charges preferred by Bhidey, was a perfect conviction on his mind, "that the petitioner was a gross impostor, and that the only particles of truth in the tissue of falsehoods of which his petitions consisted, were owing to what he had picked up while a hanger-on to the (Satara) Durbar." The original documents (of which pretended copies were shewn) alleged to have been received from the Raja, were not forthcoming when called for; but Mr. Frere insisted on their production. He argued that however strongly Government might be convinced of his being an impostor and a perjured libeller, and however well known his character was in the country, there were some influential parties in England who appeared to credit his statements; and that if he should be found guilty of forgery, it would be most unfair, both to the Raja and to Colonel Ovans, to permit him to go unpunished. After a great deal of evasion and delay, the documents were at length produced; when a very slight examination clearly and conclusively shewed them to be clumsy forgeries. The criminal charges against Balagi Punt, not one could be substantiated.

It was on the unsupported testimony of such a scoundrel as this (to use the words of Mr. Willoughby quoted below) that the character of Colonel Ovens was impeached by parties professing to be solely influenced by the sacred principles of truth and justice. The infamous charge, it is needless to add, was negatived by the House of Commons, as it had previously been scouted by the Bombay Government and the Court of Directors.

The conduct of Mr. Hume in this matter cannot escape the just reprehension of every one who desires to promote the true interests of this country. That the hireling agitator, in the exercise of his vocation, should pander to the passions or the prejudices of his motley audience, by slandering the good name of all who are opposed to him—is a thing of such common and every day occurrence, that the practice ceases to excite our astonishment, however much we may lament its dishonesty. But the Legislator who prostitutes his position, as a representative of the people, to the dissemination of false and calumnious aspersions on the character and reputation of officers, who have well and zealously served their country, ought to be held up to public reprobation. Mr. Macaulay's Indian experience is stated to have impressed him with the conviction, that if India is ever lost, it will be by a British House of Commons. The observation is pregnant with truth. We would only remark on it in more immediate connexion with our present subject, that it will be an evil day for British India, when the disappointed, intriguing, factious Hindu shall be encouraged to look to the Humes and the Thompsons of the House of Commons for the redress

One of the witnesses whom he called was found to have been dead for fourteen years.

After a most careful consideration of Mr. Frere's detailed report, Sir George Clerk recorded a Minute, under date the 4th January 1848, in which he observes, "the minute investigation which Mr. Frere has made into each of the accusations of Krishnaji Bhidey has established, in a very clear manner, that this individual is only one of those disreputable, informers who are to be found near all native courts, seeking by means of such falsehood and calumnies as he has here employed, to establish himself in a confidential and profitable position." And he afterwards remarks that he was not "disposed to offer any suggestion to the Raja about the punishment of a common scoundrel of this kind, but would leave it to the Raja to subject him to trial, either by the ordinary Court at Satara or by Punchayat, or to the process of white washing his face and parading him on a jackass about the city, previously to turning him out of the country." In these sentiments the other members of the Government unanimously concurred. The Hon'ble Mr. Willoughby remarked, that it was very satisfactory that this enquiry, establishing as it did beyond a doubt, the infamous character of Krishnaji Bhidey, had been conducted by a gentleman wholly unconnected with the case of the (late) ex-Raja of Satara; and added, in the words quoted above: "It is on the information of this scoundrel that the character of Colonel Ovens has been impeached, in and out of Parliament, by parties professing to be solely influenced by the sacred principles of truth and justice." (Parl. Pap., 1848, pp. 32 to 40.) The scoundrel was subsequently tried by a Commission, and sentenced to IMPRISONMENT FOR LIFE.

of their factious grievances. We shall always deem it a labor of love to record the honored names of such of our legislators as, understanding the real interests and practical wants of India, stand forward to advocate the one, and to redress the other : but we shall not fail to expose and denounce the misrepresentations of those who, diverting the attention from objects of practical utility, lend their influence and position to the unworthy office of traducing the character and conduct of honorable and upright servants of the Government—let such representations come from what quarter they may. Such has been our motive, and our only motive, for stepping aside from the direct path of our narrative to defend the character of a distinguished officer, who, in the honest and fearless discharge of an arduous public duty, for which he was specially selected by his Government, has been subjected to one of the basest, most vindictive, and most unmerited persecutions which it has been the lot of any public servant to endure.*

APPA SAIHIB succeeded to the Satara principality, as has been stated, on the 5th September 1839 ; and in the November following, was formally installed in the sovereignty by Sir James Carnac. This Prince ascended the throne under less

* Associated with Colonel Ovens in the Satara enquiries, as well as the calumnies which they engendered—was BALAJI PUNT NARU, a Sirdar of rank and high character in the Dekhan. This able man first entered the British service, under the Honorable M. Elphinstone, before the outbreak of the last war with the Peishwa ; and he has received, from the historian of the Mahrattas, a well-merited tribute to the vigilance, judgment, fidelity and firmness which he displayed at that trying period.* He was afterwards Mr. Elphinstone's principal Native agent, during the greater part of the time that he was Commissioner in the Dekhan, and was consulted by him on all subjects connected with the settlement of the country. He was subsequently employed in the same capacity under Grant Duff at Satara, and finally was Sir John Malcolm's confidential adviser on all public questions affecting native feelings and interests. Honored with the friendship, esteem, and approbation of these great men, he retired from public life on the munificent pension to which his eminent services had so justly entitled him.

While residing on his estate on the banks of the Kishna, he was selected by Colonel Ovens as the most able, influential, and well-affected agent he could procure to aid him in the Satara enquiries. This gratuitous employment did not fail to draw down upon him his share of the violent and vindictive calumnies which were directed against the Resident. The leading calumniators were the same in both cases,—the infamous Bhidey in India, and Messrs. Thompson and Hume in England—and, thanks to the searching investigation of Mr. Fiere (before alluded to) the exposure has been as complete in the one case, as it was in the other.† Throughout the progress of the enquiry under Colonel Ovens, Balaji Punt evinced all the characteristic qualities, which had, twenty years before, won for him the esteem and approbation of Mr. Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, and Grant Duff, the remembrance of which, we trust, will continue to console him in the evening of his eventful life, and amply compensate him for the rabid attack of his enemies—whether they happen to be members of a British House of Commons or the inmates of an Indian jail.

* Grant Duff's Hist. of Mahrattas, III., p. 412.

† Parl. Pap. (1848), p. 32 to the end.

favourable circumstances than his predecessor, though he had some advantages which his brother did not possess. Succeeding to a deposed sovereign who had many popular qualities, he naturally incurred the dislike and resentment of the more violent partizans of the fallen Raja. These parties did not fail to revive some of the follies and frailties of his youth, and were not always very scrupulous as to the accuracy of their representations. His personal qualities, too, were much under-rated—his brother having been in the habit of remarking that, when Appa Sahib succeeded to the throne, the world would see what a dunce he was. But Appa Sahib lived to falsify, by the success of his administration, the ungenerous predictions of his enemies.

Though not possessing the aucteness of intellect, or the energy of character which distinguished his brother, the new Raja proved himself to be a man of considerable intelligence, and of very excellent judgment. The distinctive feature of his character, indeed, was his sound practical good sense, to which was united much kindness and benevolence of disposition. He had strong prejudices : but his opinions were much less warped by passion and personal feelings than were those of his predecessor. He was conversant with business, having presided for many years over the chief criminal court at the capital, and having had, at one time, the management of one of the jaghirs. Added to all this, he had witnessed the errors of his brother, and the punishment with which they had been visited, and was not likely, therefore, to follow in the same path.

Appa Sahib, like his brother, was peculiarly favored in the character of the Resident accredited to his court at the period of his accession. This is an advantage, the importance of which is too frequently lost sight of. If we examine closely the administration of the various dependent allies of the British Government, we shall find that, in a great majority of instances, its efficiency depends less upon the personal disposition of the Prince and Chiefs themselves, than on the character and qualifications of the British agents appointed to superintend them. The observation applies more especially to the States that we at once protect and control : but it is also applicable, in a modified degree, to the native rulers who exercise a nominal supremacy within their own territories. Wherever our political supervision has been the most efficient, there has the native rule generally been the most prosperous. The salutary influence, thus exercised, is often greatest where it is least seen : and it may consist quite as much in the positive good it effects. Hence the full value of the benefit rendered to the State frequently remains un-

appreciated until its author has gone, and mis-government begins to shew itself under an inefficient successor. The experience of our readers will supply abundant illustrations of the truth of these remarks. They have been strikingly verified in the history of the Satara Government.

Among his many high qualifications Colonel Ovens pre-eminently possessed that one quality without which all others are valueless—devotedness to the duties of his office. His heart was truly in the work. To protect the Raja's interests, to uphold his authority, and to promote the good government of his territories, were the objects to which his time and attention were unceasingly devoted: and complete success rewarded his labors. He inspired the Raja and his ministers with feelings of the highest personal regard, and with implicit reliance on the soundness of his judgment: and the personal influence thus acquired seems to have been uniformly exercised with the utmost prudence, and with the happiest effects to the Raja and his subjects.

There is, perhaps, no native state in India, in which more of the elements of good Government have been exemplified, or in which measures of greater practical utility have been carried out, than in the Satara State during the eight years of Appa Sahib's reign. A peaceful, thriving, and contented population give satisfactory proofs of the justice of his rule: and, when it is added that during his short reign he expended about 10 lakhs of rupees on public works, the reader will admit that his administration was as enlightened as it was just. The improvement of its internal communications by the construction of roads and substantial bridges;* the formation of tanks; the various improvements of his capital; the abolition of transit duties; the encouragement of schools; the construction and endowment of a hospital and dispensary; the extension of vaccination throughout the interior districts; and the abolition of Sati†—form some of the benevolent and useful works which remain as memorials of the good Government of the late ruler of Satara‡.

* The noble stone bridges over the Kistna and the Yenna are probably unequalled in any part of India.

† Satara was one of the first native states to abolish Sati. The measure was a completely voluntary act on the part of the Raja, adopted in compliance with the well known wishes of the British Government, but not suggested to His Highness by the Resident or any one else.

‡ No alteration had been made on His Highness' accession, in the relations between the two states, except in the transfer to the British Government of the direct management and control of the jaghirdars:—these chiefs continuing, as before, to give their personal attendance on the Raja, on all State occasions, and to furnish their established contingents of horse. Under this arrangement, all the embarrassments and disputes which were so constantly arising under the double Government were altogether avoided.

The Raja's health, which had been declining for some years, gave way rapidly in the beginning of the present year ; and he expired at his capital on the 5th of April (only a few months after the death of his brother) at the early age of forty-six. He left no offspring ; but on the day of his death he adopted a lineal descendant of the uncle of the renowned Sevaji.* His death excited general and deep regret among all classes of his subjects.†

Having completed our review of the past connection of the British Government with the Satara State, two questions of present interest present themselves, which deserve a few words, before taking a final leave of the subject.

1. *Has the Satara State fulfilled the purposes for which it was established by Mr. Elphinstone ?*

The success of the measure in detaching the Mahrattas, as a nation, from the cause of the Peishwa, and promoting their early and complete submission, has been already stated. But Mr. Elphinstone's main object in restoring the dynasty of Sevaji was of a more permanent character—to furnish employment and the means of living to a large and troublesome class, who could have found no place in our own system of administration, and, by so doing, to make lasting provision for the peace and good government of the country. In this respect his policy has been at least equally successful. Ruled by a sovereign of their own race, himself connected by blood with many, and by caste with most of them, the Mahratta chiefs of the Satara State have been, since 1818, in the enjoyment of as much liberty and consideration as it is possible, persons of their class could possess, under the British Government in India. Of their own advantages, in this respect, they have been fully sensible ; and it would not be easy to find any district in India, of similar extent, where the upper classes have invariably been so contented and free from disaffection. The spirit of rebellion has been at one time or another frequently

* The Raja himself was descended from Sevaji's *grand uncle*.

† Colonel Ovens returned to his native country in the early part of 1845, amid the general regret of all classes of the community ; and has left behind him a name which is never mentioned at the present day, without the strongest expressions of attachment and regard. He was succeeded for a short time by Colonel Outram, whose name and services are familiar to all our readers, and of whom we have left ourselves no room to speak at present. We are also precluded by exhausted space as well as by other reasons, from more than a passing allusion to his able and accomplished successor, who now conducts the Government of the Satara State. We trust, however, that the pleasing duty of recording Mr. FREKE's services remains in store for us not many years hence. Meanwhile, on behalf of the people to whom he is so much and so deservedly endeared, we can only express a fervent hope, that, whether as the administrator of their national government during the minority of their Prince, or as commissioner for the introduction of British rule, they may long enjoy the keeping they so much prize, of his popular and enlightened administration.

rife, in almost every one of the surrounding districts. Budami and Kittur, Kolapur and Sawuntwarri, have repeatedly taken their turns at armed resistance. The Candesh, Puna, and Concan hills have been more than once the theatre of a protracted guerilla warfare, and their towns the nests of Brahman and Musulman conspiracies ; but Satara has, with one exception, never given us cause for uneasiness, nor occasioned the march of a single British sepoy to quell any disturbance, political or agrarian. Even the exception in question proves, more strongly than any thing else, the entire absence of any general feeling of discontent on the part of the Mahratta chiefs. A sovereign possessing every claim on their respect, great personal influence, and a very considerable degree of talent as a leader, was seized with a monomania for measuring his strength against the British Government. Every feeling of national and personal pride was enlisted in his favour, yet he totally failed in exciting any general discontent with our rule, or any disposition to try to get rid of it. He failed simply, because, the chiefs and influential classes were well aware of the advantages they enjoyed under Mr. Elphinstone's settlement, and they were not disposed to risk them.

It may be said, that we have not proved the tranquillity of Satara to have been a consequence of Mr. Elphinstone's policy, and that the result would have been the same, had its administration been assimilated to that of our other conquests from the Peishwa. To this we would answer, that those elements which are elsewhere elements of disaffection—predatory tribes, a considerable Brahmanical population, and numerous petty chiefs of an intriguing as well a martial turn—are all beyond comparison, more abundant in Satara, than in the other parts of our Mahratta conquests. Yet while the latter have continually shown ill-suppressed indications of disaffection or rebellion, the feeling manifested in the Satara territory has been conspicuously the reverse. The only difference in circumstances, which can possibly account for these opposite results, is the difference in the form of Government. Mr. Elphinstone's policy left the Satara chiefs and people comparatively wealthy and contented, with more to lose than gain by a revolution. In our own districts, on the other hand, our system may have benefited in some respects the lower orders : but it has converted all the upper classes into ruined and desperate men, ready to join the wildest scheme that promised to better their condition, or afford even a temporary change from the grinding monotony of our administration.

Of the general good government of the Satara country we have already spoken ; and if, as we have just endeavored to prove, the classes most dangerous to the general tranquillity have been

secured to the cause of order, by affording them a safe and honorable shelter and an ample provision—if, as all travellers and all Government functionaries concur, with a rare unanimity, in stating the country is more prosperous, the people richer, the taxes more easily paid, crime more rare, life and property more secure, than in many of our own districts—it would be difficult to say in what single particular the result could have better justified the policy of the wise and large-hearted statesman, to whom Satara owes its existence as an independant sovereignty.

2. This brings us to the second question—*Is it incumbent on the British Government, on the grounds of JUSTICE or of sound POLICY, to continue the Satara sovereignty, and to the late Raja's adopted son?*

Let us, as in duty bound, give precedence to the question of JUSTICE. We solemnly bound ourselves by a treaty in 1818, which we ratified and recognized with equal solemnity in 1839, to cede the country of Satara in perpetual sovereignty "to the Raja of Satara, his *heirs* and *successors*."* As long, therefore, as the Raja, with whom we treated, left any heir or successor, we cannot, according to our view of the case, resume the territory without being guilty of a breach of a solemn treaty.

We have already mentioned that the late Raja adopted a son. The adoption was in every respect perfectly valid and regular, according to the law and custom of the nation: and in any court of justice in India—in the Supreme Court of Calcutta or Bombay, as well as in any Adalat of the Company, or of any native power—the adopted son would be recognized, without possibility of question, as standing in precisely the same position, with respect to rights of property and relationship, as the naturally born legitimate male issue of the deceased Raja's body. In a word, the late Raja's adopted son has succeeded to all the legal rights, and is subject to all the legal liabilities of his adoptive parent.†

"But," it is argued, "no adoption can transmit rights of *sovereignty* without the recognition of the adoption by the paramount power." Though the soundness of this position, in the case of sovereign princes, be not free from question, let us, for

* The 1st article of the treaty of Satara runs thus: "The British Government agrees to cede in perpetual sovereignty to the Raja of Satara, his heirs and successors the districts specified in the annexed schedule."

† In replying to a question put to him last session, Sir J. C. Hobhouse is reported to have mentioned, as a defect in the late Raja's adoption, that it took place during the absence of the Resident, and without his consent; and that Dr. Murray, who was present, protested against it, or at least urged its suspension until the Resident's arrival. But the assent or dissent, the presence or absence of the Resident had nothing whatever to do with the validity of the adoption—the formality and legality of which, we are informed, are unquestionable.

the sake of argument, admit that confirmation is necessary to justify the title,—the question will then arise. Can this sanction be equitably withheld? or, in other words, can it be refused without a departure from the established custom and usage of native governments, as well as of our own?

Whatever may have been the abstract *legal* rights of the Imperial Government of Delhi, a reference to history will shew that in *practice* its recognition of adoption was never withheld, unless where the Prince who wished to adopt was disaffected to the Paramount Power—a ground of objection which no one asserts to have existed in the case of our trusty ally the late ruler of Satara. Again, let us refer to the practice of the British Government, and we shall find, that, since the creation of the Satara State, adoption has been recognized in almost every Mahratta State of note in India, Kolapur only excepted :—That is to say, sons adopted in precisely the same manner and on the same grounds as in the case of Satara, have succeeded to the sovereignty of Scindia at Gwalior, of Holkar at Indore, of Powar at Dhar, and twice successively to that of Bhousli at Nagpur. In most, if not all of the cases enumerated, the present reigning Rajas are adopted children, to say nothing of minor Mahratta Rajas, Chiefs, and feudatories,* so numerous that we believe the succession by adoption would far outnumber those by direct descent.†

A regard to the established custom and usage of India—British, Mahomedan and Hindu—would thus seem to impose upon the British Government, the *moral* obligation of continuing the sovereignty to the adopted son of the late Raja, *even if we had not bound ourselves by a specific engagement so to do*; and this brings us to the *legal* obligation we have voluntarily but solemnly incurred.

By the treaty of Satara, as before stated, we ceded a certain territory in perpetuity to the Raja and to “his heirs and successors.” The terms here used, it will be observed are gene-

* The privilege has even been conceded to the jaghirdars of the Satara State, four of whom were permitted to adopt during the late Raja's reign.

† The object of adoption is religious rather than economical. The superstitious belief is that certain ceremonies performed by a son can alone deliver the soul of even the purest and most virtuous of parents from one of the direst quarters of purgatory. Hence, where no natural born son exists, a son must be adopted from the same tribe as the parent; and the favorite cousin, nephew, or other relation is invariably adopted among the Mahrattas, even when such a step is no way necessary to secure to him the succession to property. It is a common error to suppose, that adoption is a remedy for lack of heirs. Adoption is merely a selection, from among possible heirs, of one individual as heir, which he becomes in virtue of his election to the religious position of a son. Vide Colebrooke, Strange, or any other of the ordinary Hindu law text-books on adoption.

ral. There is no restriction or limitation to particular heirs, direct or collateral. The succession is made absolute to the Raja's heirs and successors generally, and for ever. The real question, therefore, which we have now to answer, is simply this—*has the Raja of Satara left any heir, or did he die heirless?* No one possessing the slightest knowledge of Hindu law can hesitate for a moment in answering, that the late Raja *did* leave an heir, and that heir was his own adopted son, who, for all legal purposes, is the Raja's heir as completely and effectually as if he had been his legitimate son. He did not, perhaps, on his adoptive parent's decease, become *ipso facto* RAJA, but he became *ipso facto*, *his heir at law*—THE HEIR whom, agreeably to the tenor of the treaty, we ought to recognize as successor "in perpetual sovereignty" to the state of Satara. This adopted son, therefore, being according to the law of the country, the Raja's heir, we can no more, consistently with the treaty, refuse to recognize and invest him, than we could have refused to recognize and invest the original grantee's naturally born son.

We can perceive no escape from the obligation thus imposed on us by the plain terms of the treaty: and no argument necessary to prove the real injustice, as well as the technical illegality of construing a deed of gift more strictly than is warranted by the plain meaning of the terms used. To read "heirs and successors," as though it were synonymous with "heirs male of his body," is so clearly contrary to common justice and common sense, that it were loss of time to argue the point further.*

After what we have just written, we need say little regarding the POLICY of continuing the sovereignty to the late Raja's heir. If we have taken a correct view of the question, our recognition of his claim becomes a matter of imperative obligation. If the construction of the treaty were even doubtful, we should still hold it to be sound policy to confirm the adoption, on the wise and equitable principle of interpreting a doubtful point in favor of the weaker contracting party. Or, if there had been no stipulation at all in the treaty regarding the succession, it would, even in such a case, be the part of a wise and a just government to respect the prescriptive right of ancient and established usage, which have been hitherto preserved inviolate, both under our own rule, and under that of our Mahomedan and Hindu predecessors.

* Even had the late Raja not adopted a son, he would still have left an heir in the person of the nearest of his *blood relatives*, whoever he might have been. There is, in fact, no expression in the treaty which can be construed to bar *any particular class of heirs*.

Are we prepared to set these obligations aside, to interpret treaties according to our own fashion, and to pronounce the rights of prescriptions to be obsolete? And, after having done so, what is to be our gain? Uniformity of rule, and two or three lakhs of surplus revenue,—for after payment of pensions, establishments, and salaries, it could scarcely be more.* But, will a foreign government, with all its uniformity, be more popular or more efficient than the late one, under judicious British control? Will the people, now happy and thriving, be more prosperous and contented then? Will the higher classes, which now form a connecting link between the rulers and the peasantry, be maintained? Will our public improvements † surpass in magnitude and utility the magnificent works which have been executed in the late reign? Will hospitals and dispensaries be more liberally supported? Will education, English and vernacular, be more extensively diffused? Will greater facilities be afforded for the propagation of the Christian faith? We will leave each of our readers to answer these questions for himself, according to his own individual experience of the benefits of British rule. Whatever differences of opinion may exist on these matters, there is one point on which the sentiments of all wise and good statesmen are in cordial unison—the supreme importance of maintaining our good name unimpaired. Let us then hold fast our pledged faith, whether direct or implied, without wavering. Let us give a fair and liberal construction to our treaties. Let us beware of affixing a stained limitation to their stipulations, which the framers of them never contemplated, and which the ordinary and grammatical acceptation of the words does not warrant. The whole history of our connection with the Satara State has heretofore been marked by the most enlightened liberality. We were *generous* to the late Raja, let us not be *unjust* to his son.

* The late Raja, we believe, was in the habit of expending all his income, though he never exceeded it. The military charges, some years ago, were about 5½ lakhs of rupees, and we suppose they are about the same now. If we put down the civil charges at 2½ lakhs—roads, schools, hospitals, &c. at half a lakh—and pension of all kinds, including those to the widows and families of the two last Rajas, at 2 lakhs more—we shall have little more than 3 lakhs of surplus, even under the supposition of the continuance of the present flourishing state of the revenue—which, in the absence of the Court and its large local expenditure, is scarcely to be expected.

† The late Raja, during his reign, expended on public works a sum amounting to between 8 and 9 per cent of the annual revenue of the Satara State. From Mr. Mangles' recent evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, it appears that the sums expended in similar works by the British Indian Government, during the last fourteen years, have not exceeded ½ per cent. of the revenue.

HINDU MEDICINE.

BY DR. F. J. MOUAT.

1. *Commentary on the Hindu system of Medicine*, by T. A. Wise, M. D. 8vo. Calcutta, 1845.
2. *An Essay on the Antiquity of Hindu Medicine*, by J. Forbes Royle M. D., F. R. and L. S., &c., &c., &c. 8vo. London, 1837.
3. *Tracts, Historical and Statistical, on India*, by Benjamin Heyne, M. D., F. L. S., &c., &c., &c. 4to. London, 1814.
4. *A new of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Indians, including a minute description of their Manners and Customs, and Translations from their principal works*, by William Ward, of Serampore 8vo. London, 1822.
5. *Materia Indica; or some account of those articles which are employed by the Hindus, and other Eastern nations, in their Medicine, Arts, and Agriculture, &c.*, by Whitclaw Ainslie, M. D., M. R. A. S., 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1826.
6. *Asiatic Researches, or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for enquiring into the History, the Antiquities, the Arts and Sciences and Literature of Asia* 18 vols. 4to. Calcutta The articles relating to Hindu Medicine.
7. *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta.* 8 vols. 8vo. Calcutta Ditto.
8. *The History of India*, by the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1841. Vol. I, Chapter IV. On Hindu Medicine.
9. *The History of British India*, by James Mill, Esq. edited with notes and continuation, by H. H. Wilson, Esq., M. A., F. R. S. 8vo. London Book II, Cap. 10, Vol 2nd.
10. *Essai d'une Histoire Pragmatique de la Medecine, par Kurt Sprengel, traduit sur la deuxieme edition, par C F Geiger.* 2 vols 8vo. Paris 1809. Section III. Vol 1, Medecine Indienne.
11. *The History of Medicine, Surgery, and Anatomy, from the creation of the World to the commencement of the 19th Century*, by W. Hamilton, M. B. 2 Vols. 12mo. London, 1831. Cap. 1. Vol. 1. History of Medicine from the time of Adam to the birth of Hippocrates.

THERE are few, if any, countries in which the public generally take so great an interest in purely professional matters, as that manifested by European sojourners in India. The reason of this is obvious. The community generally is an educated one, and many of its members, from the vicissitudes incidental to an Indian life, whether in its civil, military, or planting

capacities, are so often exposed to the influence of disease, to accidents from flood and field, and to various mishaps and mischances, far removed from medical aid and attendance, as to render a little knowledge of medicine and surgery not only a valuable but a tolerably general acquisition. Few sportsmen and Indigo planters are without their medical reminiscences, sometimes of a ludicrous, but far more frequently of a sad and melancholy character; and the time is not far removed when the military and medical charge of small detachments devolved upon the gallant subaltern in command, aided by a compounder picked up for the nonce, and as ignorant of the rudiments as was the renowned Japhet himself, when first placed under the charge of the sagacious Cophagus, and in the companionship of the facetious Timothy.

The first contact with disease in a tropical form is well calculated to startle the novice. Its deadly grasp and giant strides—the ruddy health of the morning followed by the pallor and collapse of the evening—the rapid death of the victim of cholera, fever, and the other plagues and pestilences of the jungle and the marsh, enforce an attention not easily called into existence in the more favored regions of the fair earth.

An acute observer has remarked, that “every one desires to live as long as he can. Every one values health ‘above all gold, and treasure.’ Every one knows that as far as his own individual good is concerned, protracted life and a frame of body, sound and strong, free from the thousand pains which flesh is heir to, are unspeakably more important than all other [earthly] objects, because life and health must be secured before any possible result of any possible circumstance can be of consequence to him.

Possessed then of this knowledge, and knowing the class of readers we are about to address, as well as being anxious that all departments of literature and science which appertain to the gorgeous East, should find a fitting place in the *Calcutta Review*; need we apologize for introducing to their notice and consideration the subject of “Hindu Medicine.”

The first question that demands attention in an examination of Hindu Medicine is its claim to a high degree of antiquity, for upon this must rest its chief recommendations to pre-eminence over other systems which have obtained celebrity, and led to the present advanced state of the art and science of medicine in modern Europe.

It would be difficult, if not impossible to decide with certainty the exact age in which the various Hindu, medical

treatises were produced, and with every respect for the profound attainments and acute reasoning of the eminent oriental scholars, who have at various times attempted to unravel this tangled thread of mystery, we cannot regard the conclusions at which they have arrived in any other light than that of probable conjecture.

Dr. Wise has treated this portion of his subject with much candour and acumen in the introductory remarks prefixed to his Commentary, and appears carefully to have consulted all accessible authorities regarding it.

It is now generally admitted that the three first Yugs or ages of Hindu Chronology are purely fanciful and fabulous, and that the present degenerate age or Kali-yug is the only one concerning which any really trustworthy information has been, or can be afforded. The Hindus themselves pretend, that this era began 3101 B. C., or 756 before the Deluge; and from the manner in which their calculations were conducted, as well as the basis upon which they rested, the proofs of the antiquity, both of the nation and of its system of Astronomy were for some time supposed to be complete and perfect. It was adopted by the celebrated Bailly in his elegant history of Astronomy, accepted by the scientific circles of Paris at that time, and advocated in England by Playfair, Robertson, and other eminent authorities; but subsequent investigation has demonstrated, "that the series of Astronomical phenomena which Bailly regarded as affording decisive evidence of the extreme antiquity of the Hindu nation, in reality established the very reverse, for they have been shown not to have been taken from actual observation, but framed from calculating *backwards* on tables constructed during a period consistent with authentic history, and to contain, in consequence, several errors which the more accurate researches of later times have proved, are inconsistent with what must have occurred."*

Bentley has shown, in his paper on the "Hindu systems of Astronomy, and their connections with history in ancient and modern times †" that there is no reason for believing the Kali-yug to have commenced at an earlier period than 1004 B. C., or rather more than two centuries and a half subsequent to the occurrence of the Argonautic expedition, and the conjectured existence of Æsculapius. This would render the existence of Hindu records, if we suppose them to have been produced during the present age, more recent by six centuries and a half, than

* Alison.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. viii.

the first mention of medicine and its followers in the Mosaic writings.

Without, however, adopting the views of Bentley,* as strictly correct, notwithstanding their general truthfulness having been endorsed by Laplace and Delambre, or coinciding to the full extent in his remark that no dependence is to be placed on Hindu opinions, "since when thoroughly sifted and examined, they are principally founded in vanity, ignorance, and credulity,"—there can be no valid reason advanced or solid proof adduced, to shew that the medicine of the Hindus is more ancient than that of the Egyptians and Hebrews—although it appears subsequently to have attained more of the dignity of a science, and to have been cultivated with a greater degree of assiduity and success.

* "The name of Mr. Bentley will descend with great distinction to posterity for his intelligent criticism on the antiquity of the Brahmanical books and their astronomical computations. It was a bold undertaking to be the first to break the spell of credulity which was lulling Europe into such an unphilosophical lethargy, but he will soon find himself rewarded by his success. We are satisfied that the venerated books of the Brahmins need only to be translated, in order to enable every man who can read, to discover their imposture; but till these translations appear, the researches of Mr. Bentley and those of our Sanskrit students, who follow his footsteps, will be wanted to undeceive such as have been hitherto deluded. Lieutenant Wilford, who is familiar with the Puranas, and has personally experienced the frauds of the modern Brahmins, has so far advanced in the progress to true criticism and common sense, as to tell us that with regard to history the Hindus really have nothing but romances. He says their works, whether historical or geographical, are most extravagant compositions, in which little regard, indeed, is paid to truth. In their treatises on geography they seem to view the globe through a prism, as if adorned with the liveliest colours: mountains are of solid gold, bright like ten thousand suns, and others are of precious gems. Some of silver borrow the mild and dewy beams of the moon. There are rivers and seas of liquid amber, clarified butter, milk, curds, and intoxicating liquors. Geographical truth is sacrificed to a symmetrical arrangement of countries, mountains, lakes, and rivers, with which they are highly delighted. There are two geographical systems among the Hindus. The first and most ancient is according to the Puranas, in which the earth is considered as a convex surface gradually sloping towards the borders and surrounded by the ocean. The second and modern system is that adopted by astronomers, and certainly the worst of the two. The Puranics, considering the earth as a flat surface, or nearly so, their knowledge does not extend much beyond the old continent or the superior hemisphere; but astronomers being acquainted with the globular shape of the earth, and, of course, with an inferior hemisphere, were under the necessity of borrowing largely from the superior part, in order to fill up the inferior one. Thus their astronomical knowledge, instead of being of service to geography, has augmented the confusion, distorted and dislocated every part, every country, in the old continent."

"Even Mr. H. Colebrook, who still looks at these books with an eye of favour, in his last Essay confesses, that the mythology of the orthodox Hindu, that present chronology adapted to astronomical periods, their legendary tales, their mystical allegories, are abundantly extravagant."—*Quarterly Review*, Vol. i. pp. 66-67.

"We do not believe that even the Vedas are nearly so old as the poems of Homer, and we are satisfied that some of the Puranas are very modern."—*Ibid.* p. 67.

Dr. Maskeleyne adds his testimony to the general correctness of Bentley's views, in the following terms:—

"I think Bentley right: he has proved by his calculations that there was no real observation made at the beginning of the Kali-yuga. Bailly was a pleasing historical writer, but he had more imagination than judgment: and I know he was condemned by his friends, LaLande and LaPlace, as a *superficial astronomer*, and a very *indifferent calculator*. These two gentlemen entertained the same opinion with myself with respect to the antiquity of Hindu astronomy, and I think that Mr. Bentley has made out satisfactorily the real antiquity of the *Surya Siddhanta*!

To the Hindus must undoubtedly be assigned the merit of having been the first to practise dissection of the human body, as we shall have occasion to show hereafter, and to have possessed a complete series of treatises upon the different branches of medicine.

It is difficult to imagine how so learned and laborious a scholar as Sir Wm. Jones could have fallen into so serious an error as to state, that there was no evidence to prove the existence in any language of Asia of any original treatise on medicine considered as science. The ignorance of the Brahmins concerning the medical Shastras could scarcely have been so great as to render them unacquainted with their existence, although they might not have been conversant with their contents. However much the Mahomedan conquerors may have neglected and despised the medical science of the Hindus, such was not the case with the hereditary physicians of Hindustan, and although *they* may have been unwilling to part with, or make known, the contents of their long transmitted and highly prized manuscripts, they would scarcely have denied or concealed the fact of their existence from their own countrymen.

The mistake of Mill is still greater, and cannot be excused, since a little more diligent examination of what was then known, would have dispelled the delusion under which he laboured. Without admitting their exaggerated pretensions to antiquity, or recognizing the absurdities of their fabulous chronology, he ought to have been better acquainted with the state in which the civilization, sciences, and institutions of the Hindus were found by Alexander in his Indian campaigns, as related by Arrian and Plutarch, and with the numerous well authenticated facts scattered through various modern writers, who had partially investigated the subject and published their remarks and observations prior to the appearance of the history of India.

Elphinstone mentions Charaka and Susruta as the earliest medical writers extant, but does not attempt to establish the date of either of them, further than specifying, upon the authority of Royle, the commentary written upon the latter in Kashmír in the twelfth or thirteenth century—probably not the first that was called into existence by the text in question. In the preliminary observations prefixed to the second volume of Ainslie's *Materia Indica*, are collected together various arguments derived from different sources concerning the antiquity and nature of the scientific knowledge generally of the Hindus, and particularly of their medicine, but that writer has not succeeded in throwing any light upon the question of their exact age, and, indeed, acknowledges his inability to do so, while he

inclines to the belief of their being as old as, and not borrowed from, the sciences of the Egyptians. "The Hindu medical treatises, we are told, were all written many hundred years ago, but at what exact period it is next to impossible to ascertain, as dates are very rarely affixed to the manuscripts, and whatever questions are put touching particular eras to those Brahmans, who might be supposed best able to reply to them, they are invariably answered in an unsatisfactory manner"—a result experienced by most others who have pursued the same path of enquiry, with the attempted aid of such inefficient and ignorant guides as the great majority of the present race of Pandits.

By far the most elaborate and successful attempt to establish the antiquity of Hindu medicine is that of Professor Royle, whose able and argumentative treatise has become the standard of reference of all systematic writers upon the subject. The learned and diligent author of the Botany of the Himalayas appears, during the period of his exile and servitude, to have devoted much of his time to the collection and investigation of various articles of the indigenous *Materia Medica* found in the bazars of India, and this led him to study and trace their history and properties with such aid as can be obtained in this country alone. Although the author is not a Sanskrit scholar, he certainly appears to us to have established, by a train of ingenious and occasionally complete evidence, that the medicine of the Hindus was older than that of the Arabs and of the Greeks, that it was *probably original*, and not borrowed from any other nation; and that it contained much that was interesting and deserving of further research and enquiry.

The following extract from Royle's Essay will give our readers a fair idea of the nature and force of the reasoning brought to bear upon this difficult question:—

"Hindu works on Medicine having been proved to have existed prior to the Arabs, little doubt can be entertained I conceive, respecting their originality; as we know of no source from which they could have been borrowed, except from the Greeks, and there is little probability of the Hindus having had access to any original or translated works at so early a period, as must have been the case from their containing no traces of the Galenical doctrines so conspicuous in the writings of the Arabs. Some coincidences would appear rather to be that of observers of the same fact, than of borrowers from the same books. The description of some diseases which seem to have been first known in India, as well as the internal administration of metals, they could not have borrowed from the Greeks. That there must have been independent observers in India, at a very early age of the world, we have proofs in the commerce of their manufactures and of their medicines. Many of the latter may be found described in the works of the Greeks, but we see no trace of European medicines in those of the

Hindus ; and though knowledge may travel from north to south, tropical products can, in our hemisphere only, travel from south to north. Their employment, therefore, in the latter, proves their previous investigation by a people resident in the countries of their growth. On such grounds, therefore, I conceive we may infer the antiquity of Hindu medicine ; and while unable to get any positive dates for their works, we may yet, by circumstantial evidence, obtain an approximation which will, I think, prove its independent origin. We may, however, conceive it to be the remains of a still more ancient system of which we have no records, but of the existence of which there can be no doubt, as Herodotus relates, that in his time, in Egypt, there were distinct physicians for different diseases, which were classed according to their seat in the human body ; and from Diodorus Siculus we learn, that every physician was obliged to follow a written code. Hence it is more than probable that there was early in Egypt a distinct system of medicine, and we have notices also in the works of the ancients of its being a subject much attended to by the Persian magi. Notwithstanding that the Greeks travelled to the East and to Egypt in quest of knowledge, it has been said, that Egyptian medicine consisted chiefly in incantation ; but this explanation is as likely to have been owing to the ignorance of the narrators as of the physicians ; for even in our own day, we seldom see even well-informed writers able to explain or to describe correctly facts of a scientific nature. In the same manner, those who were unable to decipher their hieroglyphics, pronounced all the knowledge of the Egyptian priesthood to consist in magic.

The only direct testimony we have with respect to the date of the works of Charaka and of Susruta, is that of Professor Wilson, who states that from their being mentioned in the Puranas, the ninth or tenth century is the most modern limit of our conjecture ; while the style of the authors, as well as their having become the heroes of fable, indicate a long anterior date. The Arabs must have become acquainted with the translations in the eighth, or early in the ninth century, as Harun-al-Rashid and Al-Mamoon, succeeded respectively in the years 786 and 813 to the Caliphate, when it stretched to the Indus : the latter survived only twenty years. Geber is supposed to have lived in the seventh or eighth century, and we have shown the probability of his having had access to the chemical knowledge of the Hindus. But for their merits to have been sufficiently established for their works to be translated at the same time with those of the principal Greek authors, these Hindu physicians must certainly have lived and written long before, to allow their fame to extend into foreign countries, in an age when the communication of literature must have been at least as slow as it now is in the East.*

In addition to proving the priority of the Hindus to the Greeks and Arabs in the matters above mentioned, the Professor has traced, in an extended though cursory chain of arguments, the commerce, science, arts, literature, and civilization of the Brahmans from the earliest period of their own authentic records, as well as from the testimony afforded by the literary remains of other nations, and by the application of this combined mass of evidence, has satisfactorily established the fact he intended to prove. In the validity, however, of some of his arguments we are not inclined to coincide, nor do we think, that he has

always been happy in tracing the identity between Greek and Arabic terms. There is no more fruitful source of error than the ambiguity of nomenclature in ages and among nations which had no fixed standards of comparison, and whose complete ignorance of the essential characters of plants and even of mineral bodies, renders it difficult, if not impossible, to identify the substance described and spoken of. In the writings of so comparatively recent an author as Dioscorides, whose works have been illustrated and annotated by "swarms of commentators," out of seven hundred plants contained in his *Materia Medica*, not more than four hundred have been correctly ascertained: nor have Theophrastus,—the Father of Botany,—Pliny, and even Celsus fared much better. To enter into any detailed analysis of such minor points of objection, or, indeed, further to prolong our remarks upon this preliminary portion of our enquiry into the Hindu system of medicine, would be out of place in the necessarily narrow limits to which we must confine our article, were we even possessed of the leisure and eastern lore requisite for the prosecution of such a task. We cannot, however, quit a topic of which probably many of our readers are already heartily tired, without a passing reference to the paper of Horace Hayman Wilson, published in the *Oriental Magazine* for 1823, and quoted by Royle in the essay above referred to. Unlike most of the other writers upon this subject, Professor Wilson is universally acknowledged to be one of the most profound and accomplished Sanskrit scholars in existence, and his evidence, delivered with the modesty and caution of one well acquainted with the nature and extent of the materials at his command, is entitled to the highest consideration. We can only venture upon the following extracts from his paper:—

"There is reason to conclude, from the imperfect opportunities of investigation we possess, that in medicine, as in astronomy and metaphysics, the Hindus once kept pace with the most enlightened nations of the world; and that they attained as thorough a proficiency in medicine and surgery, as any people, whose acquisitions are recorded, and as indeed was practicable, before anatomy was made known to us, by the discoveries of modern inquirers.

* * * * *

The *Ayur Veda*, as the medical writings of highest antiquity and authority are collectively called, is considered to be a portion of the fourth or *Atharva Veda*, and is consequently the work of BRAHMA—by him it was communicated to DACSHA, the *Prajapati*, and by him, the two ASWINS, or sons of SURYA, the Sun, were instructed in it, and they then became the medical attendants of the gods—a genealogy, that cannot fail recalling to us the two sons of *Æsculapius*, and their descent from *Apollo*. Now, what were the duties of the ASWINS, according to Hindu authorities?—the gods, enjoying eternal youth and health, stood in no need of physicians, and consequently these held no such sinecure station. The wars between the

gods and demons, however, and the conflicts amongst the gods themselves, in which wounds might be suffered, although death was not inflicted, required chirurgical aid—and it was this, accordingly, which the two ASWINS rendered. They performed many extraordinary cures, as might have been expected from their superhuman character.

The meaning of these legendary absurdities is clear enough, and is conformable to the tenor of all history. Man, in the semi-barbarous state, if not more subject to external injuries than internal disease, was at least more likely to seek remedies for the former, which were obvious to his senses, than to imagine the means of relieving the latter, whose nature he could so little comprehend.

Surgical, therefore, preceded medicinal skill; as Celsus has asserted, when commenting on Homer's account of Podalirius and Machaon, who were not consulted, he says, during the plague in the Grecian camp, although regularly employed to extract darts and heal wounds. The same position is maintained, as we shall hereafter see by the Hindu writers, in plain, as well as in legendary language.

According to some authorities, the ASWINS instructed INDRA, and INDRA was the preceptor of DHANWANTARI; but others make ATREYA, BHARADWAJA and CHARAKA prior to the latter. CHARAKA'S work, which goes by his name, is extant; DHANWANTARI is also styled KASIRAJA, prince of *Kasi* or Benares. His disciple was SUSRUTA, the son of VISWAMITRA, and consequently a contemporary of RAMA: his work also exists, and is our chief guide at present. It is unquestionably of some antiquity, but it is not easy to form any conjecture of its real date, except that it cannot have the prodigious age which Hindu fable assigns it: it is sufficient to know, that it is perhaps the oldest work on the subject, excepting that of CHARAKA, which the Hindus possess. One commentary on the text, made by UBHATTA, a Cashmerian, is probably as old as the twelfth or thirteenth century, and his comment, it is believed, was preceded by others. The work is divided into six portions: the *Sutra S'hana*, or CHIRURGICAL DEFINITIONS; the *Nidana S'hana*, or section on SYMPTOMS or DIAGNOSIS; *Sargi S'hana* ANATOMY; *Chikitsa S'hana*, the internal application of Medicines; *Kulpa S'hana*, ANTIDOTES; *Uttara S'hana*, or a supplementary section on various local diseases or affections of the eye, ear, &c. In all these divisions, however, surgery, and not general medicine, is the object of the *Susruta*.

The *Ayur Veda*, which originally consisted of one hundred sections, of a thousand stanzas each, was adapted to the limited faculties and life of man, by its distribution into eight sub-divisions, the enumeration of which conveys to us an accurate idea of the objects of the *Ars Medendi* amongst the Hindus. The divisions are thus enumerated: 1. *Salya*; 2. *Salakya*; 3. *Kaya Chikitsa*; 4. *Bhutavidya*; 5. *Kaumarabhritya*; 6. *Agada*; 7. *Rasayana*, and 8. *Bajikarana*. They are explained as follows:—

Salya is the art of extracting extraneous substances, whether of grass, wood, earth, metal, bone, &c., violently or accidentally introduced into the human body; with the treatment of the inflammation and suppuration thereby induced; and by analogy, the cure of all phlegmonoid tumours and abscesses. The word *Salya* means a dart or arrow, and points clearly to the origin of this branch of Hindu science. In like manner the *ἰατρός*, or physician of the Greeks, was derived according to *Sextus Empiricus* from *ἰαλός*, an arrow or dart.

2. *Salakya* is the treatment of external organic affections, or diseases of the eyes, ears, nose, &c. It is derived from *Salaka* which means any thin and sharp instrument; and is either applicable in the same manner as *Salya*, to the active causes of the morbid state, or it is borrowed from the

generic name of the slender probes and needles used in operations on the parts affected.

3. *Kaya Chikitsa* is, as the name implies, the application of the *Ars Medendi* (*Chikitsa*) to the body in general (*Kaya*), and forms what we mean by the science of Medicine; the two preceding divisions constitute the surgery of modern schools.

4. *Bhutavidya* is the restoration of the faculties from a disorganised state, induced by Demoniical possession. This art has vanished before the diffusion of knowledge, but it formed a very important branch of medical practice through all the schools, Greek, Arabic, or European, and descended to days very near our own, as a reference to *Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy* may prove to general readers.

5. *Kaumarabhritya* means the care of infancy, comprehending not only the management of children from their birth, but the treatment of irregular lactic secretion, and puerperal disorders in mothers and nurses; this holds with us also the place that its importance claims.

6. *Agada* is the administration of antidotes—a subject which, as far as it rests upon scientific principles, is blended with our medicine and surgery.

7. *Rasayana* is chemistry, or more correctly alchemy, as the chief end of the chemical combinations it describes, and which are mostly metallurgic, is the discovery of the universal medicine—the elixir, that was to render health permanent, and life perpetual.

8. The last branch, *Bajikarana*, professes to promote the increase of the human race—an illusory research, which, as well as the preceding, is not without its parallel in ancient and modern times.*

Before entering upon the detailed examination of the different departments of Hindu Medicine as developed in Wise's Commentary, it may not be uninteresting to the general reader to give a brief sketch of the Medicine of the Hebrews and of the Egyptians—so as to enable him to institute some degree of comparison between them.

The sacred writings of the Jews, and the existence of authentic historical monuments, prove that Egypt was partially civilized at a period when the rest of the then known world was in a state of complete ignorance and barbarism. The Hindus contest the palm of superior antiquity and civilization with the Egyptians, but upon uncertain, and, in many respects, purely imaginary grounds, while few facts are now more completely established, than the high state of cultivation of the arts and sciences at a very remote period of the existence of ancient Egypt, whereas there are, on the other hand, few things more easy to disprove than the fabulous chronology of the Brahmins. No people could have been more favourably situated for the early cultivation of science than the inhabitants of the fertile banks of the Nile, and none have left more magnificent monuments of their skill, civilization, and the wonderful degree of perfection they attained, when a more than

* The Oriental Magazine, vol. i, p. 207—12.

Cimmerian darkness enveloped the rest of the habitable globe, so far as we now are capable of judging.

It would be out of place in any work not specially devoted to the history of Medicine, to attempt to trace its origin, or to speculate upon the nature of the various divinities to whom the ancients ascribed the virtue of healing. Upon these matters we have no more certain or trustworthy guides than fabulous traditions or crude conjectures, based upon an imperfect knowledge of the nature of man in a savage state, and of the particular wants to which he is supposed to be most liable in such a condition. It is in reality of no great consequence, in the present advanced stage of the science, to ascertain whether the natural and inherent preservative instinct of man led him to distinguish alimentary from medicinal, and these from poisonous substances, or whether, as an ingenious author has attempted to prove, animals were the earliest physicians: it is sufficient for our purposes to know, that some knowledge of medicine must have been among the earliest of human arts, and most probably long before it attained the dignity of a science. There can be little doubt, also, that in the infancy of the great human family diseases must have been few and simple, and cured more by the *vis medicatrix nature* than by the efficacy of any drugs then known and used. This is abundantly evident and apparent in an examination of the earlier systems of medicine transmitted to us, in all of which diet and regimen, air and exercise, are constantly insisted upon as among the most efficacious means of removing disease and of restoring health. Many of the ancient medical philosophers appear to have been very much of the opinion of the modern poet, that

"The first physicians by debauch were made,
Excess began, and sloth sustains the trade.
By chase our long-liv'd fathers earn'd their food;
Toil strung the nerves, and purify'd the blood.
But we their sons, a pamper'd race of men,
Are dwindled down to threescore years and ten,
Better to hunt in fields for health unbought,
Than fee the doctor for a nauseous draught.
The wise for cure on exercise depend:
God never made his work for man to mend."

Among the early Egyptians, as among many more modern nations, the practice of medicine was originally usurped by the priesthood, who built their temples in healthy positions, and excited the imaginations of their patients by a variety of ceremonies and practices, compounds of magic and imposture, not altogether unknown in the more systematic and learned empiricism of recent times as exhibited in the wonders of Cagliostro, and the manipulations of sundry pretenders of the present day.

The credit of all cures was assumed for the particular deities presiding over each temple, and the cause of all failures was adroitly ascribed to the anger of some offended divinity, whose wrath was not to be appeased by mortal means : they consequently branded the unfortunate incurables as criminals under punishment for unpardonable sins ! Something not far removed from this, will be found in the medicine of the Hindus, and is recorded in the earliest writings of the Greek poets. The classical reader will doubtless remember, that when, at the siege of Troy, the plague reigned and raged in the Grecian camp, Homer describes its progress, but is silent upon the human efforts made to arrest it and obviate its fatality. In fact his advice is to let

—————“ Some prophet or some sacred sage,
Explore the cause of great Apollo's rage ;
Or learn the wasteful vengeance to remove,
By mystic dreams ; for dreams descend from Jove.
If broken vows this heavy curse have laid,
Let altars smoke, and hecatombs be paid.
So heav'n aton'd, shall dying Greece restore,
And Phoebus dart his burning shafts no more.”

The medical priesthood of Egypt consisted of an exclusive caste of considerable dignity, inasmuch as the rulers of the land were also then selected from the priestly faculty. They were haughty, reserved, austere, and never relaxed the fixed and melancholy appearance of their countenances in the presence of their patients. Their food consisted exclusively of vegetables and the sacrificial meats—the flesh of all other animals being carefully rejected as unwholesome, and as the cause of the forms of leprosy, ophthalmia, and other formidable diseases, which appear, even at that early period, to have been common in the land of the Pharaohs. Whether the drink of these aboriginal sons of Æsculapius was wine or water, has been a subject of much discussion : the balance of evidence is in favour of their having been worshippers of the rosy god.

Herodotus maintains that in his time Egypt was a species of medical paradise, and that every disease had its own special practitioner—a subdivision of duty that must have been marvellously inconvenient for those who laboured under complicated disorders.

The practice of the early physicians would seem to have been simple, the disease being in general left to the curative powers of Nature, with the occasional exhibition of some evacuant remedy,—a literal verification of the modern definition of physic as ‘ the art of amusing the patient, while Nature cures the disease.’

The surgical skill of the Egyptians has been called in ques-

tion in consequence of their having been unable to cure a simple sprain, or to reduce the dislocated ankle of Darius, the son of Hystaspes.

The soothsayers prognosticated the changes and terminations of diseases, the cure of which was generally undertaken by the ordinary priests, and *they* could not treat any acute affection before the fourth day of its manifestation, except upon their personal responsibility.

The two principal departments of medicine, in which the claim of early distinction and proficiency has been made for the Egyptians, are Anatomy and Chemistry. Their knowledge of the former was entirely confined to the art of embalming in the various forms in which it was practised, and entitles them to no such credit. In this respect we shall find them infinitely inferior to the Hindus, and their writings contain the grossest anatomical blunders, even more absurd than the Chinese drawings of human dissections, in which the outline is filled up with the internal structures of various animals. Their chemical skill and knowledge were undoubtedly in a much more advanced state, for they have left metallurgic and other results which are still enigmas for the most eminent of our modern chemical philosophers, and are far in advance of anything of the kind ever found in Hindustan.

They practised periodical evacuations; treated rheumatism by friction with crocodile's fat; employed fumigation; were acquainted with the uses of balsam, spices and myrrh; and appear also to have used alum, plasters, and various ointments, in the latter of which white lead and verdigris were occasionally ingredients. The last mentioned fact has been called in question, and is supposed to be true only of the Egyptians at a much later period.

The early medicine of the Hebrews, appears from the incidental remarks contained in the Bible, to have attained a considerable degree of perfection. Their remedial agents were chiefly of a hygienic nature, and consisted of circumcision, strict attention to diet, separation, frequent ablution, and the combustion of infected garments. Every Christian reader must be well acquainted with the minute directions and descriptions contained in the book of Leviticus; the cure of Naamen's leprosy; the odoriferous confections and ointments mentioned in the 30thth chapter of Exodus, as compounded "after the art of the apothecary;" the employment of music as a cure for melancholy; the use of antimony as a face paint; and the mention in various places of the Fig, the Olive, Saffron, Myrrh, Bdellium, Galbanum, Cumin, Coriander,

Balm of Gilead, Frankincense, Cassia, Cinnamon, the Pomegranate, Dill, and it is conjectured Colocynth and Castor Oil.

In medicine and natural history the great lawgiver, Moses, not only surpassed his Egyptian masters, but possessed the secret of reducing gold to powder, as related in the 32nd chapter of Exodus—"And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and strawed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it." He also sweetened the bitter waters of Marah, and has left a most accurate account of the various forms of leprosy.

The wisdom of Solomon has since become a proverb,

"And God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart even as the sand that is on the sea shore."

"And Solomon's wisdom exceeded the wisdom of all the children of the East country, and all the wisdom of Egypt."

"For he was wiser than all men," * * * * * and his fame was in all nations round about."

"And he spake three thousand proverbs : and his songs were a thousand and five."

"And he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall : he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes."*

Hartwell Horne,† who appears to have consulted and collated almost every existing authority upon the subject, in his section "*On the diseases mentioned in the scriptures*," has the following passage upon the origin of medicine among the Hebrews, and the nature and duties of their physicians.

"The Jews ascribed the *origin* of the healing art to God himself (Ecclus. XXXVIII 1. 2) and the Egyptians attributed their invention of it to their God Thaut or Hermes, or to Osiris or Isis.

Antiently at Babylon, the sick, when they were first attacked by a disease, were left in the streets, for the purpose of learning from those who might pass them, what practices or what medicines had been of assistance to them, when afflicted with similar diseases. The Egyptians carried their sick into the temple of Serapis ; the Greeks carried theirs into those of Æsculapius. In the temples of both these deities there were preserved written receipts of the means by which various cures had been effected. With the aid of these

* I. Kings, Cap. iv,

A modern writer, however, commenting on this fact, has the following remarks :—
"Gold is so ductile that it is very difficult to grind it to powder, and it is still more difficult to dissolve it in water. Here is an exploit which the greatest chemists of the present day could not do more than perform—a sufficient proof of the scientific skill of Moses, and consequently of the Egyptians, from whom he drew his knowledge. But there seems no reason for believing that Moses possessed any chemical knowledge whatever. He broke the calf in pieces, and reduced it to as small fragments as he could ; these he threw into water, and made the Israelites drink of that liquid. We are sure that the gold was not dissolved in the water, because gold, in a state of solution, is one of the most virulent of poisons, and could not, therefore, have been administered to the Israelites with impunity."—*Ed. Review*, Vol. L. p. 257.

† Horne's introduction to the critical study and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. Vol. iii. chapter ix. § 1. p. 504 to 11.

recorded remedies, the art of healing assumed in the progress of time the aspect of a science. It assumed such a form first in Egypt, and at a much more recent period in Greece; but it was not long before those of the former were surpassed in excellence by the physicians of the latter country. That the Egyptians, however, had no little skill in medicine, may be gathered from what is said in the Pentateuch respecting the marks of leprosy. That some of the medicinal prescriptions should fail of bringing the expected relief is by no means strange, since Pliny himself mentions some which are far from producing the effects he ascribes to them.* Physicians are first mentioned in Gen. 1. 2. Exod. xxi. 19. Job xiii. 4. Some acquaintance with surgical operations is implied in the rite of circumcision† (Gen. xvii. 11-14.) There is ample evidence that the Israelites had some acquaintance with the internal structure of the human system, although it does not appear that dissections of the human body, for medical purposes, were made till as late as the time of Ptolemy.‡ That Physicians sometimes undertook to exercise their skill in removing diseases of an internal nature is evident from the circumstance of David's playing upon the harp to cure the melancholy of Saul. (1 Sam. xvi. 16) The art of healing was committed among the Hebrews as well as among the Egyptians, to the priests, who, indeed, were obliged by a law of the state, to take cognizance of leprosy. (Lev. xiii. 1-14, 57. Deut. xxiv. 8, 9.) Reference is made to physicians who were not priests, and to instances of sickness, disease, healing, &c., in various parts of the scriptures."

The diseases mentioned in the sacred writings § are cancers, consumption, dropsy, fevers, epilepsy, lunacy, leprosy in its

* This is by no means confined to Pliny and the ancients—our modern systems of *Matéria Medica* abound and are overloaded with remedies to which supposititious virtues are ascribed, and contain many which are inert and useless, or on the other hand, positively mischievous. Few circumstances have operated so prejudicially upon the advance of the therapeutical department of medicine, as the ignorance, carelessness, and we fear occasionally, the culpable and wilful misrepresentations which characterise a large proportion of the observations published on the actions and uses of medicinal agents.

† This, however, can only be admitted as evidence of the lowest possible degree of surgical skill. Circumcision and Nymphotomy, an analogous operation, still continues to be practised among the Copts, Egyptians, Arabs, Ethiopians and other eastern nations. They are performed by the most ignorant and lowest order of practitioners, demanding a very moderate amount of knowledge and skill. Buffon, in alluding to the latter operation says—"d'après Niebuhr, cette opération se fait vers l'âge de dix ans, sans cérémonie religieuse, et on y attachait si peu d'importance qu'on ne la fait pratiquer que lorsque les femmes qui font ce métier passent accidentellement dans la rue." (Hist. Nat. Tom. iv.) They are on a level in fact with the corn cutters and bone setters of modern Europe.

‡ ANATOMY does not appear to have been cultivated by the Hebrews, among whom the contact with a dead body rendered an individual unclean, even with purification for seven days, as related in the 19th chapter of Numbers from the 11th verse, and also alluded to in the book of Leviticus.

Their knowledge of PHYSIOLOGY was exceedingly restricted. They regarded the bones as important organs, and as the seat of severe diseases, and considered the umbilical region and epigastrium as exercising a great degree of influence over the health of the individual. But on these and other ordinary matters connected with the *natural sciences* and arts, the Jews were left very much to their own resources. It never was the design of true *Revelation* to supersede the exercise of the human faculties in any department of knowledge to the cultivation of which these may be fully competent. On the contrary, its general intent has been to brace, invigorate and expand all the powers and susceptibilities of the soul, and to encourage, under due regulation, the application of these to every pursuit calculated to enlarge the boundaries of useful knowledge or confer fresh benefits on the family of man.

§ Horne, loc. cit.

various forms, as contagious or non-contagious—described with a degree of minuteness and accuracy to which it is scarcely possible for a modern observer to make a single addition from external examination alone, as may daily be seen in the streets of this city—elephantiasis with a species of which the patriarch Job is conjectured to have been afflicted; the disease of the Philistines, variously supposed to have been either dysentery, or hæmorrhoids; the disease of Saul, melancholia; the disease of Jehoram, King of Israel, dysentery, with ulceration and discharge of portions of intestine; the disease with which Hezekiah was afflicted, said to have been either a pleurisy, or the plague, elephantiasis, or a quinsy, but conjectured by most to have been fever terminating in abscess; and the hypochondriasis of Nebuchadnezzar.

We do not refer to the diseases, remedies, and other medical matters mentioned in the New Testament, as they are of much more recent date, and can scarcely be taken to have any connection with the *antiquity* of Hebrew Medicine.

Much of the learning of the ancient Israelites was probably derived from the Egyptians, in the frequent intercourse that took place in the time of Abraham and his descendants, as well as during the four centuries of bondage of the successors of Jacob. There is no doubt, however, that much more was peculiar to themselves, and like their faith and customs, handed down from the remotest periods.

The claims of the Chinese will not bear investigation, either as to the extent or antiquity of their knowledge of medicine when compared with the Hebrews, the Egyptians, or the Hindus.

There can be equally little, or possibly even less, doubt concerning the more modern claims of the Arabs, who have not only been proved to have had access to, and quoted from, the Charaka and Susruta,—but to have been well acquainted with the writings of the Greek Fathers of Medicine. In fact, the doctrines of Hippocrates and Galen were early taught in their schools, and no credit can be assigned to them of having been among the *earliest* cultivators of any of the arts and sciences. They belong altogether to a much more recent era, and were in the first instance chiefly indebted for their knowledge to the Hindus and Greeks.

Although the Greeks cannot pretend to the antiquity in knowledge of the Hindus, the Egyptians, or the Hebrews—"it is neither in Egypt, nor in India, nor in Palestine, nor in Rome, that the first germs of the *systematic* study of science are to be found, but in Greece alone."

To the Hindus and to the Egyptians the modern world,

owes nothing of its advance in science and civilization, but to Greece, the cradle of learning and liberty, the debt of gratitude in every department of literature and art is immense and universally acknowledged. Among them none have derived more positive benefit, or been more firmly impressed with the sterling stamp of wisdom than Medicine, and the branches of human knowledge collaterally or immediately connected with it. With the single exception of Chemistry, in which the credit of a high degree of cultivation and success, subsequently reflected in the brilliant researches and discoveries of our own time, belongs undoubtedly to the Arabs, every other branch of European Medicine may be traced to a Grecian origin ; and in many of them, the doctrines and practices of the old fathers of physic are still quoted with deference, and acknowledged with respect. The dogmatism of Hippocrates and his successors ; the professed empiricism which reigned in the schools from the time of Serapion to the commencement of the Christian Æra ; the methodism which partially commenced with Themison and continued until the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when it was firmly established by Galen, the physician and peripatetic ; and the peripatetic dogmatism that prevailed from his time to the period when that strange compound of mountebank, quack, and philosopher Paracelsus, the cotemporary of Charles the V., appeared upon the stage, all had their influence upon the succeeding revolutions of medicine,—embracing the chemical dogmatism that ceased with the discovery of the circulation, by the immortal Harvey, in the reign of Charles I ; the mechanical dogmatism that obtained possession of the schools to the period of Boerhave in the commencement of the 18th century, and then merged into the general dogmatism with its infinite varieties and off-shoots, including the learned empiricisms of Homæopathy, Hydropathy, and others of still more doubtful character, that still continue to occupy the learned, attract the vulgar, delude the ignorant, and mystify the multitude. All this, however, is foreign to our present purpose, and we must retrace our steps from the light of Greece to the obscurity of Hindustan.

To enable our readers to estimate correctly the value and extent of the addition contributed to the history of medicine by Wise's Commentary, a brief and rapid review of our previous knowledge of the subject, may not be deemed altogether uninteresting or out of place.

To the full and candid work of the learned LeClerc, we have not access at present,—but if our memory be not faulty, it contains little, if any, positive information upon the medicine of

the Hindus, except possibly a few incidental allusions borrowed from the writings of the Arabian physicians, who were not very profoundly acquainted with the matter themselves.

The history of medicine from the time of Galen to the commencement of the 16th century, by Friend, is equally silent.

Of Black's history of medicine and surgery published in 1782, it is sufficient to repeat the opinion entertained by a cotemporaneous writer, that it was—"prolix in ancient history, meagre in the middle ages, superficial in later times, and in the most modern, completely uninformed."

The first of the works with which we have any acquaintance that alludes directly to the Hindus as among the earliest of the successful cultivators of the healing art, is the 'infinitely important and valuable' *Essai d'une histoire pragmatique de la Medecine*, by Kurt Sprengel—a work to which we have been much indebted in the passing remarks upon Egyptian and Hebrew medicine.

His chapter upon Indian Medicine is chiefly compiled from the Greek writers and the statements of modern travellers and authorities, but from having had no access to the original Sanskrit historians, of the existence even of most of which he appears to have been unacquainted, his information is necessarily meagre, and in some respects, not very correct.

Bostock, although a diligent reader, and evidently acquainted with the writings of nearly every author of repute and trust connected with the origin and progress of physic, has not even mentioned the Hindus in his *History of Medicine*, evidently regarding the little information then extant as too scanty and fabulous to deserve notice.

Dr. Wm. Hamilton is somewhat more explicit on the subject, and sums up his opinions in the following paragraph, which contains, indeed, the whole of the space devoted to the Hindus in his "*History of Medicine, Surgery, and Anatomy, from the creation of the world to the commencement of the Nineteenth Century.*"

"Notwithstanding the progress which recent researches, no less than ancient traditions inform us, was made by the inhabitants of Hindustan, at the most remote periods in other branches of knowledge, and in the abstruse science of Astronomy more especially; their proficiency in the art of healing does not appear, from any evidence which either ancient history or modern discovery affords, to have equalled that of nations, in other respects far less enlightened. Their chief dependence, in the cure of disease, consisted, as Strabo informs us, in a rigid attention to diet, and the external application of cataplasms, and other tropical remedies. Medicine appears to have been practised chiefly, if not wholly, by persons who were termed *Ἱνδοί* or Samaneans, who exercised their calling by the special permission, and under the immediate superintendence, of the magistrates.

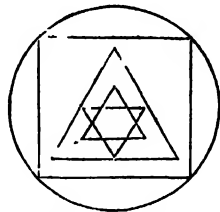
But their practice was encumbered with many difficulties, and the spirit of useful inquiry repressed by sanguinary, mistaken, and injudicious laws. The disclosure of a substance injurious to health, unaccompanied by its corresponding antidote, was punished with the penalty of death; and the door of improvement closed at the hazard of a halter against him who should dare to enter imprudently. The most valuable remedies were proscribed, from the apprehension of mischief arising from their injudicious application: and the courageous practitioner, who had ventured to employ some of those active preparations which are in every day use among modern physicians, would have endangered his neck, had he been unable to point out the remedy for their noxious effects, when wielded by the hands of malice, of ignorance, or of presumption. The mere existence of such a law sufficiently marks the low ebb of medical knowledge among the people who framed it. Since it presupposes the fact, unconfirmed by any experience, of every poison having its appropriate and specific antidote, as every disease was believed, down almost to the present day, to possess its specific and peculiar remedy."

The eminent and excellent missionary, William Ward, of Serampore, in his view of the "History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus," a work containing much valuable information, has devoted a section to the medical Shastras. He appears to coincide, with a little qualification, in the opinion of Sir Wm. Jones, that Eastern "physic is a mere empirical history of diseases and remedies," and gives a brief abstract of some of the Hindu notions concerning fever, dysentery, and other internal diseases, with an enumeration of the medical shastras still extant. The amount of information accumulated by him is scanty, imperfect, and not obtained from the most ancient or purest sources. The question of its probable antiquity is left untouched, and the impression produced by the perusal of the chapter, is certainly unfavorable to the science, information, and method really possessed by the Hindu physicians of a remote date.

In the "Tracts, Historical and Statistical on India," published in a handsome, illustrated 4 to volume in 1814, by Dr. Heyne, of the Madras medical department, are portions of a translation of some Hindu works on medicine. The author sets out by stating, that "it is common in India to hear the native physicians represented by some Europeans as a set of ignorant cheats, and extolled by others as miracles of knowledge and wisdom. The fact, however, is, that the great body of medical men in India consists of illiterate pretenders to knowledge, few being entitled to be considered as possessors of real knowledge. Most of them are quacks, possessors and vendors of nostrums. The medical works of the Hindus are neither to be regarded as miraculous productions of wisdom, nor as depositories of nonsense. Their practical, principles, as far as I can judge, are very similar to our own, even their theories may be reconciled

with ours, if we make allowance for their ignorance of anatomy, and the imperfections of their physiological speculations."

He furnishes a long and interesting list of medical plants most in use, with their Sanskrit, Telinga, and Linnean names, to which are appended a few directions for keeping, gathering, compounding, and administering them. Some of these injunctions are simple and sensible, others ridiculous and childish. The middle of every medicine room was furnished with a sacred spot, consecrated by a mystical sign so very masonic in its form, that we are tempted to transfer it to our pages for the benefit of those among our readers, who may delight in researches upon symbols and signs, and have a firm belief in the antiquity and eastern origin of the mysteries of the masonic brotherhood.



This is followed by an abstract of an Indian treatise on medicine, containing—advice to physicians! curious chapter on the pulse—Chinese in its childishness and prolixity, with an occasional glimmer of sense and correctness;—remarks on the diagnosis of the three principal diseases produced by *Wadum*, *Pitum*, and *Chestum*. or wind, bile, and slime, with a detail of the numerous diseases that result from these causes—a catalogue of nonsense and a medley of maladies strangely incongruous in their nature and relations. This is succeeded by remarks on the general causes of diseases; a section on diet; one on fever; another upon an unknown disorder termed *Sanny*, which seems to be a jumbling together of many of the worst symptoms of several diseases. The subject of prognosis meets with a due degree of attention, and a general summary of the whole concludes with the following curt and pithy sentences:—

"Thus have I finished the translations of this most extraordinary treatise, and I dare say my readers are by this time as fatigued as I am myself. It may be considered as a summary of all the medical knowledge of the Hindus. We see their absolute ignorance of anatomy, and every thing connected with the functions of the human body; that their system is entirely chimerical and connected with their religious opinions: and the long fasts to which they subject their patients are probably by far the most efficacious of their remedies. I had originally added long notes upon this little treatise, exhibiting the various opinions of other medical writers upon the subject discussed in the text, but upon farther reflection, I have been induced to withdraw them, conceiving that the treatise itself exhibited a banquet of absurdity sufficient to satisfy the most voracious guests; while different views, of the same ridiculous opinions, could not serve to add to the information of the most inquisitive reader."

Dr. Whitelaw Ainslie, in his excellent and detailed work on the *Materia Medica of India*,—to which we shall probably

have occasion to refer again, when remarking upon the section of Dr. Wise's commentary devoted to this department—has in his preliminary observations, recorded a few remarks upon the subject of the probable antiquity of the medicine of the Hindus, and of its present claims to consideration, more especially as known and practised in Southern India. He has also published a list of Hindu and Mahomedan works on various departments of physic. He does not profess, however, to be learned in Eastern lore, and has evidently obtained the greater part of his information at second hand, from "Tamul and Telingu practitioners, who were most probably themselves unacquainted with the original Sanskrit works," of which, according to Heyne, the translations into the dialects of Southern India, are full of errors from the translators having been frequently unequal to their task.

The transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal are comparatively poor in the matter of contributions to our knowledge of Hindu Medicine, containing in eighteen parts or volumes scarcely as many separate papers on the subject, and of these not one that can lay claim to any degree of learning or research. In the first, a paper by *Goverdhan Caul*, on the Literature of the Hindus, their medical writings are dismissed in about a dozen lines of very general remarks.

The second is the well known passage from the last anniversary dissertation of the eminent and learned President of the Society, delivered in February 1794, which, as embodying the views of that gifted and discriminating scholar, we have no hesitation in quoting for the information of those who have not access to the Asiatic Researches—the early volumes of which are gradually becoming rare and scarce—or who may not be in possession of Lord Teignmouth's edition of the works of Sir Wm. Jones:—

"I have no evidence that in any language of Asia, there exists one original treatise on medicine, considered as science; physic, indeed, appears in these regions to have been from time immemorial, as we see it practised at this day by Hindus and Muselmans, a mere empirical history of diseases and remedies; useful, I admit, in a high degree, and worthy of attentive examination, but wholly foreign to the subject before us. Though the Arabs, however, have chiefly followed the Greeks in this branch of knowledge, and have themselves been implicitly followed by other Mohammedan writers, yet (not to mention the Chinese, of whose medical works I can at present say nothing with confidence) we still have access to a number of Sanscrit books on the old Indian practice of physic, from which, if the Hindus had a theoretical system, we might easily collect it. The *Ayurvedita*, supposed to be the work of a celestial physician, is almost entirely lost, unfortunately, perhaps, for the curious European, but happily for the patient Hindu; since a revealed science precludes improvement from experience, to which that of medicine ought, above all others, to be left

perpetually open: but I have myself met with curious fragments of that primeval work: and, in the *Vêda* itself, I found with astonishment an entire *Upanishad* on the internal parts of the human body; with an enumeration of nerves, veins, and arteries; a description of the heart, spleen, and liver; and various disquisitions on the formation and growth of the fœtus. From the laws, indeed, of MANU, which have lately appeared in our own language, we may perceive that the ancient Hindus were fond of reasoning, in their way, on the mysteries of animal generation, and on the comparative influence of the sexes in the production of perfect offspring; and we may collect from the authorities adduced in the learned Essay on *Egypt* and the *Nile*, that their physiological disputes led to violent schisms in religion, and even to bloody wars. On the whole, we cannot expect to acquire many valuable truths from an examination of eastern books on the science of medicine; but examine them we must, if we wish to complete the history of universal philosophy, and to supply the scholars of Europe with authentic materials for an account of the opinions anciently formed on this head by the philosophers of ASIA. To know, indeed, with certainty, that so much and no more can be known on any branch of science, would in itself be very important and useful knowledge, if it had no other effect than to check the boundless curiosity of mankind, and to fix them in the straight path of attainable science, especially of such as relates to their duties, and may conduce to their happiness."

The remaining papers are mere monographs upon various topics of interest connected with the practice of medicine in this country, and afford no information respecting its indigenous history, antiquity, doctrines, or authorities.

The "Transactions of the Calcutta Medical and Physical Society," a rich repository of valuable practical facts and opinions respecting the topography, diseases—endemic and epidemic—and some of the indigenous remedies of India, together with details of the most appropriate means of managing various tropical maladies, are singularly and unaccountably deficient in the investigation of the medical literature of the Hindus.

With the exception of two or three contributions of no great importance from the pen of Professor Wilson, the only reference to the subject that a cursory examination has enabled us to fall in with, is the following extract from the preface to the 1st volume of the Transactions, published in 1825:—

"The history of medicine is of more interest than utility. Disease may be alleviated or subdued without a knowledge of those stages, by which the skill that has been successfully exerted, is brought within the reach of its possessor. Neither can it be expected that the imperfect science of the *Bards* or *Hakims* of India, shall offer any instructive lessons to their better educated brethren of Europe: still, to liberal and cultivated minds, the progress and condition of science in all ages, and in all climes, must be objects of interest; and they will gladly welcome the light that may be thrown upon the past or present existence of Oriental medicine, by information gathered from authentic sources, or derived from actual observation.

The history of Mahomedan medicine, comprising the most flourishing periods of the schools of Bagdad and Cordova, has already been fully elucidated, but it stops with the decline of the power of the Caliphs : a long subsequent period is, therefore, enveloped in obscurity in this branch of enquiry, and the medical history of the Hindus is hitherto an utter blank. In these respects, therefore, there is ample scope for investigation, novel at least and interesting, and perhaps not wholly unconstructive, which may be prosecuted with every advantage in the country in which we at present sojourn.*

This is a matter much to be regretted when we consider the number of able and eminent oriental scholars of which the Medical Department could boast, prior to the comparatively recent existence in its ranks of probably one of the most profound and learned of them all, Horace Hayman Wilson, who, with a solitary exception, has contributed more to our knowledge of Hindu medicine than any other authority prior to the appearance of the commentary now under review.

The paper of the late lamented painstaking traveller and antiquary Csoma de Koros published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1835, exhibits a brief abstract of certain portions of one of the Hindu medical shastras which appears to have been translated into the Tibetan tongue : it is an interesting fragment, but gives no detailed or connected view of the subject.

The most minute and intrinsically valuable of all the various sketches with which we are acquainted, is undoubtedly the "Essay upon the antiquity of Hindu medicine" already noticed, of Dr. Royle, who now occupies an important practical chair at the King's College of London, and has recently produced a systematic treatise upon the department of medicine which he is employed to teach. It is chiefly valuable on account of the careful industry and logical acumen with which the various steps of the difficult enquiry are successively conducted, and of probably all the then known authorities having been consulted and collated.

The chapter on Hindu Medicine in Elphinstone's History of India is brief and chiefly taken from the essay of Royle, the work of Ward, and a paper by Mr. Coates in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, which we have been unable to consult. The following extract embodies the whole of the information which he has afforded upon the subject :—

"Their acquaintance with medicines seems to have been very extensive. We are not surprised at their knowledge of simples, in which they gave early lessons to Europe, and more recently taught us the benefit of smoking datura in asthma, and the use of cowitch against worms : their chemical skill is a fact more striking and more unexpected.

* Medical and Physical Transactions, Vol. I. p. iv. Preface.

They knew how to prepare sulphuric and nitric acid, and muriatic acid ; the oxide of copper, iron, lead (of which they had both the red oxide and litharge), tin, and zinc ; the sulphuret of iron, copper, mercury, antimony, and arsenic ; the sulphate of copper, zinc, and iron ; and carbonates of lead and iron. Their modes of preparing those substances, seem, in some instances, if not in all, to have been peculiar to themselves.

Their use of these medicines seems to have been very bold. They were the first nation who employed minerals internally, and they not only gave mercury in that manner, but arsenic and arsenious acid, which were remedies in intermittents. They have long used cinabar for fumigations, by which they produce a speedy and safe salivation.

Their surgery is as remarkable as their medicine, especially when we recollect their ignorance of anatomy. They cut for the stone, couched for the cataract, and extracted the fœtus from the womb, and, in their early works enumerate no less than 127 sorts of surgical instruments. But their instruments were probably always rude. At present they are so much so that, though very successful in cataract, their operations for the stone are often fatal.

They have long practised inoculation ; but still many lives were lost from small pox, until the introduction of vaccination.

The Hindu physicians are attentive to the pulse and to the state of the skin, of the tongue, eyes, &c., and to the nature of the evacuations ; and they are said to form correct prognostics from the observation of the symptoms. But their practice is all empirical, their theory only tending to mislead them. Nor are they always judicious in their treatment : in fevers, for instance they shut up the patient in a room artificially heated, and deprive him not only of food, but drink.

They call in astrology and magic to the aid of their medicine, applying their remedies at appropriate situations of the planets, and often accompanying them with mystical verses and charms.

Many of these defects probably belonged to the art in its best days, but the science has no doubt declined ; chemists can conduct their preparations successfully without having the least knowledge of the principles by which the desired changes are effected ; physicians follow the practice of their instructors without inquiry : and surgery is so far neglected, that bleeding is left to the barber, bone-setting to the herdsman, and every man is ready to administer a blister, which is done with the juice of the euphorbium, and still oftener with the actual cautery.*

We shall now proceed to examine and analyse briefly the commentary which forms the text of our remarks, and endeavour to investigate the claims that it affords, from internal evidence, of the nature and extent of the practical and theoretical knowledge possessed by the Brahmanical sect of medical philosophers.

Dr. Wise's work is divided into five books ; the first treating of the History of Medicine ; the second being devoted to the subject of Anatomy and Physiology ; the third containing the department of Therapeutics ; the fourth that of the Practice of Physic ; and the last that of Midwifery, and the diseases of women and children. This is a convenient and simple arrangement,

of the subject, and embodies in a condensed form a vast mass of matter, of which we can only hope, in the space allotted to us, to present our readers with a brief review of the most prominent and salient points of interest.

The first chapter contains, as might be expected, the Hindu notions of the origin and history of medicine, and belongs so exclusively to the regions of fable and fiction, as to be deserving of little notice and less credit. Most nations, in the early stages of their existence, have attributed all remarkable and incomprehensible occurrences to the influence of the deities worshipped in the forms of their various superstitions and idolatries, so that diseases, and a multitude of natural phenomena, have been ascribed by them to supernatural agency.* The Hindu Mythology out-herods all others in absurdity and extravagance, and in this particular is in no way inferior to the legends and traditions of the most uncivilized of savages. The four immortal Vedas are stated to have been produced in the first or golden age "during which mankind remained prosperous, virtuous, happy, and free from disease." Disease, misery, the shortening of life, and their attendant woes, appeared in the Treta Yuga, or second age † when "a third of mankind were reprobate." In the third age, half of the human race were depraved; and the climax of corruption characterises the present, or Kali Yuga. Brahma, from sheer benevolence and compassion for a fallen race, produce the Upavédas, of which the Ayur-véda, already noticed, is regarded as the sacred medical record of the Hindus, besides being of the highest antiquity and authority. The Shastras ascribe the production of this veda to Shiva. A fragment only of the lac of slokas of which it originally consisted, has survived the

* "Morbos vero ad iram deorum immortalum relatos, et ab *isdem* opem poscī solitum."—*Celsus*.

† How unfavorably does the Hindu mystery and prolixity contrast with the simple, clear, and forcible exposition of the same subject contained in Horne's work :

"The diseases to which the human frame is subject would naturally lead one to try to alleviate or remove them ; hence spring the ART OF MEDICINE. In the early ages of the world, indeed, there could not be much occasion for an art which is now so necessary to the health and happiness of mankind. The simplicity of their manners, the plainness of their diet, their temperance in meat and drink, and their active life, (being generally occupied in the field and in rural affairs,) would naturally tend to strengthen the body, and to afford a greater share of health than what we now enjoy. So long as our first parents continued in that state of righteousness in which they were created, there was a tree emphatically termed the tree of life, the fruit of which was divinely appointed for the preservation of health ; but, after the fall, being expelled from Eden, and, consequently, banished for ever from that tree, they became liable to various diseases, which doubtless, they would endeavour to remove or to mitigate in various ways. From the longevity of the Patriarchs, it is evident that diseases were not very frequent in the early ages of the world, and they seem to have enjoyed a sufficiently vigorous old age, except that the eyes became dim and the sight feeble."—*Horne, Op. Cit. Vol. iii p. 502.*

ravages of time. The medical shastras appear to have been very numerous, and of them the works of Charaka and Susruta are held in the highest repute : for a brief summary of their contents, we must refer the curious to the commentary.

The second chapter is devoted to the discussion of the rank of practitioners and duties of teachers. It commences with the fabulous birth of the first of the Vaidya or medical caste, from whom the hereditary physicians of the present time are descended, and declares that "Brahmans learn the medical shastras for their advantage ; Khetriyas for the benefit of their health, and Vaidyas for their subsistence." Other castes may study medicine. "when they are learned, honest, and men of good descent."

The old race of professors appear to have been peripatetic practitioners, who wandered from place to place in search of knowledge, general and professional, attended by their train of pupils, lectured in the open air, and taught by means of prelections which were carefully noted by their scholars.

The present generation of Vaidyas take a few house pupils whom they educate either with or without reward, the gratuitous being the most honorable course of instruction, "procuring renown in this world, and the highest benefits in a future state:" in some instances, however, they are pensioners of the wealthy.

The qualifications of a good teacher are such as might find a place in the most unexceptionable code of modern medical ethics :—

"A good teacher is like rain falling upon the germinating seed, and should possess the following qualifications :—A perfect knowledge of the Shastras, joined to extensive practical knowledge and skill. He should be kind and humble to every one ; he should have no defects of body, and should always be ready to expose the good rather than the bad qualities of others ; he should be clean and neat in his person, and possess and exhibit to his pupils all kinds of medicines and instruments. He should always be increasing his knowledge of books, and should neither be angry at the improprieties of others, nor fatigued by their importunities. He should be kind and considerate to his pupils, and be able to explain the most complicated statements, in the simplest and most perspicuous language. Such a person as this, who instructs a pupil, when of good parentage, is like the seasonable cloud and rain upon the corn field, which quickly matures its valuable produce"*

Bad teachers are denounced, and the class of physicians generally are painted in very favourable colors, as being often more learned and less proud than the Brahmans, as well as usually poets, grammarians, rhetoricians, and moralists, and esteemed as the most virtuous and amiable of the Hindus.

Although not occupying the same elevated position as the medical hierarchy of Egypt and Israel, the Hindu physician held a respectable and useful office, and was generally esteemed in proportion to his individual deserts. The Hindus appear in fact to have been fully aware, that "an enlightened physician and a skilful surgeon, are in the daily habit of administering to their fellowmen more real and unquestionable good than is communicated, or communicable by any other class of human beings."

With some few exceptions, however, the modern race of Vaidyas do not appear to be so learned, or so much looked up to as their predecessors were, and we doubt much whether the Hindus of our own time are of opinion, that

"A wise physician skill'd our wounds to heal,
Is more than armies to the public weal."

The estimation in which the professors of medicine were held by the ancient Greeks is well known to every classical student, from the divine honors paid to Æsculapius and the history of his sons Podalirius and Machaon, down to the celebrated saying of Cicero, "*Neque enim ullâ aliâ re homines propius ad deos accedunt, quam salutem hominibus dando.*"

The duties and character of pupils are laid down with a considerable degree of minuteness, and not a little attention to the superstitious observances which disfigure the Hindu systems of education. He is to commence his studies on a lucky day, not to cut his beard or nails during the prosecution of his professional acquirements, not to read the medical shastras "on unlucky days, or when the sun is obscured by clouds; on the first two days of a new moon; when it thunders; at unseasonable times; at the morning dawn or the evening twilight. He must not study on holidays, on the day on which he meets a corpse, on which the governor of the province is sick, when fighting occurs, or when war approaches." "When at his lesson care must be taken not to allow any one to pass between the pupil and teacher, as it will interrupt the supposed passage of good qualities from the latter to the former." If the student seek for long life, he should eat with his face to the east; if for exalted fame, to the south; if for prosperity, to the west; if for truth and its reward, to the north."—(*Manu*, p. 28, cap. 2, 52.)

As a set-off against these absurdities, he is strictly enjoined the practice of industry, perseverance, sobriety, chastity, humility, and most of the other qualities that tend to produce a good scholar and a learned man.

The chapter upon the duties of the physician, of his attendants, and of the patient, exhibits a ludicrous admixture of truth and error, light and darkness, sobriety and extravagance, sound practical wisdom and empty puerilities. The person, character, acquirements, and observances of the practitioner are minutely detailed, and occasionally with a remarkable degree of truth and acuteness, as in the following description of an ignorant physician:—

"Without such a knowledge of books he will be confused like a soldier afraid in the time of action, will be a great sinner, and should be capitally punished by the Rajah. On the other hand, a want of practical knowledge will impede his advancement, and his senses will be bewildered when called on to treat acute diseases. Such a physician will not be esteemed by the great, as he cannot practice with success when only instructed in half his duty. Such a person is the murderer of his species, and the medicines prescribed by him may be compared to poison or lightning—such ignorance prevents all the good effects of remedies. As the two wheels of a chariot, or the two wings of a bird, assist in their progress, so will the knowledge of the shastras and of practice lead the physician to proceed with safety and success in the treatment of the diseased, but should the physician want either of these essential qualifications, his progress will be impeded, as one wing or one wheel will impede the progress of the bird or the chariot.

Such persons flatter the patient's friends, are diligent, take reduced fees, are hesitating and doubtful in performing difficult operations, and pretend that their bad success is caused by the bad attendants, &c.

Still some patients will be saved under the care of such a physician, as a worm in destroying the sacred shastras will sometimes leave in its depredations, the wise representations of some of the sacred letters. A bad physician may cure one patient, by which he endeavours to establish his fame, without considering the thousands he has killed; such a person is like a boat in a storm without a pilot, or a blind man in the performance of any work, and is to be looked upon as the angel of death."

A quaint old writer has somewhere denominated medicine a "meditation upon death," and a more recent authority has defined it to be "the art of amusing the patient, while nature cures the disease." The Hindus knew better, and declared that in skilful hands "medicine becomes like the water of immortality (*Amrita*)."

Their characteristics of a good physician embody almost every human and divine perfection, "such as," says the Commentator, "is rarely to be found even in heaven." Among other professional distinctions he should "carry an umbrella and stick in his hand," rather a remote and respectable origin for the gold-headed cane, so well known in Europe during the last century. The indications which are supposed to qualify for success and eminence are, "an agreeable voice, a small tongue, eyes and nose straight, with thin lips, short teeth which do not expose the gums, and thick hair which retains its vigour." This may

be contrasted with the more modern qualities considered necessary for a complete surgeon, "the eye of an eagle, the heart of a lion, and the hand of a lady."

Among the observances enjoined are many of the most childish and absurd nature, with an enumeration of good and bad omens, of which not a few are embodied in the popular superstitions of the middle ages, and still continue current among the ignorant and credulous of our own times. The subject of fees is not forgotten, and as usual the Brahmans derive the chief benefit of the physician's gratuitous labours. There is much more concerning these matters contained in the Commentary which will repay the trouble of perusal, and quite enough to prove that the medical ethics of the Hindus, in spite of their numerous conceits and crudities, were by no means of a low and contemptible order, and occasionally exhibit evidences of sound reasoning and practical good sense, quite as applicable to the practice of the profession at the present day, as they were at the time of their production.

The second book plunges "*in medias res*," and introduces us to the Anatomy and Physiology of the Hindus. They regarded the body as a species of Microcosm with divisions corresponding to those of the globe, possessing its mountains, its frigid, temperate, and torrid regions, with its oceans and fluids under astral influence, all composed of the five elements which form the body corporate of our planet, *viz.*, earth, water, air, fire, and ether. Each of these communicates its special influence to the structure in which it preponderates, and after digestion, by an inherent property, joins its fellow in the frame. Skin, vessels, bone, hair, and flesh are conjectured to be chiefly compounded of earth; the excretions, some of the secreted matters, blood, and phlegm, of water; hunger, thirst, and insensibility are attributed to fire; movement, conscience, termination of a work, and retaining happiness fall to the lot of air; while desire, revenge, stupidity, fear, and shame emanate from ether, all connected with an active or warm, and a passive or cold principle, which are increased and strengthened by the rays of the sun and moon. To all living bodies thus compounded, the element producing life or action is superadded.

This sol-lunar and elemental theory, the offspring of fancy and imagination, is not a whit inferior in absurdity to the doctrines taught and maintained by the most profound and eminent of the philosophers of ancient Greece, nor was any substantial advance made in the matter, until chemistry had

descended from its golden dreams* to the level of common sense, and by increasing the number of true elements, diminished the amount of error pervading all the older theories concerning the composition of both inorganic and organic bodies—the latter department of the interesting and wonderful science which has nearly revolutionized the face of nature, and exercised the most extraordinary influence upon the arts, sciences, and civilization of the universe, being still comparatively in its infancy.

The subjects of generation and the growth of the body which are not only unsuited for discussion in our pages, but are of the same fanciful and incomprehensible character as the wildest flights of imagination of the alchemists or the most unmeaning mysteries of their peculiar jargon, are next detailed, and those who are curious in the matter, will find abundant means for its gratification in the pages of the commentary, and in the learned work of Professor Webb, entitled "*Pathologia Indica*," to which we hope hereafter to have a more fitting opportunity of referring, in connection with the origin and progress of the Medical College of Bengal, of which Institution that gentleman is by no means the least distinguished ornament.

The physiology of the Hindus is of an extremely imperfect character, as might have been expected, and consists chiefly of crude speculation and absurd hypotheses, of which the following account of the important process of digestion is an adequate and striking example :

"Six varieties of the digested part of food or chyle are known. When the food is astringent, sour, moist, &c, the chyle will become of the same nature. When digestion is accomplished, the respective elements unite with those which had entered into the formation of the body ; the earth unites with the earth, the water with water, &c, and they, acting on the inherent qualities of each of the five elements, mix and increase those in the body ; smell is the property of earth with that of the body ; taste with water, touch with air, and noise with ether (*ākāśa*) The juice thus separated from its impurities is called chyle (*rassa*) which nourishes, strengthens, and gives color to the body."

Some imagine twenty-four hours, others six days, and a third set a month to be necessary for the complete performance of the function of assimilation !

The strength or vital principle (*oja* or *tej*) is supposed to be situated in the centre of the chest, and to be the result of "a mixture of the pure fluid, in the same manner as a bee sucks the juice from different flowers, and produces honey."

* Chemistry was defined by Suidas, who lived in the tenth century, and published a Lexicon, to be "*the art of making gold and silver.*"

The stomach again is compared to "a cooking pot containing water and food, which is boiled by the heat of the bile beneath it."

Under the head of structural anatomy, it appears that the body consists of humours and essential parts with their appendages. The humours are air (vāyu), bile (pitta), and phlegm (kofa), the three pillars or supports of the system. "As the moon sheds moisture, and abstracts the sun's rays, which dry up and bestow energy upon the earth, and the air moves from place to place, so phlegm bestows moisture, bile withdraws it by its heat, and air wafts it about in the microcosm or animal body," say the Hindu physicians, to which the learned Commentator appends the following note :—

"This ingenious theory which has been so frequently renewed, and was for so many ages universally believed, seems to have been derived from the Hindus; from whom it was adopted by the Egyptian and Grecian priesthood. It is defective, however, in excluding the blood which, notwithstanding, has been stated as one of the fundamental parts of the body."

We are not altogether prepared to coincide in this view and incline rather to the opinion expressed by Sir Wm. Jones in regard to the identity between the divisions of the zodiac in the Astronomy of India and of Greece, *viz.* : that both received it from an older nation, "from whom the Greeks and the Hindus, as their similarity in language and religion fully evinces, had a common descent."

The humours are described in detail, and with an occasional gleam of sense in the general gloom pervading the theories regarding them. Among other points of interest, it is said, that "the pure part of digested food is of a milky color, and is conveyed to the heart by means of the domonic vessels, where it is mixed with the blood. Charaka calls these vessels the chyle carrying vessels (rasyani)." Are we to believe from this that the Hindu physiologists were acquainted with the existence of the lacteals, as well as of the thoracic duct? The existence of the latter may possibly have been known to them, but we doubt much whether any satisfactory evidence concerning their knowledge of the former can be adduced. Has Charaka given any account of the vessels such as would at once enable us to determine the point? Upon this, and many similar topics, Dr. Wise's commentary does not furnish us with the exact kind of information that would have been most satisfactory and desirable—*viz.* : detailed translations of the passages relating to them contained in the works from which the abstracts of their opinions have been derived. Should the commentary ever come to a second edition, and we regard it as far too valuable a contribution to the history of medicine

to disappear from the list of permanent authorities upon the subject, we trust that the author will supply this important desideratum, either in the form of notes, or incorporated in the text in such manner as to be easily distinguished from it.

The essential parts or the supporters of the body consist of "the hard and soft parts, and fluids," seven in number, comprising "chyle, blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow, and semen"—all of which attracted the attention of Hindu physiologists, and were described by them with a considerable degree of ingenuity. Some of their qualities were as correctly ascertained as could have, under any circumstances, been accomplished without the aid of modern science and means of investigation, while, as usual, the fanciful and speculative predominated over the sober and rational in the theories concerning their production and uses.

The Sanskrit authors enumerated 300 as the number of bones belonging to the body, which Dr. Wise seems to regard as the true number according to modern anatomists—and among them we are surprised to find him place the cartilages of the larynx and trachea of the external ear, and of the ribs, &c. Surely there must be some error in this, for we are not aware of the existence of any modern anatomical authority by whom bones and cartilages are regarded as identical structures, and classed accordingly. That the one may pass into the other, and that bones are originally of a cartilaginous structure in which osseous matter is subsequently deposited, is well known, but unless the trachea and costal cartilages become ossified from age or disease, they can scarcely be considered as belonging to the osseous system properly so called.

The excretions are regarded as the impurities of the seven essential parts, and their nature was by no means correctly known or understood. Among them, for example, is placed the milk which is certainly not an effete matter, nor is the blood, which according to Manu, was ranked among the twelve impurities of the frame.

Joints were divided into the movable and immovable, and among them were classed the teeth, sockets of the teeth, and the "connection of vessels with the heart and organ of thirst, eighteen in number," showing that with some truth, much error and invention were mixed. They counted eight varieties comprising in all 210 joints.

The ligaments, with which the nerves are confounded, consisted of four varieties, and were no less than 900 in number, concerning which, beyond a bare enumeration, the commentary supplies us with no information.

The muscles are supposed to serve the purpose of covering, strengthening, and retaining in their places vessels, tendons, bones, and joints, and mount up to five hundred in the male, and five hundred and twenty in the female. Concerning the action of muscles nothing is said, and we suppose, therefore, that nothing was known.

The Hindu notions concerning the vascular system were of the most fantastic nature, and evidently more the result of fancy than of actual observation. They considered the umbilicus as the origin of all the vessels, and the principal seat of life (*prán*): the vessels themselves were regarded as conduits of blood, bile, air, and phlegm, and consisted of forty principal trunks, ten for each, subdivided into 175 branches, making in all 700 branches. With the exception of a few correct ideas concerning the blood, their knowledge was of the most superficial and incorrect nature. The arteries were regarded as air vessels, doubtless from being found empty after death, although we do not find the fact mentioned.

The sections concerning the canals, cellular tissue, fasciæ, receptacles, and orifices of the body, contain little that is striking or valuable, yet they serve to evince the care and diligence with which the study of Anatomy must have been pursued.

The skin was divided into seven layers which were likened to the pellicle formed on the surface of milk when boiled, and were evidently produced by the manner of dissecting macerated bodies with brushes made of reeds or bamboo bark.

The subject of dissection is one of so much interest in the history of medicine, and of such vital importance in its proper pursuit and practice, that we are tempted to quote the whole of the short section regarding it:—

"All the Rishis are said to have recommended the dissection of the human body, as proper and necessary. Manu, the great legislator, and the one most respected by the Hindu sages, says (85) "one who has touched a corpse, is made pure by bathing;" and again (77) "should a Brahman touch a fresh human bone he is purified by bathing; and if it be dry, by stroking a cow, or by looking at the sun, having sprinkled his mouth duly with water."

Charaka, one of the Munis and physicians, says that a practitioner should know all the parts of the body, both external and internal, and their relative positions with regard to each other. Without such knowledge he cannot be a proper practitioner.

Susruta, a Rishi of the highest rank, says that a Jogi (a holy man) should dissect, in order that he may know the different parts of the human body; and a surgeon and physician should not only know the external appearances, but internal structure of the body, in order to possess an intimate knowledge of the diseases to which it is liable, and to perform surgical operations so as to avoid the vital parts. It is by combining a knowledge of books with practical dissection, that the practitioner will alone attain an intimate knowledge of the subject of his profession.

The body which is to be examined by dissection should be that of a person who had neither been destroyed by poison, nor had died of a long disease, as the structure of the body will be altered by the deleterious substance taken, or destroyed by the ravages of disease. In like manner the person should not have been very old, and all the members should be in a perfect state.

When a proper body for the purpose has been selected, the dejections are to be removed, the body washed, and placed in a frame work of wood, properly secured, by means of grass, hemp, or the like. The body is then to be placed in still water in a situation in which it will not be destroyed by birds, fishes or animals. It is to remain for seven days in the water, when it will have become putrid. It is then to be removed to a convenient situation, and with a brush, made of reeds, hair, or bamboo bark, the body is to be rubbed so as, by degrees, to exhibit, the skin, flesh, &c., which are each in their turn to be observed before being removed. In this manner the different corporeal parts of the body already enumerated will be exhibited; but the life of the body is too ethereal to be distinguished by this process, and, its properties must therefore be learned with the assistance of the explanations of holy medical practitioners, and prayers offered up to God, by which, conjoined with the exercise of the reasoning and understanding faculties, conviction will be certain."*

We have already seen that the mere touch of a corpse was prohibited among the Jews as a pollution, and that the Egyptian knowledge of anatomy was principally confined to the low and wretched outcasts employed to embalm and disembowel the bodies of the dead, who were so much the type of every thing that was low, polluted, and degraded among the Egyptians, that no corpse of a royal or beautiful female was ever handed over to the emblers until unequivocal indications of decay and decomposition had been exhibited. Among the earlier Greeks the study of anatomy was neglected by the Asclepiades, and the laws of Athens were so strict respecting the prompt burial of all bodies, that it was considered a sacred duty, and its neglect punished with such severity, that six officers of rank were condemned to death, notwithstanding their having gained a brilliant victory, for not having taken sufficient pains to recover the bodies of the slain warriors which had fallen into the sea.† During the siege of Troy hostilities were intermitted at Priam's request to permit of the burning of the dead, and after each action the first duty of the victors was to bury the bodies of such of their foes as were left dead upon the field. The fear of the fate of the victors of Arginusa, prevented Chabrias from following up his victory near Naxos, until he had provided for the sepulture of the slain.‡ The anatomical knowledge of Empedocles, Alcmeon, Democritus, and Hippocrates was exclusively

* Wuse, Op. Cit. pp. 68-69.

† Xenophon, Hist. Græc. lib. 1.

‡ Diodor. lib. xv. c. 35.

derived from the dissection of animals, and so also would that of Aristotle appear to have been, since although in his works he often institutes comparisons between the structure of the bodies of animals and of man, the most diligent and learned enquirers are unable to adduce substantial proof of his having practised human anatomy. The two immediate successors of Ptolemy Soter were the first to permit and encourage, by their own example, the dissection of the human body, as Celsus relates in his preface, and Herophilus and Erasistratus were the two first and most celebrated of the Greek anatomists; they flourished in the third century preceding the Christian Era. It is well known that the prejudices of the vulgar in Europe to the pursuit of anatomy have extended even to our own times: in the middle ages so rare were the opportunities afforded of dissection, that in the 14th century, Mundinus, professor at Bologna, astonished the world by the public dissection of two human bodies; and in the 17th century, Cortesius, professor of anatomy at the same place, and subsequently of medicine at Messina, "had long began a treatise on practical anatomy which he had an earnest desire to finish, but so great was the difficulty of prosecuting the study even in Italy, that in twenty-four years he could only twice procure an opportunity of dissecting a human body, and even then with difficulty and in a hurry." The melancholy history of the eminent anatomist Vesalius is well known, but what will our readers say to the following exhibition of a barbarism worthy of the worst days of the dark ages, which occurred in Edinburgh, the "Modern Athens," on Sunday the 29th of June 1823:—

"A coach containing an empty coffin, and two men was observed proceeding along the south bridge. The people suspecting that it was to convey a body taken from some church-yard, seized the coach. It was with difficulty that the police protected the men from the assaults of the populace, the coach they had no power to preserve. The horses were taken from it, and together with the coffin, after having been trundled a mile and a half through the streets of the city, it was deliberately projected over the steep side of the mound, and smashed into a thousand pieces. The people following it to the bottom, kindled a fire with its fragments, and surrounded it like the savages in Robinson Crusoe, till it was entirely consumed. In this case there was no foundation for their suspicions. The coffin was intended to have conveyed to his house in Edinburgh, the body of a physician who that morning had died in a cottage in the neighbourhood.*

In the winter session of 1822-3, a body was discovered on its way to the lecture-room of an anatomist in Glasgow, and in spite of the exertions of the police, aided by those of the military, this gentlemen's pre-

mises and their contents, which were valuable, were entirely destroyed by the mob. For some time after this achievement, it was necessary to station a military guard at the house of all the medical professors in that city.”*

Lizars, an eminent professor of anatomy in Edinburgh, who published a few years since a well-known system of anatomical plates, says in the preface to the second part :—

“In place of living in a civilized and enlightened period, we appear as if we had been thrown back some centuries into the dark ages of ignorance, bigotry and superstition. Prejudices, worthy only of the multitude, have been conjured up and appealed to, in order to call forth popular indignation against those whose business it is to exhibit demonstratively the structure of the human body, and the functions of its different organs. The public journals, from a vicious propensity to pander to the vulgar appetite for excitement, have raked up and industriously circulated stories of the exhumation of dead bodies, tending to exasperate and influence the passions of the mob ; and persons, who by their own showing, are friendly to the interests of science, have in the excess of their zeal that bodies should remain undisturbed in their progress to decomposition, laboured to destroy in this country, that art, whose province it is to free living bodies from the consequences inseparable from accident and disease.”

It is true that these prejudices were directed more towards the revolting practice of exhumation and its attendant horrors, than against the mere dissection of the human body, yet it brought public odium upon anatomy and its professors to an extent which nearly extinguished its scientific prosecution in Great Britain. Nor were the prejudice and violence confined to Scotland. We ourselves, not sixteen years since, have seen the door of a large London hospital besieged by a mob of violent and demented Irishmen, who threatened to hang the house surgeon on the nearest lamp-post, for having made a *post mortem* examination of the body of a deceased bricklayer who died from the effects of a fall from a lofty scaffolding ; and there is no doubt they would have executed their threats, had they succeeded in obtaining possession of his person.

Knowing all this then, we find it impossible to award too high a degree of praise to the sound and philosophical views entertained by the old race of Hindu philosophers respecting the “uses of the dead to the living,” and we think it scarcely possible to withhold from them the immortal credit of being the first scientific and successful cultivators of the most important and most essential of all the departments of medical knowledge.

The description of the vital parts of the body, and the consequences of their being wounded, “afford,” as Dr. Wise properly remarks, “a convincing proof of the great practical

* Westminster Review, p. 84.

experience of the Hindu writers"—a knowledge and experience only to be acquired by frequent and careful dissection. "In Susruta the dangerous parts are all named and described, and the necessity of avoiding them in operations pointed out. The consequences of wounds near the great toe in causing tetanus; in the palm of the hand, in producing such a degree of hæmorrhage as will require amputation of the arm; of the effects of wounds of the testicle and groin, and of fractured bones of the head and breast, which are to be raised or removed, &c., are all stated in this practical work."*

The vital parts of the body are by them supposed to be one hundred and seven in number.

Life, according to the Hindus, consists in the "combination of the soul, the mind, the five senses, and the three qualities of goodness, passion, and inertness,"† which, however incorrect, is a more just and rational view of the subject than the Pythagorean doctrine or those of Heraclitus, Plato, and the Stoics, with all of whom heat or fire, in some form or other, was supposed to be the origin and chief constituent of the vital principle.

The *soul* which plays an important part, both in the cosmogony and the metaphysics of the Hindus, is represented to be "a shadow or emanation from God the Eternal, who is without beginning or end, is invisible, immortal, and is only known by reflection :—When it bedews the five elements it produces the living body, and becomes by its actions evident. It is liable to decrease, and is influenced by medicine. There is no difference between the human soul and the soul of the world; this being only the exterior and condescending manifestation of God, while the human soul is its reflection into itself, and its elevation above itself is the Divine soul."‡

The Soul is supposed to be the animating principle of the body, to communicate knowledge, judgment, and happiness; to preside over sleeping and waking; always to be pure in itself, but not to act usefully without the mind "and the female energy" (*prakriti*.) It is equally the source of the knowledge and ignorance, happiness and misery, goodness and wickedness, and other spiritual qualities of the individual. It is represented by some of their medical writers to exist also in "beasts, animals, and demi-gods according to its conduct in former states of existence"—and when it has bedewed the body with its twenty-four qualities, it performs all the functions of the body generally, as well as of the organs of special sense.

United with the mind, in addition to being the motive agent in the production of the mental and moral qualities, it produces

* Wise, Op. Cit. p. 69.

† Ibid, p. 74.

‡ Ibid, p. 75.

inspiration and expiration, the opening and closing of the eyelids, &c.

The *mind* (*mana*) according to most of the authorities is "a quality or power of the soul by which a person reasons and thinks"—is incomprehensible, and known only through the operation of the senses ; is chiefly seated in the head between the eyebrows, but by some conjectured to be lodged in the heart, and "resembles the light of a lamp by which the person hears, sees, tastes, and knows." "Some Pandits say that the soul and the mind are the same essence ; as there can be no soul without mind, nor mind without the soul."

The five elements are represented as forming the five organs of sense, the five objects of sense, and the five perceptive judgments over which the mind presides, and throw which its operations become manifest. Too much or too little exercise injures, while a moderate amount of use maintains them in health.

The Commentator concludes this section with the observation that, "from these remarks it appears that the soul, the emanation from the deity, united with the mind and senses, performs all the vital actions of the body," and that "the body, mind, and soul are considered, therefore, as the three great pillars which support the system."

We much regret that in addition to his own condensed abstract, Dr. Wise should not have given us more copious specimens of the exact mode and style of reasoning adopted in the Hindu Medical Shastras upon this interesting and difficult subject of enquiry. Their opinions, so far as we are able to judge from the scanty evidence before us, although tinged with some of the peculiarities inseparable from Eastern philosophy and speculation, are upon the whole more sound and elevated than those of most of even the highest order of Grecian metaphysicians, and far superior to the doctrines of any other contemporaneous nations with which we are acquainted. To enable our readers to form a comparative estimate, we have subjoined in a note a very brief abstract of the views of some of the most eminent physicians and philosophers of ancient Greece concerning the soul and life.*

* The assertion that the soul consists of two parts, the one intellectual *φρένες*, and the other non-intellectual, *θυμος* and that the former is seated in the brain, and the latter in the heart, is attributed to PYTHAGORAS. According to the same authority, the senses are, so to speak, drops of the intellectual soul, which is seated in the brain, and immortal.

EMPEDOCLE, at a later period, thought that every thing in nature is animated, or full of divinities ; in consequence of which, human souls are not only identical with Gods, but likewise with the souls of animals, because they are all emanations from the great soul of the world.

The chapter on Temperaments is a curious specimen of the intimate and inseparable conjunction of sense and nonsense,

ANAXAGORAS not only maintained that the soul was of an igneous or ethereal nature, but according to Aristotle, was the first who regarded it as immortal. He likewise professed the opinion of all nature being animated, and of the human soul, as well as the soul of animals of plants being nothing more than emanations from the general soul of the world : he also considered that the hands were the most characteristic distinction between man and animals, and contained the principle of the superior intelligence of the former.

DEMOCRITIUS regarded the soul as the motive power, and supposed it to be of a spherical form, of an igneous and ethereal nature, and indivisible ; thought, motion and sensation, he, therefore, conjectured to be the result of the activity of one and the same substance. His principle was essentially a distinct form of materialism, which he was the first to promulgate.

HERACLITUS, whose system exercised a marked influence over subsequent medical theories in Greece, regarded all bodies as owing their origin to the condensation and rarefaction of fire ; by the condensation of fire, according to him, air was produced, by the condensation of air, water, and by the condensation of water, earth. According to these notions, the most subtle principles always entered first into the formation of bodies ; the soul, therefore, as the first cause of all motion, was attributed to the evaporation of fire. The human soul, being still regarded as an emanation from the soul of the world, was intellectual in proportion to its participation in its igneous nature.

Without attempting to enter into an analysis of the platonic system of Psychology it may be mentioned that PLATO taught the doctrine of the creation of sublunary beings after the model of Divine Natures, and also the creation of a class of spirits or sub-divinities, to whom was assigned the task of creating all natural objects. These spirits revolving round the world like the sun, the moon, and the stars, were occupied, among other duties, in creating animals, with the bodies or souls of which they incorporated themselves, and which in consequence, partook more or less of their own nature ; it was thus that every human soul had a divine, intelligent constituent part, and a corporeal constituent part, destitute of intelligence. From its participation in the celestial nature, the soul prior to its creation was placed in the upper regions of light and truth, in the happy abode of spirits, where it participated in the divine nature of the creator ; it was afterwards joined to the body of an animal, which served as a prison until its deliverance by death occurred.

The divine spirit first constituted our bodies in accordance with the wise intentions of the supreme intelligence, with extremely minute and slender figures, resembling the triangular form of flame, to which, after the addition of the special matter mixing the body and soul together, God adds the soul, placing it chiefly in the brain, of which the form is spherical, &c. Life consists of fire and spirit, the former of which is maintained by the heat of the blood. The soul from its divine nature is the most noble part of man, and the head, from being the seat of the intelligent soul, is the most noble part of the body. The soul destitute of intelligence, which is the cause of anger, love, hope, &c., was placed in the chest, and in order that the intelligent soul might not be disturbed or incommoded by the passions, the neck, which is long and bony, was interposed between them.

By the expression *soul ψυχή*, the followers of HIPPOCRATES, like HERACLITUS, concur in the idea of a subtle matter, ethereal or igneous, produced by the admixture of the elements, but chiefly by the union of fire and water. The humid part of the fire and the dry part of the water by their union constitute the intelligence of the soul. It is upon the igneous element that the soul, the mind, extension, growth, motion, decrease, change, sleeping, and waking depend. This is the reason of the intelligent principle being located in the left ventricle of the heart, whence it rules over the rest of the soul.

The STOICS also lodged the soul in the heart, and assigned the most absurd and contradictory reasons for its being so placed : they imagined it to be nothing more than a vapour or exhalation from all bodies, that the igneous nature of the soul was refreshed and restored by respiration, and by contact with atmospheric air ; and that the human soul was a vapour exhaled from the blood.

reason and absurdity, which pervade the opinions of the Hindus upon most speculative subjects. The predominance of one or more of the humours with the mental and moral qualities of the individual, stamped the type of the temperament, and in the more delicate shades of character and constitution frequently observed, the dispositions of Gods, sages, demons, birds, beasts, fishes and even trees,* were called in to assist in the coloring and completion of the picture. There were seven temperaments acknowledged, "one produced by an excess of air, another of bile, and a third of phlegm; a fourth, fifth and sixth from an excess of two of these humours; and a seventh temperament is produced by an excess of three humours, air bile, and phlegm."

"1. When air is in excess, the person is not inclined to sleep or to become warm. His disposition is bad and he becomes a thief; is, proud and has no honour; is always singing and dancing; his hands and feet split, his hair and nails are dry, and he is always angry and boisterous. He speaks untruth, he is always grinding his teeth and biting his nails, he is always impatient, is not a firm friend is changeable and forgets good actions. His body is slender and dry, he always walks fast is always in motion, and his eyes are always rolling. He dreams that he is flying about the air. friends are few, and his riches of little value. Such persons as have an excess of air have the disposition of the goat, jackall, hare, camel, dog vulture, crow, and ass."

We suspect that few of our readers were previously aware, of the important and multifarious character assumed by an "excess of air" in their constitutions, should it exist, or that it could produce so zoological a disposition as to range between the frisking propensities of "odorate capricorn" and the patient endurance of that horrid emblem of wisdom, the ass.

2nd. A person with an excess of bile perspires much, and he has a bad smell. His skin is of a yellowish color, his flesh is soft his nails, eyes,

ARISTOTLE believed the soul to be simple, to be the form of matter, and the principle of primary movement in natural bodies, to be susceptible of vivification and animation, and to contain the principle of the vital functions. Although he maintained the immaterial nature of the soul he was unable entirely to divest himself of the notion, that like all bodies, it could only act through the agency of an intervening medium; this medium he mentions under the various denominations used indiscriminately, of *fire, spirit, air or ether*. He regarded the brain as primarily cold in its nature, in consequence of which the heart, at that time supposed to be the source of the blood, was considered the seat of the soul.

PRAXAGORAS who was the first to establish the difference between the arteries and veins, and who imagined the former, from their constant emptiness after death, to be air vessels, assumed that the air contained in them was thick and vaporous, because he also partook of the general opinion of the time, that the vital power or soul was an evaporation or exhalation from the blood.

The celebrated peripatetic STRATO of Lampsacus who lived at Alexandria and was attached to the court of the Ptolemies, regarded the soul as the resultant of the operation of the senses, or the union of all sensation, the seat of which he supposed to be between the eyebrows. — KURT SPRENGEL: Op. Cit. *passim*.

* "Men, having the disposition of *traps*, always wish to remain in one place, are always eating, will not work" — not a very incorrect portraiture of many Bengalis, whose lazy and anti-locomotive propensities are essentially of the arboraceous type.

palate, tongue, lips, and the palm of his hands and soles of his feet are of a copper colour; his fortune is bad, and his hair soon becomes gray, the upper part of his head bald, and his skin wrinkled as if by age. He eats much, and dislikes warm articles of food, is soon angry and is as soon pacified, is of moderate strength and does not live long. His memory is good, he is a good man of business, and speaks accurately and to the purpose. His appearance is fine, and in company he excels in speaking. He dreams of gold and yellow flowers, fire, lightning, and falling meteors, dislikes saluting a person, and is angry at others not doing so, is never content, &c. His disposition resembles serpents, owls, cats, monkeys, tigers, and bears."

The bilious temperament is, therefore, responsible for more than most modern physiologists have attributed to it, and includes in its circle many and anomalous characters from the alchemist to the orator:—

"3rd. Phlegm in excess produces a light greenish or blue colour of the body. The person's fortune is propitious, he is pleasant to look on and handsome, likes sweet things, is grateful, constant, just, and forgiving, and is not covetous, is strong and understands with difficulty, and is an implacable enemy. His eyes are white, his hair is fine, black, and waving. He is wealthy and his voice is strong and loud. He dreams of lilies, geese, and large fine tanks. The angles of his eyes are red, his color pleasing and his members are well formed. His regard is mild, his disposition is very good, and he is charitable. He is active, honours respectable persons, and is kind to them; and knows the sciences. He retains his friend, and health remains constant; he is careful but gives much. He is of the nature of Brahma, Indra, Shiva, and Vajuna; of lions, horses, elephants, cows, and bulls, and of the bird upon which Vishnu rides."

which the learned commentator states to be "something between a man and a goose," by no means an inapt image of such a novel species of Caliban, as a phlegmatic Hindu, painted by one of his own sages. Our remark need not, however, be taken in the disparaging sense attached by Europeans to the goose, since, according to Wilkins, this much injured bird is adopted as the emblem of elegance and eloquence by the Hindu poets—and who is not acquainted with the historical celebrity of the Roman geese?

The Hindus divide the life of man into three ages, *viz.*: 1st *childhood*, subdivided into three periods, (a) the period of suckling to the 1st year; (b) when milk and rice are the food, extending to the second year, and (c) when the food is rice, extending from the 3rd to the 15th year, when phlegm is in excess: 2nd. *manhood*, extending from the 16th to the 70th year, and embracing four stages, (a) *Vridhhi* or growth from 16 to 20; (b) *Jauvana* from 20 to 30; (c) *Sampūrnatā* from 30 to 40, when all is in perfection and complete development, and (d) *Hāni* from 40 to 70, when all the powers of life are gradually diminishing, and bile is in excess: 3rd *Decrepitude*, from 70 until death closes the scene, the "age that melts in unperceived decay," and in

which the body "resembles an old house in the rainy season with many props," when air is in excess and nervous diseases prevail :—when,

"Time hovers o'er, impatient to destroy,
And closes all the avenues of joy.
In vain their gifts the bounteous seasons pour,
'The fruit autumnal and the vernal shower ;
With listless eyes the dotard views the store,
He views and wonders that they please no more.
Now pall the tasteless meats and joyless wines,
And luxury with sighs her slave resigns."

until man reaches the last stage of his strange eventful history :—and then,

"In life's last scene what prodigies surprise ?
Tears of the brave and follies of the wise "

The male is supposed to attain maturity at 25, and the female at 16—a just and important observation which the modern Hindus have neglected and lost sight of, to the deterioration of their race by early marriages and still earlier vices. The age of the individual had its influence upon the general nature of the treatment to which he was subjected, being so far in accordance with the views entertained by the Greek physicians, and followed, to a still greater extent, in the modern practice of physic.

The eight subdivisions of life observed by the Hindu sages, forcibly remind us of the "seven ages" of Shakspeare, which although so well known and often quoted as to have become familiar as a thrice told tale, we are tempted to repeat :—

"At first, the infant,
Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms,
And then, the whining school-boy, with his satchell,
And shining morning face, creeping like snail
Unwillingly to school: And then the lover,
Sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad
Made to his mistress' eye brow: Then a soldier;
Full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard,
Jealous in honor, sudden and quick in quarrel,
Seeking the bubble reputation
Even in the cannon's mouth: And then, the justice:
In fair round belly, with good capon lin'd,
With eyes severe and beard of formal cut,
Full of wise saws and modern instances
And so he plays his part: The sixth age shifts
Into the lean and slipshod pantaloon;
With spectacles on nose and pouch on side;
His youthful hose well sav'd, a world too wide
For his shrunk shank: and his big manly voice,
Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound: Last scene of all
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness, and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans every thing."

Human nature is the same every where, and were proof wanting of the accuracy of observation and faithfulness of

record of the Hindus, in matters wherein they are neither trammelled by superstition nor fettered by prejudice, it may be found in their correct division of the stages of life; the modern physiology of the same matter differing but little in essentials from those above detailed, by observers so far removed from and dissimilar to each other in every sense.

The chapter on Death contains many sound and just remarks, and is characterized generally by a degree of poetic truth and accuracy, worthy of a higher and a purer faith than that of the followers of Manu. Death is defined to be "the separation of the soul from the body," and is supposed to occur in one hundred and one ways, of which one only is natural, the remainder being accidental. What can be more correct and philosophical than the following reflections concerning it :—

"Death is always near, and when it occurs, nothing but the sins and virtuous actions accompany the soul."

A mansion infested by age and sorrow, the seat of maladies, harassed with pains, haunted with the qualities of darkness, and incapable of standing long : such a mansion of the vital soul let its occupier always cheerfully quit.*

• When a person leaves his corpse, like a log or a lump of clay, on the ground, his kindred retire with averted faces ; but his virtue accompanies his soul ; continually, therefore, let him collect virtue, for the sake of securing an inseparable companion with which he may traverse a gloom, how hard to be traversed ! For, in his passage to the next world, neither his father, nor his mother, nor his wife, nor his son, nor his kinsmen, will remain in his company : his virtue alone will adhere to him. Single is each man born ; single he dies ; single he receives the reward of his good, and single the punishment of his evil deeds.†

All are said to die alike, and the holy to be the least afraid of dissolution as being the best prepared for the change : the body after death is likened to a house without a tenant, and is burnt, that its elements may be purified to join the mass of the same elements of which the earth is composed :—

"What then dies? not the body, for it only changes its form ; and certainly not the soul ; why then regret the death of relations and friends if they have passed through life with propriety ! Such grief is indeed natural, for it is universal, but it is the offspring of our ignorance and of our selfishness.

As the body is continually changing in its progress through life, so death is merely one of these changes. The body is frail, but the soul is incorruptible. The body is alone destroyed, not the soul ; as it only changes its position, like a person who casts off his worn out garments. Cutting instruments may wound him, and air may dry him up, but the soul remains always the same. Those who are born must die, and whoever dies must be born again ; and as the elements were invisible and separated

* Manu, Cap. vi. p. 77.

† Manu, Cap. iv. pp. 239, 240, 241, 243.

before the formation of the body, in like manner they are again separated and dispersed upon its dissolution.*

* It is pleasing to compare and contrast some of these sentiments, with similar thoughts expressed in analogous terms by many of the poets and philosophers of ancient Greece and Rome. A very few familiar examples will exhibit the direct parallelism between writers and observers, who could have had no intercommunication or knowledge of each other's works :—

HINDU

"The wise and foolish, the great in rank, the low in condition, all die in the same way.

"Death is always near."

"Those who are born must die."

"As the body is continually changing in its progress through life, so death is but one of these changes."

"There are a hundred and one ways in which a man may die."

"Death is the separation of the soul from the body."

Innumerable other passages, to the same effect, might readily be collected had we the library or the leisure requisite for the task.

The sublime references to Death contained in the sacred writings we have purposely refrained from referring to, for reasons which will suggest themselves to most of our readers. In majesty, beauty, and truth they are unapproachable.

Whether the doctrines of *Metempsychosis* or the transmigration of the soul, taught and illustrated by Plato and Pythagoras, was borrowed from the Egyptian Priesthood, and originated with the latter, can scarcely now be determined, yet it is curious that it is contained in the oldest of the Hindu medical records.

At the moment of death the material elements of the body separate, and the vital soul, which has an invisible body, resembles the forms of the body it had inhabited, and retains the organs of sense and of action. On separating from one it joins itself to another, and according to the actions the person had performed in his former state of existence, so will be its future condition.†

"Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas.

Regumque turres."

"Prima quæ vitam dedit horæ carpsit :
Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet."

"Nam nox nulla diem, neque noctem aurora secuta est,

Quæ non audierit mistos vagitibus ægris
Floratus, mortis comites et funeris atrii."

—"Crudelis ubique
Luctus, ubique pavor et plurimæ mortis imago."

"Mors et fugacem persequitur virum ;
Nec parcat imbellis juventæ.

Poplitibus timidoque tergo.

Ille licet ferro cautus se condat et æro,
Mors tamen inclusum protrahit inde caput "

"Omnia sub leges mors vocat atra suas."

"Sed rigidum just est, et inevitabile mortis."

"Jam mihi deterior canis aspergitur ætas,

Jamque meos vultus ruga senilis arat ;
Jam vigor et quasso languent in corpore vires,

Nec juveni lusus qui placere juvant,
Nec me si subito vide as agnoscere possis
Ætatis facta est tanta ruinæ meæ.

Confiteor facere hos annos,"—.....

Mille modis morimur mortales, nascimur uno ;

Una vita est, moriendi mille figuræ."

—"Tum vita per auras,
Concessit mæta, ad manes corpusque reliquit.

Innumerable other passages, to the same effect, might readily be collected had we the library or the leisure requisite for the task.

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Some of these expressions may almost be compared in beauty, simplicity, and truthfulness, to the affecting images by which the Jews were wont to characterize death, as a journey or departure ; a sleep and rest when the toils of life are over ; or a gathering of the deceased to his fathers, or to his people !

The third book is occupied with the therapeutical department, which is discussed under the appropriate heads of Hygeology, Materia Medica, Pharmacy, and Surgery, the practice of Physic having a book to itself, probably from its great extent and the difficulty of bringing it under the head of Therapeutics alone

Diseases are declared to owe their origin, 1stly, to sins committed in a former state of existence, to which—as among the Egyptians—the Hindu physicians knowingly assigned their incurable cases, as it placed them beyond the opprobrium of medicine, and absolved practitioners from the reflections that might have been attached to the imperfections of their art or to their own want of skill : 2ndly, to derangements of the humours, the only diseases that yielded to remedial measures ; and 3rdly, to a combination of the two, which also came under the incurable category, and gave an additional means of escape to the unwary practitioner who might have, in his diagnosis, pronounced a *humoral* judgment upon an affection which would not get well in spite of his efforts, and in which, when medicine had done its best (or worst) he called in the aid of prayer, penance, and sacrifice to place it beyond the reach of his drugs and simples. The ingenuity and craft of such a system appear in some measure to have been adopted by certain manipulators of our own times, with the modern refinement of attributing failure, to a want of '*rappor*t' between the magnetizer and his subject, or to the adverse influence of perverse currents of air, slight febrile disturbances, unusual noises, and similarly profound agents in the disturbance of the rebellious or intractable system.

The Hygeology, or Hygeine as it is more commonly called, of the Hindus was of a very detailed description, and descended to minutiae and trifles unthought of in the systems of other nations, but not always of minor and secondary importance in a tropical country, where the causes of disease are so numerous and active in their operation, as to demand the aid of religion to assist in saving mankind from the ravages that would be caused by neglect or inattention to them. Without a regular system of medical police, the Hindus paid

great and deserved attention to the prevention of diseases, were acute observers of the changes of season and climate, and well aware of the influence of soil and vegetation in the maintenance or deterioration of health. Their meteorology was necessarily of the most rude and imperfect nature, yet much in advance of anything that has reached us from contemporaneous nations.

The following remarks from the pen of the commentator will be read with interest concerning the seasons and people of Bengal :

"There are three prevailing seasons in Bengal, the hot, cold, and rainy seasons. From the end of February, and during March and a part of April, may be considered as spring months, and are the most agreeable of any of the year. Towards the end of March, and during the months of April, May, and a part of June the weather is very hot ; and in the northern and more inland provinces a violent hot wind blows from the west, loaded with almost imperceptible particles of sand. In this season the weather is so oppressive as to confine the inhabitants to their houses during the great heat of the day. Vegetation is destroyed, and these provinces are reduced to a burning tract of sand, while the air of the neighbouring mountains remains cool and pleasant, during these hot months.

In the Upper Provinces the rains begin in April and May ; but in the plains they do not commence till the beginning of June, and continue to fall till the end of July. The rain disperses the accumulated heat, which would otherwise be insupportable. During the months of August and Sept. the rain falls less frequently and copiously, and the long day and high altitude of the sun, with an atmosphere loaded with moisture, render the weather excessively oppressive and sultry ; particularly when the air is calm, which is of frequent occurrence, as the Monsoon changes at this time. The cold season commences in the month of October, when dews are heavy ; the cold increases, and during the months of November, December and January, it is often intense in Bengal and Behar. In these provinces the cold has generally a damp disagreeable feel, whereas, in the northern and western provinces, snow and ice are common on the mountains, and the air is dry and bracing.

From such an extensive country, and variety of soil and climate, the vegetable and animal productions are of the most varied description in the different latitudes, heights, and exposures ; and man himself affords great varieties in his physical and mental powers in the different situations and climates in which he resides. In the Northern Provinces of Hindustan, the men are all strong and active, and are distinguished by their courage and mental qualities ; as we advance to the more sultry and moist climate of Bengal, the inhabitants become of lower stature, possess greater agility, and are capable of enduring great fatigue, have little courage or mental aptitude, but great cunning and retentiveness. They are generally of a fair olive colour, handsome in their youth, and in after life in proportion to their rank, and healthy and guarded occupation ; but become of a dark olive colour and plain exterior, in proportion as they inhabit low and damp houses. live on unhealthy food, and are much exposed to labour, and to the inclemency of the weather. In general the head and face of the Hindu are small and oval, the nose and lips prominent and well formed, the eyes black, and the

eyebrows regular and full.* The females are distinguished for the gracefulness of their forms, the softness of their skins, their long and black hair, dark eyes, and delicate persons. These peculiarities are marked in youth, but rapidly fade. The fairness of the skin also differs—depending on that of the parents, and on the occupation and exposure of the individual to the sun, &c. †

The personal duties, including all operations connected with the toilet and dress, as well as the subject of dietetics generally, appear to have been carefully inculcated and enjoined, in many respects in a clear and sensible manner, admirably adapted to the moral and social circumstances of the people. Habits of cleanliness and the frequent use of baths, and anointing were among the religious duties of all respectable individuals, and correctly deemed essential for the preservation of health.

In the olden times neither wine nor animal food of proper quality and in moderate quantity were interdicted, which are regarded, and we think justly, as “one reason of the superiority of the ancient Brahmans over their more degenerate descendants, who are small in stature, and incapable of those mental and corporeal exertions which raise a people in the rank of nations.” As among the Jews and Egyptians the flesh of certain animals of unclean habits, or which were known to have an injurious effect upon the frame were interdicted, but during the three first ages, even the flesh of the cow and of the buffaloe were ranked among the wholesome and invigorating articles of diet, and were freely partaken of, with many varieties of the finny and feathery tribes, and a goodly allowance of condiments, fruits, and vegetables. All nature has been bountiful to the inhabitants of Hindustan: man himself in these favored regions has been his own chief and greatest enemy. The whole of this part of the commentary is replete with interest to every reader, and to the European medical practitioner will suggest many valuable hints for the prevention and cure of disease, and attention to the habits suited to the climate and seasons, which our countrymen are, to their cost, too much in the habit of treating with neglect and derision. How many of the fevers, liver complaints, and other scourges of a tropical region may be traced to the persistence in habits

* “The intelligence of the Bengalis is much more marked in the higher classes than among the lower. In the former, the brisk and intelligent boy, that receives instruction readily, is fickle and restless; and from the short period he attends school, from the enervating nature of the climate, and the vitiating influence of Hindu society, is too often transformed into the stupid and sensual man.”

† Wise, Op. Cit., pp. 91-92.

and indulgences scarcely practised with impunity even in a cold climate, and which are heavily laden with disease and destruction on this side of the equator. Were it not foreign to our present purpose, we could write a longer lecture on this topic than most of our readers would be willing to read or profit by: should opportunity offer, and the very limited leisure at our disposal admit of it, we may take a future occasion of directing attention to the modification of European habits most required in India, and best adapted to enable the exile to return to his hearth and home, with health and strength to enjoy their peculiar blessings and benefits.

The MATERIA MEDICA of the Hindus is an extended and complex branch of their medicine, embracing the collection, preparation, uses, doses, combinations, and effects of an immense variety of agents chiefly derived from the vegetable kingdom including also a small number of inorganic and animal substances. Their pharmacy appears to have comprised most of the forms in which medicines are compounded according to modern pharmacopeias, but their processes were uncertain, variable, and in many important particulars, incorrect. The proper time for gathering vegetable medicines was strictly attended to, and most pharmaceutical processes were preluded with particular forms of prayers, to drive away devils or secure divine aid to increase the efficacy of their remedies. Polypharmacy was their great and besetting sin, and although simples were known and studied by them, they do not appear to have placed so much faith in them, as in their heterogeneous, and in the majority of instances, inert and nauseating mixtures and potions. They used preparations of mercury, gold, silver, zinc, antimony, iron and arsenic, with a degree of boldness that would have delighted the soul of Philippus Theophrastus Bombastus Paracelsus, and have fairly distanced the "currus triumphalis antimonii" of Basil Valentine. As their measure of time commenced with fifteen winks of the eye, so their apothecaries' weight began with "four of the particles of dust which are seen floating in the sun's rays as it enters a dark room"!

They were Allopathists, and therefore anti-homœopathic in their practice, since they declare that "medicines given in too small doses will be like throwing a little water upon a large fire that rather increases than diminishes it"! The doses of medicines were carefully and properly regulated by the age, sex, and temperament of the patient, as well as the stage of the disease; and their administration of remedies was guided by precise and minute rules often bordering on the childish and

ridiculous: for example, one kind was to be taken *with* each morsel of food, another sort *after* each morsel of food, and in all cases the patient was prohibited from making faces when he takes a medicine, as this is like Brahma and Shiva, and it is sinful so to act."

The Charaka directs the exhibition of simple medicines in the form of decoction and arranges them under forty-five distinct heads, beginning with *Jivanlyā*, or that form which gives longevity, and concluding with *Badandsthāpana*, those which remove pains produced by external causes, as injuries, &c.

Susruta divides them into two classes, the evacuant, of bad humours from the body, and those which diminish the exalted action of the humours and restore them to the healthy state.

Other authors arrange them according to their supposed virtues in curing air, bile, or phlegm, or according to their action on certain organs. Dr. Wise has given a list of the chief simples so arranged, with their Sanskrit and Latin names. The actions of medicines are classed under the heads of *diaphoretics*, *emetics*, *purgatives*, *salines*, *stimulants*, *emmenagogues*, *diuretics*, *parturifacients*, *sialogogues* and *alteratives* which are pervaded with all the errors of their humoral pathology, but contain indigenous remedies that may be found worthy of examination by European practitioners, a subject which has not yet been well or properly investigated. The department of special pharmacology has not been entered upon, probably from its complication and extent, nor would it have admitted of analysis in the limits at our disposal.

The Hindus had a notion that every disease has its appropriate remedy if we could only discover it, hence probably the immense number of inert and dangerous substances introduced into their *Materia Medica*.

SURGERY, although more simple, obvious, and early in its adoption by most nations than medicine, does not appear to have been cultivated to the same extent by the Hindus, if we are to judge from the limited space devoted to its consideration in the Commentary, and the comparatively small number of capital operations performed, when we reflect upon the zeal and industry with which the all-essential pursuit of anatomy and dissection was prosecuted. Bold and delicate operations were, however, performed, such as cutting for stone, extraction of the dead fœtus, &c., "which distinguished their ancient surgeons, and form such a remarkable contrast to the present

ignorant and timorous surgeons of Bengal." As in modern surgery, inflammation and its varieties, with their effects and consequences comprised a great portion of the surgical practice of the Hindus, and although their erroneous humoral pathology rendered their doctrines and theories valueless, their remedial measures were sometimes of a simple, sensible, and successful nature.

The form of their surgical instruments has not been handed down in delineations, but has been supplied in a series of ingenious diagrams by Dr Wise. Amputations and operations upon vessels are not mentioned among the eight kinds of manual means adopted. Bandages were commonly, and apparently, appropriately applied; venesection was resorted to as a depleting agent in fitting situations and to a judicious extent: scarification, cupping with a smooth cut horn, and leeching were known and practised; while styptics and cauterics, both potential and actual, were enjoined in many cases for arresting hæmorrhages, removing internal diseases, suppressing discharges and similar purposes. Cold and ice were used to stop bleeding. The nature and treatment of burns and scalds are briefly indicated, and the directions for performing surgical operations minutely detailed. Sacrifices were to be offered up, propitious times selected, the entrance of devils into the wound prevented by burning sweet-scented substances in the room, appropriate forms of prayer repeated, the patient and the operator to be placed in particular positions, the knife to be held in a peculiar manner, and the subsequent treatment of the patient to be carefully attended to. Wounds, their varieties and treatment, together with the restoration of damaged ears and noses, and the management of fractures and dislocations complete the surgical section of the Commentary. Although it contains nothing very profound or striking, it is, on the whole, creditable to the dexterity, skill, and anatomical knowledge and boldness of the early Hindu surgeons, affords evidence of careful observation, is less beset with the superstitious influences of their faith than other departments of their medicine, and is undoubtedly much in advance of the state of information upon the subject which prevailed in other countries for several centuries subsequent to the production of the older Shastras. The gross ignorance and contemptible cowardice of the present indigenous race of Hindu surgeons stand out in strange relief to the intellectual superiority of their more gifted and manly-minded predecessors—whose mantle appears, however, to have descended upon the shoulders of some of the sub-assistant surgeons educated in

the Medical College of Bengal, as we shall take a future, and if possible, an early opportunity of pointing out.

The PRACTICE of PHYSIC occupies by far the largest book of the Commentary, and is treated with a degree of minuteness and care proportioned to its extent and interest.

The ÆTIOLOGY and NOSOLOGY of the Hindus, from being inseparably connected with their religious belief and dependent upon their erroneous doctrines regarding the elements, were crude, imperfect, and not founded upon any firm or philosophical basis. Prominent symptoms, acute and chronic, primitive and consecutive, external and internal, local and general, hereditary and acquired, contagious and non-contagious, derangement of one or more elements, and similar principles were the chief characteristics and foundations of their arrangements: the peculiarities of the symptoms and their combinations, influenced and modified by the structure and functions of organs, entered not into their calculations. Thirst, appetite, sleep, and death were regarded as *natural diseases* which give pain to the soul; and the "abuse of Deities or Brahmans, the contempt of spiritual instructions, with other similarly heinous offences, were boldly declared to be the existing cause of loathsome and incurable disorders." The latter, very properly, were deemed to require for their alleviation serious and prolonged penance, mysterious performances, and liberality to those banes of Hindu society and improvement—yclept the "Sacred Brahmans."

A kind of numerical method is found in some of the older writings, and three appears to be the critical number: thus *Charaka* states that there are three general causes of diseases; three sorts of medicine—one that cleanses internally, another that purifies externally, and a third, to embrace surgical means; three objects of enquiry in this world—the first and chief being the means of preserving health, the second, the means of acquiring wealth, and the last the procuration of happiness in the next world—an expanded interpretation of the familiar phrase, "to be healthy, wealthy, and wise":—with three means of preserving life, "proper food, sleep, and the proper government of the senses and passions." Sin is the "fons et origo" of a form of disease which "is to be suspected, when a disease is not cured by the means pointed out by the Shastras"—which is to be removed by good actions, prayers, penances, &c., and for which MANU prescribes a course of Flying-Dutchman or Wandering-Jew treatment. "If a disease is incurable, let the patient advance in a straight path, towards the invisible

North-eastern point, feeding on air and water, till his mortal frame totally decay, and his soul becomes linked with the Supreme Being."—(MANU, Cap. 6, § 31.)

Diagnosis among the Hindus was founded upon the common sense method of personal examination, and the nature of the disease ascertained by the appearance of the organs of sense, by the feeling, temperature, &c., of the body, and by ascertaining the age, sex, temperament, country, and history of the individual and his disorder. The senses were all employed in the task, and *hearing* was the method resorted to of "distinguishing the state of the lungs, by the peculiar noise of the breathing"—an early adoption of auscultation as a means of diagnosis. The pulse is stated to have been little regarded by Charaka and Susruta, but to have risen subsequently into great repute in the recognition and treatment of disease. This modern knowledge exhibits every evidence of being borrowed, probably from the Chinese, and most likely was introduced more for the purpose of *intra-purdah* examinations, than from any well founded conviction of its real value.

The Hindus were partial to prognostics, and recorded correctly many minute and apparently unimportant particulars connected with various diseases. This they mixed up with more than the usual amount of superstition, placing unlimited faith in all sorts of extraordinary omens, down even to the walking of a goose and the scratching of the patient's back!

There was a good deal of what is now popularly known under the slang designation of "artful dodging," in these omens—the practitioners taking care to protect themselves from being disturbed at noonday or at midnight, when at their toilet or their meals, when asleep or when otherwise unwilling to be interrupted, by declaring them all to be "unfavorable omens" as to the event of the disease they were called upon to treat.

The diseases of the humors, and fevers with their origin, varieties, progress, termination, and treatment are next referred to, and exhibit the usual amount of sense and nonsense, accuracy of description of symptoms and incorrectness of causes to which they are assigned, with many serious errors of practice in their management. Small-pox and measles appear to have been known to the Hindus long before they travelled into Europe, and were described by the Arabian physicians of the sixth century. There is no doubt that the former malady was also known to the Chinese; its history being among the most curious of the records of scourges that have afflicted mankind, and for which the Western was certainly indebted to the

Eastern hemisphere, as it has been more recently for another pestilence of equally fatal and formidable character—the Asiatic Cholera.

Rheumatism, swellings, obesity, emaciation, burning sensations of the body and feet, nervous diseases, in which are included all affections of the tendinous structures, the various forms of leprosy, urticaria, epilepsy, boils, pustules, and hæmorrhages were all known to and described by the Hindu physicians.

The diseases of the mind were reckoned to be swooning, epilepsy, six varieties of insanity, and devil-madness—the last a curious compound of fancy and absurdity.

Eleven varieties of headache, twenty diseases of the ear, thirty-one of the nose, seventy-six of the eye, sixty-five of the mouth and its appendages, and a large number of disorders of the throat, are briefly referred to in Dr. Wise's work as contained in the Hindu Medical Shastras.

Among diseases of the chest, consumption, usually supposed to be infrequent in warm climates, is stated to be both frequent and fatal, and to have had a fabulous origin, to wit, that the "moon married seven sisters, but attaching himself to one, the others complained to their father, who punished the moon, by declaring that he should be afflicted with consumption."!!

Many other morbid conditions of particular systems and regions of the body will be found to have been common in various parts of Hindustan, and testify the minuteness and extent of the professional knowledge of its physicians employed in their investigation and treatment: they do not, however, admit of analysis, and for the most part possess little or no interest for the general reader.

The low standard of moral principle pervading Hindu society, the facility of commission and difficulty of detection of crimes unattended with marks of personal violence, together with the unrelenting atrocity and cold-blooded calculation that accompanied the feelings of interest, enmity and revenge, rendered POISONING an early and frequent means of murder—hence the department of Toxicology, including poisons and their antidotes, attracted a large amount of attention.

Like most other branches, poisoning commenced in mystery and fable, but chiefly obtained notice, because the "enemies of the Rajah, bad women, and ungrateful servants, sometimes mix poisons with food. On this account the cook should be of a good family, virtuous, faithful, and not covetous, not subject to anger, pride or laziness. He should also be cleanly and skilful in his business." The doctor's duty began where

the cook's ended ; he was to be well acquainted with the qualities of poisons, to examine the food intended for the Rajah, and if it exhibited any signs of suspicion, to give it to certain animals, the effects upon which were regarded as the tests of its innocence or injurious nature. The operation and effects of poisons must have been very imperfectly understood, and the nature of the treatment indicated was calculated to secure a fatal result in most cases of active vegetable or mineral poisons.

The animal poisons include snake bites, certain animals that have poison in their teeth and nails, such as dogs, cats, snub-nosed aligators, a kind of fish called *paka muchā*, a shell-fish (*sambuka*), and lizards : others that have noxious excretions ; a kind of flea, a species of leech, and certain fishes that have poisonous bites. The treatment of snake bites was judicious, sensible, and in most respects the same as would be adopted by a prompt European practitioner. Hydrophobia and the poison of various insects were noticed, as well as a long catalogue of deleterious agents from the vegetable kingdom.

The commentary closes with a brief abstract of the Obstetric Medicine and Infantile Therapeutics of the Hindus, neither of which were in a particularly advanced state : they do not admit of analysis in the pages of a non-professional review.

We have now redeemed our promise of presenting a cursory outline of the many matters of interest connected with the medicine of the Hindus, which are contained in the work placed at the head of the list prefixed to this article : but before concluding we have few words to say respecting the literary merits of Dr. Wise's performance.

Although fully convinced of the laborious industry and patient investigation of the learned author, we are by no means satisfied that the method of translation adopted was the best calculated to secure accuracy. We have been informed, upon authority of which we cannot doubt the correctness, that the native gentlemen named in the preface turned the Sanskrit into a vernacular medium, from which it was subsequently "done into English" by Dr. Wise, who is not, we are told, a Sanskrit scholar, and therefore, himself incapable of detecting any errors of interpretation, should such have occurred, a result by no means improbable. The identification of medicines and diseases is also liable to some degree of doubt for a similar reason, as well as because we know that the majority of scientific terms in Sanskrit have no synonymes in Bengali or Hindi. It was originally our intention to have procured authentic copies of

the Sanskrit medical authorities referred to, and to have had portions translated by competent Sanskrit scholars, who kindly offered us their services upon the occasion, for the purpose of testing the general accuracy of the Commentary. Various circumstances have combined to prevent the realization of our design, and we must leave the task to others, who with a larger amount of leisure, combined a greater degree of fitness to execute it, with the care, attention, and accuracy requisite.

Another defect of the Commentary which has struck us forcibly as somewhat diminishing its value, has been the difficulty of ascertaining in all places whether the remarks referred to the older or more recent medical writers; for we hold the modern medicine of the Hindus to be of a very low order, and are of opinion that any features of excellence it may possess, were derived from their Mahomedan conquerors, whose works embodied almost all that was valuable in the medicine of the Greeks, in addition to their own discoveries in chemistry and other departments. An occasional foot note would readily have remedied this imperfection.

The Commentary also abounds in typographical errors, for which the author must have been indebted to the kind but careless or incompetent friend, who brought the pages through the press during his absence from Calcutta.

In spite of all these imperfections, which we trust will disappear in a second and enlarged edition, we hold the Commentary to be a valuable addition to the history of medicine to contain much that ought to be known to all who study and practice the treatment of tropical diseases, and to be creditable, in every sense, to the learning and ability of its accomplished author.

LORD WELLESLEY'S ADMINISTRATION.

W. KNIGHTON, ESQ.

1. *Memoirs and Correspondence of the most noble Richard, Marquess Wellesley, &c., &c.*, by R. R. Pearce, Esq., London, Richard Bentley, 1846.
2. *Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the time of George the third*, by Henry, Lord Brougham, &c., &c., Third series, London, Charles Knight and Co., 1843
3. *The Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley*, 5 vols. London, W. Allen and Co., 1837.
4. *Mull's History of British India*, vol. VI.
5. *Thornton's History of British India*, vol. III.

THERE are few more glorious situations in which a man of ability can be placed than those in which his energy, zeal and talent may benefit a nation in its time of trouble. Nor would we envy the cynical indifference of those who could sneeringly smile at the pleased satisfaction with which such a man would listen to the praise won by his honest patriotism. It is a noble thing to serve one's country under any circumstances, peculiarly so when that country is in danger, and it must be a gratifying thing to find that service rewarded by honor and fame. This, however, is but the portion of a few—the favored ones of humanity, on whom nature and fortune have equally smiled, whom both have loaded with their choicest gifts. There is still another source of gratification somewhat smaller in degree, but equally honest and unblameable. It is when one's near relations—his father, or sons or brothers or sisters—have won a nation's gratitude and admiration by their services or talents. A generous nature exults in the prosperity of the loved relation as if it were his own, and joins in the public applause with an inward overflow of the heart's satisfaction of which the crowd knows nothing. If modern history presents a single illustrious example of a man who might honestly and justly indulge in this two-fold species of gratification, that man was the Marquess Wellesley. Great himself as a statesman and politician, eminently successful as a ruler, and placed in the midst of a period in the world's history when his talents could not well be concealed, and were eminently useful to his country, it was his rare good-fortune to see his brothers also shine out from amongst the crowd, in the ranks of the greatest of his fellow-countrymen. It was his peculiar privilege, after he had won honors and fame, with a distinguished niche in the world's history for himself, to see the brother, whose earlier essays in arms he had patronize and directed, gradually rise to the summit of

military fame, and finally become the conqueror of the great modern Alexander. The history of the world cannot disclose to us a nobler instance of true family greatness. Let us endeavour to picture to ourselves what were the feelings of the mother* of these distinguished men when she saw one of them take his seat in the British House of Peers, and in the highest order of peerage, the acknowledged warrior and champion of his country—another in the second order, known to the world as the saviour of the Indian empire of Britain and the most popular viceroy of a third part of the kingdom—a third and a fourth also Peers, distinguished as diplomatists and statesmen, and yet not one of these sat there by hereditary right, for they had all raised themselves to that eminence by superior ability and talent! When we picture to ourselves what the feelings of the Countess of Mornington were under these circumstances, we will have some faint idea of the noblest and most honest pride that ever entered into the female breast. When the slow suré finger of time has obliterated from the minds of men the jealousies and party feelings of the day, the family of the Wellesleys will shine forth in the history of the world with a lustre beside which even that of the Gracchi will appear obscure. It shall be our endeavour in the subsequent pages to give a brief, but clear and impartial account of the events which marked the early career and Indian administration of the eldest of those illustrious brothers, the Marquess Wellesley.

The family whence the subject of our notice was descended, was one of antiquity and renown, and although the renown of their ancestors, or the antiquity of their family, can add nothing to the admiration with which we would regard such men as the Duke of Wellington or the Marquess Wellesley, yet it is a pleasing thing to reflect that men so distinguished, should have been derived from those, who, in ages long past, had proved themselves superior to the herd. The venerable oak which has for centuries stood the shocks of tempests and of desolation, frequently proves itself more able to resist the wintry blast and equinoctial gale than the more youthful offspring of fifty years of growth. The Earl of Mornington, the father of the distinguished Marquess, was a Privy Councillor of Ireland and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Meath; he was more distinguished for his musical compositions than his statesmanship, and had he not produced such sons as those of whom we have spoken

* It is related of Lady Mornington, that on a crowd pressing round and obstructing her carriage when on a visit to the House late in her life, she said to Lord Cowley who accompanied her, so much for the honour of being mother of the Gracchi! "*Brougham's Statesmen, &c., 3^d series.*"

would have gone down to his grave "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung" by the muse of history.

On the 20th of June 1760, the subsequently celebrated Marquess was born, either at Dangan Castle in Meath, or in Grafton Street, Dublin; his biographer does not decide in which. Whatever the evils then, which Ireland has been the innocent or guilty means of inflicting upon the British empire, let us not forget when reflecting on them, that she has given to that empire the greatest of her modern warriors, and the most brilliant of her eastern statesmen. At Eton, whither our hero was speedily sent, the intellectual energy which he possessed, displayed itself in a passionate love of ancient literature, and a devotion to the Greek, Latin,* and English muse. In 1778 he matriculated in Christ's Church College, Oxford, as a nobleman, and there he remained till the death of his father in 1781, which called him away from his university studies before he had taken his degree. At Oxford he gained the Latin verse prize in 1780, by a poem

* At the age of eighteen we find him contributing the following neat and harmonious lines to the "Musæ Etonenses."

AD GENIUM LOCI.

O levis Fanni et Dryadum sodalis,
Finium tutela vigil meorum !
Qui meos colles et aprica lætus
Prata nemusque.
Mobili lustras pede, nunc susurros
Aëborum captans, modo murmurantis
Fluminis servans vitreos reducta in
Valle meatus !
Dic ubi attollat melius superbum
Verticem pinus ? regidosque quercus
Implicans ramos nimis æstuosam
Leniat hoiæ ?
Namque Tu saltu tibi destinato
Excubas custos opertosus, almæ
Fertilem silvæ sterilem que doctus
Noscere terram.
Dum malum noctis piceæ tenello
Seniter vernis folio vaporem, et
Sedulus virgulta foves, futuræ
Providus umbræ.
Lauream sed campus Apollinarem
Parturit myrtosque vigentiores ;
Omnis et te luxuriat renascens
Ausp. c. tellus ;
Te, rosa pulchrum caput impedita,
Candidi conjux facilis Favoni
Ambit, ut vernos tuearis æquo
Numine flores.
Lætus O ! faustusque adeas, precamur,
Nil mei prosunt sine te labores,
Nil valeat cultum nisi tu secundes,
Rustica cura.

on the death of the celebrated navigator, Captain Cook.* The month following his father's death he attained his majority, and voluntarily took upon himself the numerous pecuniary obligations of his deceased father, placing the family estates under the management of his mother. At this period his second brother, William Wellesley Pole, afterwards Lord Maryborough, was eighteen, and Arthur Wellesley, *the Duke*, but twelve years of age; the care of their education devolved on the Countess, a duty which she discharged with a success unexampled perhaps in history "This truly venerable matron," says a personal friend of the Marquess, "was permitted by Divine Providence to reap the highest rewards which such rare virtues as adorned her character, can, in this stage of our existence, receive; for her life was extended to an extreme old age; she saw all the glories of Hindustan, of Spain, and of Waterloo."

Lord Mornington, as our hero was now styled, launched at once into the stormy sea of political life, on attaining his majority. The year 1781 when he first took his seat in the Irish House of Peers in College Green, Dublin, was one which witnessed some of the most exciting events either in their commencement, progress, or completion, which modern history unfolds. France was in all the agony of a revolution-birth; groaning in its endeavours to work out the great problem of liberty to all, excited with new views of life, politics, religion and economy, the central object of attention to all the neighbouring powers, and of study to all the great minds of Britain and continental Europe. In America a new theory of Government was being worked out, so extraordinary in its nature, so unique in its character, and so simply majestic in its features, that all the world was anxiously awaiting its future development. Nor was it abroad alone that there existed objects of study and matter of reflection for the youthful statesman. In England Parliamentary Reform was the agitating question of that, as it has been since of a much later day—an oppressive debt, a wasting war, intestine tumults, and treasonable agitations were the subjects of contemplation which the politician had before him,—and then the politicians themselves! Could the noble youth just entering on public life be insensible to the talented patriotism of Pitt, doing battle violently, but wisely, against the profound political wisdom and philosophy of Burke, the practical statesmanship and vehement eloquence of Fox, the brilliancy and vigor of Windham, Sheridan, North and Erskine? Such were the men, such the contest in the sister isle; whilst in Dublin itself, there was a

* "In obitum viri eximii et celeberrimi navigatoris Jacobi Cook."

man standing on the arena of public life, equal to most of these in many respects, superior in some—Henry Grattan—a man “so born, so gifted, that poetry, forensic skill, elegant literature, and all the highest attainments of human genius were within his reach; but he thought the noblest occupation of a man was to make other men happy and free,”* and so he gave up his talents and his powers to one object, and that, not his own fame, but the good of his country.

Lord Mornington appears to have entered upon his political life impressed with liberal and enlightened ideas. A zealous student and ardent admirer as he was of antiquity—he was also an admirer, but not a blind, or over-enthusiastic one, of the constitution, which had been bequeathed by their forefathers to Englishmen, and to the maintenance of the more excellent features of this constitution he ardently devoted himself, whilst he was by no means blind to those parts of it which required amendment. The removal of the disabilities of the Roman Catholics in Ireland he regarded as a measure of bare justice, not of favour, and did what he could towards its accomplishment; whilst he was one of the first to exclaim against the want of economy which pervaded every department of the State. The only occasion, however, on which he appears to have signalized himself in the Irish House was on the appearance of the “volunteer” delegates in military uniforms in the House of Commons towards the end of 1783, headed by Mr Flood. The proceedings of that body he considered unconstitutional, and did not fail loudly to declaim against them. During the same year, but somewhat previous to the speech to which we have thus incidentally referred, the order of St. Patrick was first instituted by letters patent, and Lord Mornington was amongst the first knights then enrolled.

In the following year he left Ireland to enter the English House of Commons where a wider field presented itself for distinguishing himself. He was elected Member for Beeralston, in Devonshire, a nomination borough in the patronage of the Earl of Beverley, which he vacated in 1786, on being appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury in England when he took the ministerial borough of Saltash in Cornwall. A petition, however, unseated him shortly after, and he was obliged to return to his former position until 1788, when he was elected for the royal borough of Windsor. During this year the important question of the Regency was debated, in which debate Lord Mornington took a prominent part, as well as subsequently when it came to be considered in the Irish House of Lords. On this occasion, as the students of Parliamentary history will remember, the Par-

*Rev. Sydney Smith.

liaments of Great Britain and Ireland were at variance with each other, the former having voted that the Prince Regent should exercise and administer all regal powers, jurisdictions and prerogatives, subject to certain limitations and exceptions specified, whilst the latter gave over all such powers, jurisdictions and prerogatives to him without any exception whatever. Lord Mornington loudly and spiritedly protested against this act of the Legislature of Ireland, which, had not the speedy recovery of George III. prevented it, would unquestionably have entailed serious consequences. There can be little doubt, however, that it was one of the proximate causes of the act of Union between the two countries. Lord Mornington's opposition to the wishes of the Irish Parliament was not forgotten by the King on his recovery, and to the personal favour which he thus obtained, something of his subsequent success is to be attributed.

We have seen the future Governor-General of India as yet but in the character of a politician and diplomatist ; we have now to view him in the far higher and nobler character of a friend to suffering humanity. The philosopher in his study, the man of generous impulses in the bosom of his family, may imagine that it requires little moral resolution, little generosity of heart, little benevolence in the statesman, to raise his voice against the abuses of the political world or system in which he lives, but in estimating what the merit or demerit of the statesman's actions is, we must take into account, also the trammels of party, the influence of his colleagues, the position in which he stands. The statesman is not an isolated individual who can judge and act according to the dictates of his own heart or intellect, irrespective of every other consideration—he is a portion of the political machinery—he knows that he is such—and that a deviation from the law of his party may involve irregularity in the whole political machinery of the State. It is a noble thing when we can point to a statesman in the British Senate, and say of him, "In this instance he saw what humanity and reason dictated, and, disregarding the ties of party or the obligations of interest, he boldly declared the right, posterity assuring us, that it *was* the right." Thus we can say of Lord Mornington's conduct in the debate on Mr. Wilberforce's motion for the abolition of the slave-trade. This was in 1792. On the 25th of April of that year he moved that the slave-trade should end from the first of January 1793, but his motion was lost by a majority of 49. A subsequent amendment to Mr. Dundas' motion that the trade in slaves should not be lawful after the 1st of January 1800, "in which he proposed that it should end at the commencement of 1795, was also lost, the year following being fixed upon as the termination of the traffic." On this occasion he delivered a power-

ful speech of which we extract a few sentences—nervous, feeling and convincing :—

“Gentlemen had said in a former debate, that time should be allowed to the planters to cool, and to discover the truth of the assertions of those who contended that the abolition would ultimately be for their advantage. What length of time it would require to cool them, and for truth to make its way among the planters, while the liberty and happiness of thousands were exposed to invasion during the tedious process, it was impossible for him to say. If he were to put the question mathematically, he would say, “the force of truth being given, and the hardness of a planter’s heart being ascertained, in what space of time will the former be able to penetrate the latter?” For his part he was free to say that he had known great numbers of planters of the clearest heads, and most quick and lively conceptions ; and he believed they were, in general, persons who would not be the last to discover the truth of a proposition. On this occasion, however, he meant to allow them two years ; and he would ask whether (if all that was wanted was to convince the planters that the abolition would not injure them) two years would not do as well as seven ? He believed the committee would be of opinion that the time proposed for the purpose of convincing their judgment was much too long, for that, in point of fact, they were convinced already ; and it was nothing but mean and sordid avarice that induced them to wish for the continuance of this abominable, infamous, bloody traffic—this commerce in human flesh, this spilling of human blood, this sacrifice of human right, this insolence to justice, this outrage to humanity, this disgrace to human nature. Private follies from habit had sometimes been excused by the charitable ; they affected chiefly those who displayed them ; they were objects of compassion to some, and from the most severe they met nothing but ridicule : but for crimes, and those of the most public, notorious, hateful, detested nature, nothing could be said as an excuse or palliative. Every hour that this nefarious traffic was allowed to be continued was a disgrace to Great Britain.”

The same year witnessed the introduction by Mr. Grey of his momentous proposition for the reform of Parliament. Several different orders of minds would be delighted at such a proposition as this. The sanguine, the enthusiastic, the discontented, the aspiring and the man of vast foresight would all be probably banded together in favor of such a measure, whilst, on the other hand, the timid, the cautious, the contented, those accustomed to look at the best side of things, the reverers of antiquity and of constituted system would be found amongst its opposers. Lord Mornington was of the latter class, and the arguments which he brought forward against the measure may be briefly summed up thus. The safety of life, liberty, and property is the great end of Government ; this the British constitution, as it was, secured—again, that constitution had worked excellently well hitherto, from the union of monarchical, aristocratical and democratic principles which it involved, why then endanger this working by infusing more of the democratic principle ? Lastly, the infusion of the democratic principle into the Government in France was working much evil in that unfortunate country, why not in England also ? Such were the chief grounds on which Lord Mornington based his opposition to Mr. Grey’s motion. Before 1832, however, his views on the subject had changed, for he was then a member of the Government which carried the Reform Bill.

The future Governor-General was in a manner prepared for the consideration of those questions which were likely to come then under his notice by his appointment in June 1793, as a Commissioner for the affairs of India in the new Board of Control under Mr. Pitt's act. This he did not regard as a merely nominal office, but applied himself to the study of the various affairs of Indian interest which presented themselves, with his accustomed zeal and ability. "He acquainted himself," says his biographer, "as far as possible, with the details of every fact bearing upon the commerce, the Government, and the laws of that country (India); and with the instinctive sagacity of great genius, pondered upon the future destiny and the possible exigencies of Hindustan. He appears to have directed his attention to it from the beginning of his career in the English Parliament; and very probably regarded the post of Commissioner for the affairs of India as a stepping-stone to the splendid appointment of Governor-General."

In the following year occurred the celebrated debate on the war with France which ensued on the death of Louis XVI, and in which Lord Mornington as a ministerialist, supported its policy, whilst Fox and Sheridan vehemently pleaded against it. The battle on this occasion was fought on either side, not by the leaders of the two great parties, but by their talented supporters, Mornington and Sheridan. The speech delivered by the former of these two celebrated disputants on that occasion, was certainly the greatest and most memorable of his political life—it had been previously prepared, and was subsequently published by his Lordship as a separate pamphlet, whilst it was replied to by Sheridan in a continued burst of unpremeditated and passionate eloquence, such as the House of Commons has seldom witnessed since. To attempt any thing like a sufficient analysis of the noble Earl's speech on this occasion would much exceed our limit: suffice it to say, that he commenced by shewing the absolute impossibility of receding with honor from the contest in which they had engaged, shewing that the principles which guided revolutionary France in her intercourse with other powers, were those of aggrandizement and ambition, which England was necessitated to submit to, or to repel. He then entered upon a review of the acts of revolutionary France to prove the truth of his assertions, exposing in strong and forcible, but still in sufficiently temperate language, the want of faith and scorn of obligations which pervaded every action of the convention. "The seizure," he exclaimed in the course of this review, "the seizure of the property of the clergy and the nobility was a revolutionary measure;—the assassinations of Foulon and Berthier at Paris, and of the King's guards at Versailles in the year 1789 were revolutionary measures. All

the succeeding outrages, the burning of the title deeds and country houses of all gentlemen of landed property, the numberless confiscations, banishments, proscriptions, and murders of innocent persons—all these were revolutionary measures :—the massacres of the 10th August and the 2nd September—the attempt to extend the miseries of civil discord over the whole world, the more successful project of involving all Europe in the calamities of a general war were *truly* revolutionary measures—the insulting mockery of a pretended trial to which they subjected their humane and benevolent sovereign, and the horrid cruelty of his unjust, precipitate, and execrable murder, were most revolutionary measures : it has been the art of the ruling faction of the present hour to compound and to consolidate the substance of all these dreadful transactions into one mass, to concentrate all these noxious principles, and by a new process, to extract from them a spirit which combines the malignity of each with the violence of all, and *that* is the true spirit of a *Revolutionary Government!*” The system of finance pursued by that Government, the public renunciation of religion, the worship of reason, and the source whence its revenue was derived, was each then in its turn discussed ; this memorable speech being wound up with a peroration worthy of the subject and of the speaker. From this we can only extract a few sentences :—

“All the circumstances of your situation are now before you—you are now to make your option—you are now to decide whether it best becomes the dignity, the wisdom, and the spirit of a great nation, to rely for existence on the arbitrary will of a restless and implacable enemy, or on her own sword : you are now to decide, whether you will entrust to the valor and skill of British fleets and British armies, to the approved faith and united strength of your numerous and powerful allies, the defence of the limited monarchy of these realms, of the constitution of Parliament, of all the established ranks and orders of society among us, of the sacred rights of property and of the whole frame of our laws, our liberty, and our religion ; or whether you will deliver over the guardianship of all these blessings to the justice of Cambon, the plunderer of the Netherlands, who, to sustain the baseless fabric of his depreciated assignats, defrauds whole nations of their rights of property, and mortgages the aggregate wealth of Europe ;—to the moderation of Danton, who first promulgated that unknown law of Nature, which ordains that the Alps, the Pyrennees, the Ocean and the Rhine, should be the only boundaries of the French dominion ;—to the religion of Robespierre, whose practice of piety is to murder his own sovereign ; who exhorts all mankind to embrace the same faith and to assassinate their kings for the honor of God ; to the friendship of Barrère who avows in the face of all Europe, that the fundamental articles of the revolutionary government of France is the ruin and annihilation of the British empire ;—or finally, to whatever may be the accidental caprice of any new band of malefactors, who, in the last convulsions of their exhausted country, may be destined to drag the present tyrants to their own scaffolds, to seize their lawless power, to emulate the depravity of their example, and to rival the enormity of their crimes !”

The marriage and subsequent separation of the Marquess Wellesley from his wife is a portion of his domestic history

which his Lordship's biographer has left unexplained. The fact is bluntly announced in the commencement of Pearce's fifth chapter, that "on the 29th of November 1794 the Earl of Mornington was married, at St. George's Church, Hanover-Square, to Mademoiselle Hyacinthe Gabriel Roland, a native of France"—a lady, he subsequently informs us, whose beauty and accomplishments had for some years exercised a powerful influence over him. The biographer further assures us that they lived together on terms of the utmost affectionate harmony till the period of the noble Lord's appointment as Governor-General, that after his return from India they "did not live long together," and were not again reconciled. This is an unsatisfactory and bald account of a step so important in our hero's life. Why did not Lady Mornington accompany the Governor-General to India? and what was the cause, or what were the causes, of the subsequent disagreement—are questions which suggest themselves to every mind on reading this passage of his life—and they are questions which *we* have no means of answering with certainty, whilst it would serve little for us to endeavour to supply by conjecture, facts which are hidden from us by the veil of intended concealment.

In November 1795, Lord Mornington made his last speech in the House of Commons prior to his appointment as Governor-General. It was in the debate on the Seditious Meetings Bills, and in the course of his remarks he drew rather an alarming picture of the treasonable assemblies which infected London, and of the publications which issued from these associations. In replying to these observations of Lord Mornington, Mr. Sheridan held up his Lordship to ridicule for the anxiety with which he had hunted for plots, and the laborious exertions he had made to scrape together proofs of sedition, with that happy mixture of eloquent satire and malicious irony, of which he was so thoroughly master.

Having thus arrived at the conclusion of the first Parliamentary career of our hero, it may not be amiss to notice the description which Sheridan once incidentally gave of his manner and appearance when speaking; "exactly two years ago" said he, "at the opening of the session, he remembered to have seen the noble Lord with the same sonorous voice, the same placid countenance, in the same attitude, leaning gracefully upon the table; and giving an account from shreds and patches of Brissot, that the French republic would last but a few months longer." Lord Mornington appears, indeed, to have studied much the graces of elocution—his voice, his gestures, and his enunciation were all equally subjects to which he at first devoted

considerable attention ; and although he cannot be said to have ever attained *greatness* as an *orator*, yet his parliamentary career gave abundant evidence of the solidity and strength of mind, as well as of the sound good sense and unrivalled perspicuity which subsequently distinguished him

In October 1797 Lord Mornington was appointed Governor-General of India. Lord Teignmouth had resigned that office early in the same year. apparently weary of the cares of Government, and anxious to enjoy his newly gained nobility in England. The Marquess Cornwallis had been named to succeed him ; but appears to have resigned in consequence of the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland having been held out to him as a bait to induce him so to do. However this may be, certain it is that shortly after his nomination, the Directors announced "that various circumstances had induced the Marquess Cornwallis to resign his appointments," and that "under circumstances, and for reasons of a peculiar nature," the Earl of Mornington had been appointed to succeed him. This high and most responsible office was one for which the Earl had been in training apparently for three years and upwards, that is, since his appointment to the Board of Control, whilst the first despatches that he sent to India, as we shall subsequently see, prove that he had studied with extraordinary attention, and reflected with no ordinary ability, upon the various questions which, as Governor-General, came under his immediate notice. Before referring to these despatches more particularly, however, it will be well for us to take a glance at the state of India at this period, and at the policy which had been pursued then by the British Government up to the date of Lord Mornington's appointment.

. In political questions connected with India, there are few sources of fallacies more fertile of evil than the application of principles adapted to the constitution of Europe to the affairs of the East. This is a truth which constantly-recurring experience must have taught to every student of Indian history. Wherever civilization comes in contact with barbarism or semi-civilization, it must necessarily be, and consequently always has been, aggressive. The dictates of prudence are as little acted upon systematically by barbarous tribes as by semi-civilized states ; and if civilization, in its higher developments, is to exist in their vicinity at all, it can only do so by quelling the turbulence and overcoming the aggression of its neighbours. Hence it arose that from the period when the British first set foot in India as governors, their course *must* have been one of progressive conquest, or else they must have allowed themselves to be driven from the country. Their progress since that period we are all acquainted with, and that it verifies the remarks we have just

made, will not, we conceive, be denied. True, they have been at times *more* aggressive than was required; there *were* periods, undoubtedly, when a cessation from warlike operations was allowed them, and on some occasions they availed themselves of this advantage, as in the few years of Lord Teignmouth's administration, during which periods any acts of aggression would have been at once impolitic and unjust, but those who imagine the same policy could have been always maintained, must be lamentably ignorant of the state of India, or must be unreasonably biassed against our British rulers. "Suppose ever so fixed a purpose to be entertained," says a distinguished statesman writing of India, "that no consideration should tempt us to increase our dominions, no man could maintain such a resolution inflexibly in all circumstances, and, indeed, least of all in the very event most likely to happen, namely, of some neighbouring state, greatly increasing its force, attacking us or overpowering our allies, or even only menacing us, and endangering our existence, should no measures be adopted of a counteracting tendency. "In truth, we had gotten into a position," he continues, writing of the period of Lord Mornington's appointment, "from which, as it was impossible to retire, so was it not by any means within our own power to determine whether we should stand still in it or advance; and it might happen that the only choice was a total abandonment of our dominion or an extension of its boundaries."*

These considerations will suffice to shew us the absurdity of that outcry which has been raised, echoed, and re-echoed by a section of politicians in India and England against every war in the former country which has tended to the aggrandisement of the latter. Such aggrandisement was a necessary consequence of the position of the British in India, the state of India itself, and the superior military skill of the Europeans. Advance or retrogression were the only alternatives; to remain at rest, *in statu quo*, was an impossibility. He who imagines, however, that it is our intention in these remarks to justify *every* Indian war must strangely misunderstand their import. What we have said proves, we trust, that progress was necessary, and consequently that *some* wars were necessary, whilst it leaves each individual war to be judged of, as to its justice or injustice, on its own merits.

The system which had been pursued by Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth) of non-interference with independent native states, had been one of the means whereby he was enabled to maintain peace during his administration; experience may have since left

* Lord Brougham's "Statesmen of the time of George III." Third Series, page 276.

it doubtful whether it was the most politic, inasmuch as it tended, it has been argued, to decrease our influence throughout India, and consequently to weaken our hold of it. The evil in this case, however, if evil it was, as has been previously shewn in the pages of this Review,* lay, not with that excellent Governor, but with the Government of England; and consequently the then Government, and not the Governor-General should be responsible for its effects. But at the period when Lord Mornington undertook the Government of British India, it was necessary that a change should be made in its policy. A revolution, silent but important, had been progressing in the native states, and consequently in their relative position with each other and with the English Government. To have continued longer the former system under these altered circumstances would have been extreme political folly, and the approbation expressed by the Home Government of the more vigorous policy of Lord Mornington sufficiently proves that a conviction of its necessity had been forced upon them. The non-interference system was, as has been sufficiently proved, we trust, in the pages of this Review previously, the most politic when native states were quarrelling with each other, *and no dangers to be apprehended to our own territories from their wars*, but when the invasion of Zeman Shah was expected in the North, when a French army, with Napoleon at its head, was in Egypt, burning to reach India, when Tippú Sultan in the South was openly threatening us with invasion, and pushing forward his preparations with all the energy of a genius, when a French force of 14,000 men was at Hyderabad, ruling the Nizam, our most constant ally, because less powerful than his neighbours—when all these things threatened British India, it was surely time for its Government to be up and doing, it was surely time to strike a blow such as would convince the native powers and the world that the military energy which directed the operations of Clive and Cornwallis had been but slumbering, and was not dead. Altered circumstances required an altered policy, and to have maintained the policy of 1794 in 1798, would have been as foolish as to fall back in 1848 upon the system of 1800. The circumstances, however, are too intimately connected with our present subject, and too important in themselves, to be thus summarily dismissed.

The treaty of Seringapatam had been supposed to establish peace on the foundation which secured it in Europe—the balance of power. Irrespective of the great dissimilarity between the condition of Europe and India, principles, only applicable to the former, had been acted upon in the latter, and with what result?

With that result which all rules of experience and of sound judgment must have led the judicious to anticipate. The balance was a chimera, a thing which from the commencement had no real existence, and even the appearance of which, very shortly after the conclusion of the treaty, was totally annihilated. In the first place, the British Government was incomparably stronger than the Mahrattas, and the Mahrattas were very much stronger than the Nizam, and all three united, that is, if united in reality and not in name only, would have been more than a counterpoise for two Tippús and to Mysore. Such was the pretended balance of power! Scarcely had the treaty, which was to secure peace, been concluded, when open war broke out between the pretended allies, the Mahrattas and the Nizam,—a war the most impolitic and capricious,—between those whom European politicians had expected would be governed by the rules of western diplomacy. Do we require then a stronger proof that the principles which direct the states of Europe in their intercourse with each other are totally inapplicable to the East? The consequence of this war was what might have been expected. The Nizam was reduced in strength and crippled in resources, and were it not for the dissensions of the conquerors, would have been rendered powerless for the future. His only reliance, indeed, was a body of troops collected and disciplined by Raymond, a Frenchman, which, though it consisted in 1792, but of one or two battalions, was very shortly after increased to 10,000, and before 1798 to 14,000 men. This large and comparatively well-disciplined force was officered entirely by Frenchmen, who of course obtained very considerable influence at the Court of Hyderabad, and who lost no opportunity of instilling into the minds of the Nizam and his officers “the probability of the French nation acquiring, at no distant period, decided ascendancy in India, as well as in Europe.”* The treaty of Seringapatam had provided for the maintenance of an offensive and defensive alliance between the English, the Mahrattas and the Nizam, with a mutual guarantee against the common object of their apprehension, the Sultan of Mysore. On this basis peace was then supposed to be secured, but how much had not the relative situations of the parties to the treaty altered since 1792? The Nizam and the Mahrattas, we have already seen, were deadly enemies to each other in the first place,—what common co-operation between them, then, could be anticipated or hoped for? Tippú, it was well known, in the second place, looked to the French, as the allies by whose aid he was to obtain full revenge for all that he

* Major Kirkpatrick's answers to Lord Mornington's queries.—Despatches, &c., vol. I, p. 638.

had suffered from the British, whilst the Nizam and his court were directed by French officers and influenced by French ideas. What prospect was there then that in case of aggression from Mysore the British Government would obtain any assistance from the Nizam? or rather, on the other hand, was there not every prospect of the French corps of 14,000 marching to the ranks of Tippú in such a case, and thus increasing the number of our enemy? "In the event of a war with Mysore," wrote the Governor-General in 1798, "there can be no doubt that the wishes and interests of this part of the Nizam's army must be favorable to the cause of Tippú Sultan, more especially under the actual circumstances of his having concluded an alliance with France, and having admitted a body of French troops into his service."

Nor was the state of affairs at the court of Púna more favorable to British interests. Such had been the diminution of the influence and power of the Peishwa, caused by the inordinate ambition and power of Scindia, that it was not to be expected the inferior chiefs would hold themselves bound by a treaty concluded by the Peishwa alone, and that too, with powers, one of whom they openly hated and despised, the other, whom they secretly feared and were opposed to; whilst in addition to all this, there was the overweening influence of Scindia prevalent at Púna, an influence which it was well known would be directed in any other direction than in favor of the British. Indeed, it was more than suspected at the time, that Scindia and Tippú were on the best terms with each other, and anxious to advance each other's interests.

Such was the condition of two of the parties to the triple treaty in 1792—was it not time then for the British Government in 1798 to look about for the means of bringing back affairs to their position in the former year, or so to alter them as to provide for itself efficient assistance against its great enemy in the South, whenever that assistance was required—since the intrigues and exertions of Tippú left little doubt that that period would soon arrive?

A celebrated historian of British India, Mill, in pursuance of his object which appears to be on every occasion to shew the injustice, incapability and corruption of his countrymen, has unduly depreciated the character of Tippú. In proportion to the low estimate which we form of his abilities and activity will be our contempt of the alarm which the British rulers felt of him at this period, and such is precisely the feeling which Mill would excite in us. A very cursory consideration of the energetic measures pursued by the Sultan to bring about the consummation which he so devoutly desired, the humiliation

of the British, will be sufficient to prove how dangerous an enemy he was, and that, in directing his policy towards anticipating the great outbreak which he expected in that quarter, Lord Mornington was but taking the part of wisdom. During the six years of peace which followed the treaty of Seringapatam, the whole energy of Tippú's active mind was directed towards the re-establishment of his military power; an ordinary chief would have been contented with this alone, but Tippú was far from being such, and, in the pursuance of his great plan, made his influence be felt at one and the same time in Paris, in Kabul, in Hyderabad and in Púna.

His embassy to the unfortunate Louis XVI in 1787, had been unsuccessful in consequence of the disorganized condition of France at the period, and the apprehensions of its sovereign. The humiliation of Tippú subsequently, in the war which ended in the partition of half of his dominions, did not prevent his still looking forward to aid from the same country, and although his representations were confined to the Government of Mauritius, they were not the less urgent or amicable. At length in 1797 the accident of a privateer from Mauritius having been driven dismayed into Mangalore afforded him, he hoped, the opportunity so long sought, of arraying the French forces with his own against his former conquerors. The French captain represented himself as the second in command at Mauritius, and as having been sent to ascertain the Sultan's views relative to the co-operation of a French force with that of Mysore, for the expulsion of the English from India. Tippú too anxiously desired these representations to be true, to allow of his entertaining a doubt respecting them, and entered upon the negotiation with zeal. Ambassadors were sent by him to the island, who arrived there in January 1798, with a letter from Tippú to the Governor. They found their expectations miserably disappointed: there was no force prepared to accompany them back to Mysore; no preparation had been made, and the expedition finally resulted in the issuing of an absurd proclamation by General Malartic, the Governor of the island and in their being accompanied on their return, not by a powerful French army, but by a few of the rabble from the Mauritius, whose number did not exceed two hundred.

Nor was it from European assistance alone that Tippú hoped to see the object of his wishes finally accomplished. Zeman Shah, King of the Affghans, succeeded his father Timur, in 1792, and speedily announced his determination to restore the Mogul Empire in Hindustan. All India, but particularly the Mahratta State, was excited at this intelligence; some with hope

others, like the nation mentioned, with fear. In 1796, in pursuance of his object, the Shah advanced to Lahore with a force of upwards of 30,000 men. The Shiks did not oppose his progress; the Mahrattas loudly call upon the British to assist them, whilst their internal dissensions prevented their acting with energy or a chance of success; all was confusion and dismay, when Zeman was recalled to his own capital by a rebellion, and thus for a time were the fears of the Mahrattas allayed. Tippú did not fail to take advantage of this new enemy—he sent ambassadors to the Shah, and awaited with anxiety the day when the British would be arrayed against them in the north, in order to strike them down in the south.

Aware of the dissensions amongst the Mahrattas, the Sultan carried on his intrigues vigorously at Púna, to attach some chiefs to his own interests, and to detach others from that of the British, and so effectually were these different objects accomplished, that it would have been consummate folly in any British general acting against Mysore to expect efficient aid from the court of Púna. Nor was the influence of the sovereign of Mysore felt less at Hyderabad than at the capital of the Mahrattas. *There* he had a force of 14,000 men, officered by his allies, governing the Nizam and the country at the time when they were in the closest alliance with himself. Such was the extent of the intrigues of Tippú! and yet, whilst these were being thus vigorously prosecuted, politicians, such as Mill, would have us believe, that there existed no valid ground for apprehension on the part of the British!

The Earl of Mornington arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on his passage to India in February 1798, and whilst there the *Houghton* and other vessels, with India despatches on board, arrived from Bengal. These, the new Governor-General thought it fit to peruse in the then critical state of the country, and their contents he carefully examined. He was fortunate also in meeting at the Cape with Major Kirkpatrick, formerly resident at Hyderabad, from whom he derived the most valuable information relative to the condition of the Nizam and other native powers. The despatches, which he thence addressed to the President of the Board of Control, and to the Court of Directors, sufficiently prove how deeply he had studied Indian politics, and how sound the views were by which his procedure then and subsequently was directed. "It is a remarkable, and I believe an unexampled circumstance," says Lord Brougham, "showing how accurately Lord Wellesley's opinions and plans were formed, that whole pages of his minute of the 12th August at Calcutta, explaining his views, after they were perfected by a six months' residence in

the country, are taken from the letters written by him at the Cape in February!" The jeopardy in which British interests were placed at Hyderabad by the existence of the formidable French force there under Raymond, was forcibly pointed out by Major Kirkpatrick, and profoundly weighed by Lord Mornington. In the despatches referred to, he lays down with his usual ability and prolixity (for both are equally characteristics of his writings) the plan by which he proposed to remove the danger, and to make the force of Hyderabad become the agents of the British, instead of being what they then were, the tools of Tippú and the French.

The four measures proposed by Major Kirkpatrick to bring about this object were, 1st.—The introduction of British subjects, or other Europeans, the subjects of friendly powers, into the service of the Nizam, care being taken that their characters should be such as that reliance might be placed upon them. This measure, he hoped, would have the effect, in the first place, of counterbalancing the corps of Raymond, and ultimately of suppressing it. 2ndly.—That the dismissal of the corps should be pointedly and firmly demanded, and the Nizam, at the same time informed that in case of refusal to comply with this demand, the British Government should withdraw itself from its existing engagements with him. 3rdly.—The holding out of suitable inducements to the European officers in the corps, to leave the Nizam's service and enter that of the British, and 4thly.—That the connexion between the Company and the Nizam, according to the expressed wish of the latter, should be drawn closer, and such an augmentation of the detachment of British troops in the Nizam's service made, as would preclude the necessity of his retaining Raymond's corps. With regard to the first of these measures Lord Mornington, in his Cape despatches, says, "I do not think this measure likely to be effectual to any good purpose, and it might even aggravate the evil which it is proposed to remove. A party so consolidated and united as that of Raymond's, which has been strengthening itself for a period of several years at Hyderabad, and has established the means of recruiting and augmenting its numbers, will not be counteracted by the irregular and desultory opposition of such adventurers as might be induced by our encouragement to seek employment in the service of the Nizam; persons of this description (and we cannot expect that any others will engage in such an undertaking,) would want the system and concert necessary to give vigor to their operations." Few, we imagine, will be disposed to deny the wisdom of this last observation. With regard to the second proposed measure, the Earl wrote, "certainly no

representation from one friendly State to another could ever be more solidly founded than ours might be to the Nizam in the case before us. But besides that, Major Kirkpatrick expects no benefit from representation and demand unconnected with the offer of some advantage to the Nizam ; I doubt whether our manifesting, in the first instance, the extent of our anxiety for the dismissal of Raymond's corps might not embarrass us in the progress of the most effectual measures for that desirable end ; at present the court of Hyderabad seems willing to purchase a closer connection with us by great sacrifices, and if that connection should not appear objectionable on other grounds, it may probably take place on much more advantageous terms to us, if we grant it as a matter of favour to the solicitations of the Nizam, than if we commence the negotiation by demanding the dismissal of any part of the Nizam's military establishment." Major Kirkpatrick's third proposal, as may readily be supposed, did not obtain much favour in the eyes of the Governor-General. "I should never think it worth while," says he, "even in the cases supposed of a rupture with the Nizam, or of an attack from Raymond, to repel the aggression by corrupting the officers of the hostile army ; I trust, that in either case, we should soon find a more certain as well as a more honorable mode of effectually destroying this French party and its adherents." The fourth of the Major's proposals was that which met most favour from the Earl. The Nizam's Empire, as we have previously noticed, had been, for some time, very much on the decline amongst the native powers of India. In influence, in power, in resources, in weight, it had been considerably reduced. Now, with the eagle eye of political wisdom, the Earl of Mornington saw that the reinstatement of that power, in its original greatness, would not only raise up a barrier against Mysorean and Mahrattan ambition, but serve also to draw tighter the bonds which connected the empire of the Nizam with that of the Company. Here then was the fulcrum of his entire political machinery. The Nizam desired a closer alliance with the British—he desired a larger subsidiary British force, and the Governor-General wisely determined that he should have both, the price demanded for both being the disbandment of Raymond's corps and the departure of its officers from India, together with the abolition of the peiscush paid on account of the Northern Circars. By these means would a doubtful enemy be changed into a faithful friend—by these means would a barrier be raised up against Mysore and the Mahrattas, whilst the resources of a large empire would be put into our hands.

In April 1798 the Governor-General arrived at Madras, where

he employed a few days of leisure in examining the condition of that presidency, and getting an insight into the character of the leading men there. The following month he landed at Calcutta.

On the 8th June, a paper was published in Calcutta purporting to be a copy of a proclamation* made by the Governor of Mauritius, General Malartic, which naturally attracted the attention of the Government. In this very impolitic and extraordinary document, the French Governor declared that he had received ambassadors from Tippú who desired to enter into an offensive and defensive league with the French, a nation with which the British Empire was then at war. "*He waits only,*" says this proclamation, "*the moment when the French shall come to his assistance to declare war against the English, whom he ardently desires to expel from India.*"

* The following is a copy of this curious document :—

Liberté

Republique Française
Une et indivisible.

Egalité.

PROCLAMATION.

Anne Joseph Hyppolite Malartic, General-en-Chef, Gouverneur-General des Isles des France, et de la Réunion et Commandant, général des Etablissements Français, à l'est du Cap de Bonne Espérance.

Citoyens,

Connaissant depuis plusieurs années votre zèle et votre attachement pour les intérêts et la gloire de votre République, nous sommes très-empressés et nous nous faisons un devoir de vous donner connaissance de toutes les propositions que nous fait l'Impi Sultaun, par deux ambassadeurs qu'il nous a dépêchés.

Ce prince a écrit des lettres particulières à l'Assemblée Coloniale, à tous les Généraux qui sont employés dans ce gouvernement, et nous a adressé un paque pour le Directoire Exécutif.

1. Il demande à faire une alliance offensive et défensive avec les Français, en proposant d'entretenir à ses frais, tant que la guerre durera dans l'Inde, les troupes qu'on pourra lui envoyer.

2. Il promet de fournir toutes les choses nécessaires pour faire cette guerre, excepté le Vin et l'Eau de vie dont il se trouve absolument dénié.

3. Il assure que tous les préparatifs sont faits pour recevoir les secours qu'on lui donnera, et qu'à l'arrivée des troupes, les Chefs et officiers trouveront toutes les choses nécessaires pour faire une guerre à laquelle les Européens sont peu accoutumés.

4. Enfin il n'attend plus que le moment où les Français viendront à son secours, pour déclarer la guerre aux Anglais, désirant avec ardeur pouvoir les chasser de l'Inde.

Comme il nous est impossible de diminuer le nombre des soldates des 107 et 103 régimens, et de la garde soldée du Port de la Fraternité, à cause des secours que nous avons à envoyés nos alliés les Hollandais ; nous invitons tous les citoyens de bonne volonté, à se faire inscrire dans leurs municipalités respectives, pour aller servir sous les drapeaux de Tippú.

Ce prince desire aussi avoir des citoyens de couleur, libres, et nous invitons tous ceux qui voudront aller servir sous ses drapeaux, à se faire aussi inscrire.

Nous pouvons assurer tous les citoyens qui se feront inscrire, que Tippú leur fera des traitements avantageux qui seront fixés avec ses ambassadeurs qui s'engageront en outre, au nom de leur souverain à ce que les Français qui auront pris parti dans ses armées, ne puissent jamais y être retenus quand ils voudront rentrer dans leur patrie.

Fait au Port Nord-Ouest, le 10 Pluviose, l'an six de la République Française, une et indivisible.

(Signé)

MALARTIC.

On being assured that this document was authentic, the Earl of Mornington naturally formed the determination of not waiting till the dominions which he governed were attacked, but resolved to urge on the measures on which he had determined relative to the Nizam and the Mahrattas, whilst he directed General Harris, then acting Governor as well as Commander-in-Chief at Madras, quietly to concentrate a force sufficient to repel Tippú in case of attack, and which should form the nucleus of an invading army if an invasion were rendered necessary.

In these preparations Mr. Mill can perceive nothing but the results of that "state of inflammation" in which the mind of the Governor-General was, and which precluded anything like sound judgment. The fact of his advocating as speedy an attack as possible upon Tippú proves, says that historian, either that he "condemned the policy of the treaty which was concluded by Lord Cornwallis, and highly applauded by the ministers, by the Parliament, and by the people of England; or such was the change in circumstances that the enmity of Tippú, which was neither formidable nor offered any reasonable prospect of being formidable in 1792, had become intensely formidable in 1798; or lastly, the mind of the Governor-General was, in a state of inflammation, and decided upon suggestions totally different from a cool and accurate contemplation of the circumstances of the case." This last is, of course, in the opinion of our historian, the only allowable hypothesis. The fact was that, by his embassy to the Mauritius, Tippú himself had altered the relations subsisting between him and the British. The question was one of time merely, and we think few who consider the matter will agree with Mr. Mill in thinking that it would have been wiser in Lord Mornington to allow Tippú to choose his own time for making the attack, or to allow him the chance of ultimately receiving French assistance, instead of anticipating him, and thus saving the expense of keeping up a large armament to await him. Such a procedure as the former would have been in opposition to every recognized principle of military or political tactics.

But in the meantime a circumstance had occurred in Europe, which rendered it doubly necessary, that Tippú should be speedily disabled—an event which, combined with the proclamation of General Malartic, caused the Court of Directors, through their Secret Committee, to write out to Lord Mornington on the 18th June of this year, "recommending" him "not to wait for his attack, but to take the most immediate and the most decisive measures to carry their arms into the enemy's country." The event referred to, was the sailing of the expedition from Toulon in May of the same year under Napoleon, an expedition evidently

intended for Egypt in the first place, and for India ultimately. Had the Earl of Mornington then pursued the policy recommended by Mill, he would not only have been placing the British Indian empire in peril, but have been acting in direct contradiction to the recommendations of the Court of Directors.

No unbiassed individual, we conceive, can reflect on the position in which India at this period stood, without perceiving the absolute necessity which existed for energetic proceedings on the part of its Government. France was thundering in Egypt under the modern Alexander, whose ambition would be as little likely to be bounded by the Indus as by the Rhine. The Affghan King had sworn to restore the Mogul empire in its integrity, and from his capital to Delhi there was no power to oppose him with any chance of success, whilst Tippú, with 100,000 men,* was threatening our empire in the South, and ceaselessly intriguing to throw the enemies of the British power upon the Empire. As soon, therefore, as explicit information relative to the intrigues of Tippú with the French had reached him, Lord Mornington lost no time in urging upon General Harris the necessity of making every possible preparation for an immediate and decisive attack upon Tippú—a measure, however, which “the dispersed state of the army on the coast of Coromandel and certain radical defects in its establishments,” as he declares in one of his despatches, “rendered a much more tedious and difficult operation” than he had anticipated.

The interval which elapsed from the commencement of the preparations for an attack upon Tippú to their close was by no means left unoccupied by the Governor-General. We have already seen that the disbanding of the French force in the service of the Nizam at Hyderabad was a fundamental part of his policy for raising up a check to Tippú and the Mahrattas. With a view to this, on the 8th of July, he instructed the Resident at the Nizam's Court to propose a new treaty between the two powers which, whilst in accordance with the Nizam's wish, it should unite the two powers more closely together, would, at the same time, be the means of bringing to pass the Governor-General's wish relative to the French force. By this treaty the British subsidiary force in the service of the Nizam was increased to 4,400, whilst the annual subsidy to be paid by His Highness in consequence amounted to about nineteen lakhs of rupees (£190,000). This treaty was ratified on the 18th of September, with the full concurrence of the Peishwa, to whom all its stipulations were communicated: On the 10th October the

* Vide Appendix C. Wellesley Despatches. 1st vol.

subsidiary force under Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts reached Hyderabad, and on the 22nd, by His Highness's orders, and in concert with a body of his cavalry, it surrounded the camp of the French army, then 10,000 strong, the remainder being out on detachment duty. Fortunately for the British interests, a mutiny had broken out in the camp the previous day, and the sepoys had imprisoned their French officers, so that the capture of these officers by the British force, which immediately followed, was looked upon by them as a release from captivity, and, perhaps, from death. They were treated with every possible respect—their claims upon the Government were settled—and they were subsequently sent to Europe, not however as prisoners of war, but without detention or restraint. The success of this admirable stroke of policy is mainly attributable to the partiality for the English exhibited by the new minister at Hyderabad—Azim-ul-omra. Whilst this important success was being gained at Hyderabad, a change of ministry at Puna occurred, which gave every promise of being favourable to British interests. Nana Furnevse, a chief noted for his attachment to the English, had been restored to the ministry, and had publicly taken charge of the affairs of the Government. "Neither Tippú nor the French," says Lord Mornington, "will ever acquire any influence at Puna, while Nana shall hold the reins of power."* True it is that the influence of Scindia was very great, and that he was decidedly hostile to the British, but he, too, was kept in check by the threatened invasion of Zeman Shah, an event which rendered it decidedly his interest to cultivate the alliance of the British, by whose aid alone he could hope to preserve his dominions in the north.

The news contained in the letter of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, relative to the departure of the Toulon Armament, did not reach the Governor-General until the 18th October. It naturally rendered him more anxious than he had previously been to hurry on the expedition against Tippú, so that if the French did succeed in reaching India, they might not do so until his power had been destroyed, and the great fulcrum of their intended operations thus removed. A fortnight later, intelligence arrived of the total defeat of the French fleet by Lord Nelson at Aboukir, which Lord Mornington lost no time in communicating to Tippú, at the same time taking occasion to mention the alarm which the military preparations of Tippú and his intrigues with the French had caused to the Company and its allies. "The Peishwa, and his Highness

the Nizam," continued the Governor-General, "concur with me in the observations which I have offered to you in this letter; and which in the name of the Company, and of the allies, I recommend to your most earnest consideration; but as I am also desirous of communicating to you, on behalf of the Company and their allies, a plan calculated to promote the mutual security and welfare of all parties, I propose to depute to you, for this purpose, Major Doveton, who is well known to you, and who will explain to you more fully and particularly the sole means which appear to myself, and to the allies of the Company, to be effectual for the salutary purpose of removing all existing distrust and suspicion, and of establishing peace and good understanding on the most durable foundations." To this Tippú replied on the 18th December, that he had no connection with the men who represented themselves as his ambassadors at the Mauritius, and that the treaties already entered into by the four states "were so firmly established and confirmed, as ever to remain fixed and durable," nor could he "imagine that means more effectual than these could be adopted, for giving stability to the foundations of friendship and harmony, promoting the security of states, or the welfare and advantage of all parties." In this way he eluded the request of the Governor-General that a Resident at his court should be appointed. This answer reached Lord Mornington at Madras whither he had gone to urge on the preparations for the invasion in concert with Lord Clive, the Governor, and General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief.

Although still anxious to settle the matter, if possible, by negotiation, Lord Mornington did not allow the delays caused by the dilatoriness of Tippú to pass unimproved. On the 9th January in the succeeding year, he addressed another letter to the Sultan, in which he recapitulated the various grounds of complaint which the British and their allies had against him, particular reference being made to the proclamation of General Malarctic; "even under all these circumstances of provocation," continued his Lordship, "the allies entertain the most earnest desire to establish with your Highness a real and substantial peace accompanied by the intercourse and good offices usual among friendly and contiguous states." Shortly afterwards, he declares that "a new arrangement is become indispensable, in consequence of your Highness's new engagements with the common enemy of the allies; and I again entreat your Highness" (he adds) "to meet with cordiality, the friendly and moderate advance of the allies, towards an amicable settlement of every ground of jealousy and danger." Finally he calls upon

the Sultan " in the most serious and solemn manner " to admit Major Doveton as a British ambassador to his court. There is here unquestionably no evidence of that eagerness for war, none of that rabid hatred of Tippú, none of that exaggerated alarm which Mill would have us believe existed in the mind of the Governor-General.

Notwithstanding the earnest request contained in the letter just referred to, that an answer would speedily be returned to it, and notwithstanding the subsequent transmission of a letter from the Turkish Emperor to Tippú by the Governor-General, in which he was strongly dissuaded by that high Mahommedan authority from an alliance with the French, no answer was received in Madras till the 13th of February, and that which then arrived was without date and contained little to the purpose, besides an ungracious permission for the embassy of Major Doveton. " Being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunt, I am accordingly proceeding on a hunting expedition. You will be pleased to despatch Major Doveton (about whose coming your friendly pen has repeatedly written,) slightly attended (or unattended)." Although the Mysorean sovereign was thus dilatory, however, in replying to the repeated representations of the British ruler, he was not equally careless about keeping up his communication with the French. Whilst his letters professed the greatest amity and an assurance of continued peace, he lost no time in making preparations for war, and, on the 7th of February, he despatched Dubuc as his agent to the Directory of Paris, again desiring assistance. His design, in the delays which he allowed to intervene in his correspondence with Madras, was clearly perceived by the Governor-General, who now felt convinced that, until an invading army had entered his territory, he would not be likely to come to any reasonable understanding with the British and their allies.

During the absence of the Governor-General from Calcutta, the chief duties of Government devolved upon Sir Alured Clarke, the Commander-in-Chief, whose services were required in the North, in consequence of the apprehended invasion of Zeman Shah. The command of the expedition against Mysore devolved therefore upon General Harris. It consisted of two thousand six hundred cavalry (of whom about a thousand were Europeans), six hundred European artillery, four thousand five hundred European infantry, eleven thousand Native infantry, and two thousand seven hundred gun-lascars and pioneers—altogether forming a force of twenty-one thousand men, with sixty field pieces; with this force, another of six thousand men co-operated from the Bombay side under General Stuart. On the

5th of March, General Harris entered the territory of Mysore, and on the same date, in the ensuing month, took up his ground for the siege of Seringapatam. Upon the details of the march of the army, or of the operations connected with the fall of the capital, it will not be necessary for us to dilate, they have been too frequently described before to render any new abstract of them interesting, whilst our limits prevent our entering upon them with that minuteness, which would be necessary to allow of our judging them impartially. Suffice it to say, that on the 4th May, Seringapatam was taken by assault, Tippú Sultan himself being slain in the attack, and the territory of Mysore lay at the mercy of the Governor-General of British India.

Whilst there might possibly have been found many men capable of conducting the army against Mysore, and of bringing the war to a successful issue, we very much doubt if another statesman could be found in the East at this period, who would have exhibited the same wisdom and ability in the settlement of the country when conquered, as Lord Mornington. In other words, the qualities of courage, mental energy, tact and foresight are much more commonly found united than those of wisdom, moderation, prudence, and address in the midst of a victory. Here was a kingdom to be disposed of; here were two rapacious allies to be satisfied and rewarded, at the same time that their mutual jealousy or cupidity was to be guarded against; here was a new empire at the feet of the British power in India to be got rid of, so as on the one hand, to avoid alarming all the native states by its annexation, and on the other, to prevent the loss of all the future advantages to be derived from our success! Suspicion, odium, and hatred on the one hand, danger and contempt on the other: these were the Scylla and Charybdis of the British Indian politics at this time between which the Governor-General was to steer; and, had he been an ordinary statesman, doubtless he would but have sheered off from the whirlpool of danger to be wrecked upon the rocks of odium and hatred. But the pilot was equal to the task which he had undertaken—the vessel of State was borne triumphantly through the difficulties which beset its course, without a single accident, and finally landed in the haven of security.

The principles by which he was guided in the settlement of Mysore are thus clearly developed in a despatch of the Governor-General to the Court of Directors.* “To have divided the whole territory equally between the Company and the Nizam, to the

* Despatches, &c, Vol. 2, p. 74.

exclusion of any other state, would have afforded strong ground of jealousy to the Mahrattas, and aggrandized the Nizam's power beyond all bounds of discretion; under whatever form such a partition could have been made, it must have placed in the hands of the Nizam many of the strong fortresses on the northern frontier of Mysore, and exposed our frontier in that quarter to every predatory incursion; such a partition would have laid the foundation of perpetual differences, not only between the Mahrattas and the Nizam, but between the Company and both these powers.

"To have divided the country into three equal portions, allowing the Mahrattas, (who had borne no part in the expense or hazard of the war) an equal share with the other two branches of the triple alliance, in the advantages of the peace, would have been unjust towards the Nizam and towards the Company; impolitic, as furnishing an evil example to other allies in India, and dangerous, as effecting a considerable aggrandizement of the Mahratta empire, at the expense of the Company and of the Nizam. This mode of partition also, must have placed Chittledrúg, and some of the most important northern fortresses, in the hands of the Mahrattas, while the remainder of the fortresses in the same line would have been occupied by the Nizam, and our unfortified and open frontier in Mysore, would have been exposed to the excesses of the undisciplined troops of both powers. * * * It was, however, desirable to conciliate their good will, and to offer to them such a portion of territory as might give them an interest in the new settlement without offence or injury to the Nizam, and without danger to the frontier of the Company's possessions. On the other hand, it was prudent to limit the territory retained in the hands of the Company and of the Nizam within such bounds of moderation as should bear a due proportion to their respective expenses in the contest, and to the necessary means of securing the public safety of their respective dominions."

In conformity with the views here expounded a settlement was made which the concurring testimony of the enemies and friends of the Government has declared to be distinguished by wisdom, sagacity, moderation and prudence. Whilst a portion of the country surrounding the capital, and yielding an annual revenue of upwards of £500,000, was reserved for the formation of a new Mysorean kingdom, dependant, of course, on British supremacy, the rest was divided amongst the allies according to the principles above enunciated. To the British and the Nizam, portions of territory of equal value (realizing annual revenues approaching to £250,000) were allotted, whilst the

Mahrattas were to obtain a tract of somewhat more than half the value of those assigned to the other allies. For the Company's share were allotted the districts of Canara, Coimbatúr, Daraporam and Mujnad, with all the territory lying below the gháts between their possessions in the Carnatic and those in Malabar. By this addition a valuable portion of land, forming an uninterrupted tract between the coast of Coromandel and Malabar, was joined to the territories of the Company in the south ; which now included the entire sea-coast of the kingdom of Mysore and the base of all the eastern, western and southern gháts. To these were added the forts and posts forming the heads of all the passes above the gháts on the table land, with the fortress, city, and island of Seringapatam. This settlement was provided for by "the treaty of Mysore" between the Company, the Nizam Ali, and the Peishwa, which was concluded on the 22nd of June 1799.

The grounds on which a portion of Mysore, equal to that taken by the Company and given to the Nizam, was refused to the Peishwa, are given above. It is evident, indeed, that he had no claim whatever to any, the smallest portion, in as much as he had contributed nothing to the expense of the war, and had run no risk. The destruction of the power of Tippú was, besides, to the Peishwa, a decided advantage,—an advantage, in fact, of the very utmost importance and value, for by the destruction of that power, a formidable neighbour was destroyed, and the enmity of a man opposed by creed, principle, and the force of circumstances to the great Hindú power, removed. If then, under these circumstances, any part of the territory of Mysore were granted to the Mahrattas, it must have been solely as a free gift, as a bonus, in return for which their gratitude and friendship were due. But was it expedient, after granting one favor, to press upon them another without some remuneration ? Lord Mornington thought not, and therefore, for the territory proposed to be ceded, he demanded that they should guarantee the inviolability of the new Mysorean kingdom, that they should make the Company arbiter in their disputes with the Nizam, that they should not allow European foreigners to enter their service, and that they should enter into a defensive treaty with the Company against the French, should they invade India. These, Lord Mornington conceived, were trifling concessions compared with the addition to their territory, power, and influence, to be gained by the increase of their possessions. He even believed that they would be gladly accepted, but he was deceived, for he was here applying the principles which guide *civilized* diplomacy to that of a state which was *sensu barba-*

rous. The Peishwa demanded, in the first place, an equal share with the Nizam and the Company, and that, too, without conditions! * A State in Europe, under similar circumstances, would be considered bereft of reason were it to do so. When the smaller portion was offered, with the conditions annexed, it was indignantly refused, and the territory set apart for this purpose was, in consequence, divided between the Company and the Nizam.

The appointment of a sovereign for the new dependant kingdom of Mysore was a matter of no ordinary importance or delicacy. The four sons of Tippú would of course be the first individuals upon whom the Governor-General's attention would be fixed, as being the candidates for the honor most nearly and intimately connected with its former sovereign. But to the elevation of any one of those to the vacant musnud, there were some very serious objections—objections of such weight, that Lord Mornington at once decided to supersede these candidates in favor of the ancient royal family of Mysore. The sons of Tippú would have imbibed, it was to be expected, much of the character and disposition of their father. Brought up in the hope of succeeding to the highest rank in the State as independent princes, it was not to be supposed that they would look upon the partition of half the empire with any other than hostile eyes. True, the power of the State was crippled and a great proportion of its means of offence removed, but there could be little doubt that when at the head of his nominally independent State, a son of Tippú would but wait the right opportunity to strike a blow at the British for revenge or retribution. The appearance of humility and gratitude an Oriental Prince would not find it difficult to exchange for the menaces of hostility. Had a son of Tippú then been appointed, the British Government must have remained in an attitude of defence and preparation, whilst the French would still have a basis for their operations when a convenient opportunity presented itself for invading India. How different, on the other hand, would be the feelings, principles, and predilections of the Government of Mysore if, instead of a son of Tippú, the descendant of the ancient family dethroned by Hyder were placed upon its throne! The one would regard the British as his natural enemies, the other as his truest friends. The one would look

* This circumstance is a curious illustration of the native character *politically*. It reminds us of an anecdote which illustrates it *individually*. An European officer at the risk of his life lately saved a coolie who had fallen from a vessel into the Húgly. The first words, the rescued man uttered when he returned to consciousness on the deck of the vessel, whilst the officer was standing over him, were "*buckshish, sahib!*" Would any European sailor or porter have done so?

upon British interference as the bane of his Government, the other as its support. The one would regard each successive Governor-General as the ruler on whose head hung the blood of his forefather and the ruin of his independence, the other as the representative of that power to which he owed his restoration to the throne of his ancestors, and by whose arm his own authority was upheld. Thus, on the one hand, family predilections, pride, self-interest, and passion counselled hostility to the British, on the other, self-interest, gratitude, and fear counselled a love of, and dependence upon them. When we add to all this that a religious feud of the most deadly nature—that between Mahommedanism and Hinduism—separated the two royal families, and that the former had been for many years triumphant, we shall then be able to form an estimate of the strength of the bond which would unite the descendant of the ancient Mysorean dynasty when elevated to the throne, with the power by which that elevation was effected.

Influenced by considerations similar to these the Governor-General* resolved on the restoration of the heir of the ancient family to the throne, and accordingly, on the 30th June, the Rajah of Mysore was formally installed on the musnud, by the commissioners appointed for the settlement of the country, aided by the representative of the Nizam. Whilst the title of sovereign was granted to this prince, however, the real *authority* was assumed by the British. The military defence and protection of the country were retained by the latter for a subsidy of about £280,000 yearly, whilst the Rajah and his Government were clearly given to understand that the British reserved to themselves the right of interfering in the internal management of the country when they saw fit, as well as of increasing the subsidy in cases of necessity. The sons of Tippú were removed to Vellore; Lieut.-Colonel Close was appointed Resident at the court of the new Rajah, whose seat of Government was fixed at Mysore, the ancient capital; whilst Col. Arthur Wellesley was appointed commandant at Seringapatam. Thus were concluded the conquest and final settlement of the Empire of Tippú.

During the period which elapsed between the commencement of Lord Mornington's administration and the final settlement of Mysore, other matters of importance, besides those whose progress we have narrated, engaged the attention of the Governor-General. Of these one of the most important was the succession to the throne of Tanjore. In 1786 Tuljají, the ruling Rajah, died, leaving a half brother, Amir Singh,

* See his views on the subject detailed at length in a despatch to the Court of Directors, dated August 1799, vol. 2, page 80.

and an adopted son, Serbojî, as competitors for the crown. The rival princes appealed to the Madras Government as being the protector of the State, and as the English had no interest in the matter, they resolved to have the question decided by Hindu law; Amîr Singh being appointed protector during the minority of his rival, still a child. The question of succession was referred to a council of pundits, learned in Hindu lore, but which the British Government took little care to preserve from corruption. This seems to have been the head and front of its offending in the matter. The consequences were what might have been expected. Amîr Singh had the resources of the country in his hands; his rival was a child subject to his authority; and the council, with true oriental sagacity, was speedily convinced that the stronger party was the one on whose side the justice lay.

The administration of Amîr Singh, however, gave little satisfaction to his supporters. His cruel treatment of Serbojî, his oppression of his subjects, his reckless profligacy were daily subjects of complaint, and it was at length resolved by the British Government that Serbojî and the widows of the former Rajah should be removed to Madras. Here the claims of the latter to the throne were again brought before the notice of the Supreme Government, and Sir John Shore entered upon their investigation. The opinions of pundits at Benares and elsewhere were again sought, and with the success which might have been anticipated. If the British Government were not favorable to Serbojî, doubtless these learned orientals argued, they would not again solicit our opinion, and *ergo*, Serbojî has the best right to the throne. No decision less acute could have been anticipated from the astute doctors of Hindu law. Let us mark the transaction, for it is worthy of note as a development of the native character. Amîr and Serbojî are the two competitors: Amîr is in power, Serbojî an insignificant infant—the Hindu doctors are asked which has the best right to the throne—they doubtless smile at the useless interrogation, and give numerous reasons of great weight to shew that the wearer of the crown is its rightful possessor. But anon a stronger than Amîr steps into the field, takes Serbojî by the hand, and calls upon the learned doctors again to pronounce which of the two has the best right to the throne. How absurd to doubt of the reply! The pundit salaams to the most powerful again, and sets vigorously to work to destroy those arguments which a few years before he assured us were of adamant strength. Such is oriental probity! Such, the uprightness and consistency of the “grave and reverend” expounders of Hindu law!

The elevation of Serboji to the musnud was the occasion of a new treaty between the British Government and Tanjore. By this treaty the security of Amír Singh was provided, and a revenue of nearly £10,000 per annum assigned to him; the military and civil administration of the country were taken by the British, and an annual revenue of £40,000, secured to Serboji. "This arrangement," says the apologist of the honorable Company,* "was undoubtedly beneficial to the interests of Great Britain; but it is no exaggeration to say that it was far more beneficial to the people of Tanjore. It delivered them from the effects of native oppression and European cupidity. It gave them what they had never before possessed—the security derived from the administration of justice." The treaty by which these important advantages were secured to Tanjore, was concluded on the 25th October 1799, and ratified by the Governor-General in Council on the 29th November following.

A revolution somewhat similar was brought about in the city of Surat by causes very different. This city had acquired considerable importance from its extensive commerce, and from its being the port whence the pilgrims to the tomb of the prophet usually sailed to Mecca. A factory had been established there by the British at a very early period, and they had subsequently obtained considerable authority in consequence of having bravely defended the territory from the attack of the founder of the Mahratta empire. A century afterwards the command of the castle and fleet, which had been previously independent of the civil power, was granted to the British and confirmed by the Imperial Court of Delhi, of which the Nabob of Surat was a dependant. The subsequent destruction of the Supreme Power at Delhi caused the Nabob to assume an independence which, without the aid of the British, he could not maintain. The first ground of difference between the two was the alleged insufficiency of the funds allowed by the Nabob for the military and naval forces, an amount which, however, he was extremely unwilling, and professed himself to be unable, to increase. Remonstrances, and answers to them, passed continually between the two until the death of the reigning Nabob, early in 1799, afforded an opportunity to the Company's Government for authoritatively pressing its claims. It was quite evident, indeed, that two powers almost independent of each other, a military and a civil one, could not continue to exist in this small territory without the ultimate absorption of the one in the other. The question was whether the British were to resign

the authority they had received from the Imperial Court into the hands of the Nabob, or whether the latter was to become the dependant of the former. There was little of *right* on either side, but what there was of it, certainly attached to the side of the Nabob. The forces of the Company, however, were an unanswerable argument, of which its officers knew well how to avail themselves. We question whether any other power would have acted differently.

The death of the Nabob early in 1799, as we have said, afforded an opportunity for the British Government to press its claims upon Surat. An infant, his sole progeny survived him only a few weeks, and its uncle as heir, claimed the Government. Without the permission of the British he could not obtain it, and the price which they demanded for their assistance was the delivery of the entire civil and military administration of the city and territory into their hands. A treaty to this effect was drawn up by the Governor-General and sent to Bombay where it was a subject of negotiation till May 1800, when it was ultimately agreed to by the Nabob. "By this treaty it was provided that the management and collection of the revenues of the city of Surat, and of the territories, places, and other dependencies thereof, the administration of civil and criminal justice, and generally the whole civil and military government of the said city and its dependencies, should be vested for ever, entirely and exclusively in the Honorable East India Company." A lakh of rupees annually was set aside for the revenue of the Nabob, whilst he was allowed to retain his titles and honor as formerly.

Another proof of the Earl of Mornington's desire to consolidate the British Government in India, and to remove those festering sores which so much impeded the proper action of the body politic, was exhibited in his transactions with the Carnatic and its Nabob. With regard to the wretched condition into which this portion of India had been brought by the rule of Mahomed Ali and his successor Omdat-ul-Omra, no controversy can be maintained. These Nabobs had entered into engagements with the British Government relative to the support of subsidiary forces, which they took little care to discharge properly, and the consequence was the accumulation of debts and embarrassments which no proper means were taken to liquidate or remove. Remonstrances on the part of the Madras Government were met by evasive answers from Arcot. Europeans of no principle but of considerable sagacity carried on intrigues of the most openly profligate character at the Nabob's court. The revenue was badly managed, whilst the people were ground to the

dust by its collectors, and ruin, in its most appalling form, was fast extending over the country. To this state of things the Governor-General was by no means blind, and although not disposed to violate the letter of the last treaty concluded with the Nabob in 1792, was yet anxious, if possible, to find some means of preventing the spread of ruin over the entire country. For this purpose Lord Mornington early addressed the reigning Prince, calling his attention particularly to the large debt which he owed the Company, and proposing that a portion of his territory should be ceded to the British Government for its liquidation. The answer of His Highness the Nabob was courteous but decisive—he referred to the treaty of 1792, and hoped it was still binding—“Is it so nominated in the bond?”—was his answer to every proposal. The opinions of the Governor-General on the subject are to be found in his despatch to the Board of Control, dated March 5th, 1800. “The double Government of the Carnatic,” he there states, “is a difficulty which continues to present the most serious and alarming obstacles to every attempt at reform,”—“nor could he cherish the slightest hope,” he adds, “of an improvement during the life of the reigning Nabob.” “I am thoroughly convinced,” he continues in another part of this very voluminous despatch, “that no effectual remedy can ever be applied to the evils which afflict that country, without obtaining from the Nabob powers at least as extensive as those vested in the Company by the late treaty of Tanjore”—an arrangement which he hoped might be made on the death of Omdat-ul-Omra. It is evident, indeed, that it was Lord Mornington’s intention, long before he dreamt of a treasonable correspondence between that Prince and Tippú, to bring about a change in the administration of the Carnatic: and it is to the fact of his having promulgated this opinion before the proofs of this treachery were made apparent, that we probably owe the attacks which have subsequently been made upon him for the course which he pursued in reference to the Carnatic. Let us proceed with the history of the transaction first, however, and make what remarks upon it as may appear necessary subsequently. During the march of the British army into the territory of Tippú, the officers, civil and military, of the Nabob had acted in such a manner as to throw the most considerable difficulties into the way of its advance, whilst they were bound by treaty and engagements to afford it every facility. “During the whole course of the late war,” wrote the Governor-General, “the conduct of all the Nabob’s officers, without exception, amounted nearly to positive hostility in every part of his territories through which the British army, or that of the Nizam marched, or even

in which supplies were ordered to be procured or collected for their use. When complaints were stated to his Highness he promised redress, but never, in any instance, afforded it." This conduct on the part of the Nabob and his ministers naturally excited in Lord Mornington a suspicion that Omdat-ul-Omra was a friend of Tippû, or if not so, at least no well-wisher to the British Government. Papers found in Seringapatam on the capture of that fortress, sufficiently proved that such was actually the case, and that the treason of the Nabob had extended even to the communicating of intelligence which tended to promote the interests of the Mysorean Prince and impede the progress of the British. "Nothing, surely," says Mr. Mill, "ever was more fortunate than such a discovery at such a time!" That this discovery rendered the Governor-General less reluctant to carry out his views on the Carnatic by force, than he would otherwise have been, is certain, and so far was it "fortunate"—but if Mr. Mill's exclamation is intended, as the sequel appears to prove,* to imply that the whole discovery was a fraud and the papers forgeries, we repudiate his insinuation with disgust, and can only lament that any Englishman could be found to cast such an imputation on one of the most upright Governments that India ever enjoyed.

By these documents it was evident that the Nabob of Arcot had placed himself completely without the protection of treaties and engagements, for he had directly violated the tenth article of the treaty of 1792 in opening a correspondence with the Sultan of Mysore at all, whilst the entire communication proved the falsity of his expressions of pretended regard for the British, and the enmity which slumbered in his breast. These facts cannot be denied, and he would be a strange politician truly, who, in contemplation of them, would blame Lord Mornington for his harshness to a Prince, who, without the means of averting or opposing it, had thus wantonly excited the resentment of the British Government. The Governor-General, however, did not proceed in the matter with any ill-judged or

* "When the Governor-General, and all his superiors, and all his subordinates in the Government of India, were languishing and panting for the possession of the Carnatic, but afraid, without some more plausible reason than they yet possessed, to commence the seizure, here it was provided for them in extraordinary perfection." And again—"As the British Government was situated with regard to the papers of Tippû, it was, it may be affirmed, the easiest thing in the world to prepare evidence for any purpose which it pleased."—Mill's *British India*, vol. vi, p. 311.

With regard to this disgraceful charge, the biographer of Lord Wellesley justly observes that, not only must the Governor-General have been the grand mover of the forgery, but General Harris, General Baird, Colonel Arthur Wellesley, Colonel Close, Hon. Henry Wellesley, Captain Macaulay, Mr. Edmonstone, the Interpreter, and Mr. Webbe, the Secretary to Government, must have been also "the vile instruments" of this "unnuly fraud." This is surely *autis superque* on the subject.

unnecessary haste. It was not till the 28th of May 1881, that he issued his final orders on the subject, having previously made himself acquainted with the wishes of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. He then wrote to Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras, authorizing him to propose a new treaty to the Nabob, requiring him to cede the civil and military government of the Carnatic to the East India Company. He despatched at the same time a letter to the Nabob, informing him of the nature of the discoveries which had been made, and referring him to the Governor of Madras for information as to the new footing on which his connection with the Company was to be put. This letter, however, never reached him. When it arrived at Madras, Omdut was laboring under mortal disease, and lest it should aggravate the complaint by inducing mental anxiety, it was withheld. On the 15th July of the same year he died, and his will having, with some difficulty, been procured by Mr. Webbe and Col. Close, it was found that the Nabob had left all his rights, possessions, and properties, including the government of the Carnatic, to his reputed son Ali Hussein. With him Lord Clive offered to conclude the new treaty, but the youth refused to consent to the arrangement, and the Governor accordingly raised another member of the family to the musnud, Azim-ul-Dowlah by name, who gladly occupied it on the terms offered; an ample provision being, of course, made for the support of his princely dignity.

Such was the conclusion of this much-canvassed affair, and such is a succinct account of the proceedings which led to that result. Where then, we may well ask, in this history, are the grounds for that severe censure with which the British Government of the day has been visited for the part which it then acted? A Prince had entered into arrangements with the Company which he took no active precautions to fulfil. He allows himself to get deeply into arrears with the remittances which he has to make, and wrings from a half-ruined population contributions which tend to render his country a desert, in order to supply the wants caused by his own extravagance and want of care. He is remonstrated with, and neither gives nor promises satisfaction. He is threatened, and appeals to the faith of treaties which he has not himself properly fulfilled. Here for a time the matter ends, but after an interval, a mass of evidence is thrown into the hands of the forbearing party, proving that this prince, who holds so hard by the altar for protection, has himself violated the sanctuary, that he has systematically broken the treaties which he is so earnest in quoting; in fine, that he has been acting for years as the secret enemy of his generous creditor, and as the secret

friend of that creditor's enemy. This fact discovered, what mercy can he hope? He has a right to nothing at the hands of the pretended friend whom he has thus wantonly betrayed but open hostility. He is unable to ward off that hostility, and of course the insulted friend comes to him with an angry brow, throws off the cloak of friendship with indignation, and says, "you have abused my confidence, and favored my enemies, I now therefore strip you of every remnant of your power, whilst, out of my generosity, I give you funds amply sufficient to supply the trivialities and childish amusements in which you personally delight. Take them and live henceforth with the name of a Prince, but the power of a subject." Who can blame the stronger party in such a case as this?

Even Mill himself, the great opponent of every Indo-British Government, thus honestly confesses that the change for the Carnatic was a beneficial one—"Though we may suspect the servants of the Company of some exaggeration, when they describe the horrible effects of the Nabob's administration, there is no doubt that they were deplorable: It is equally certain, that no considerable improvement could be introduced while the powers of civil administration remained at the disposal of the Nabob: and, though what the Company had attempted for improving the condition of their subjects, where they possessed the undivided powers, had hitherto displayed but little either of skill or success, some efforts had been nobly intended, and will doubtless be followed by more judicious expedients. Even under the bad system of taxation and the bad system of judicature which the English would employ, the people would immediately suffer less than under the still more defective systems of the Nabob; and they would reap the benefit of all the improvements which a more enlightened people may be expected to introduce. *On this ground, we should have deemed the Company justified, in proportion as the feelings of millions are of more value than the feelings of an individual, in seizing the Government of the Carnatic long before;* and, on the same principle, we should rejoice, that every inch of ground within the limits of India were subject to their sway. In matters of detail, I have more frequently had occasion to blame the Company's Government than to praise it; and, till the business of Government is much better understood, whoever writes history with a view solely to the good of mankind, will have the same thankless task to perform; yet I believe it will be found that the Company, during the period of their sovereignty, have done more in behalf of their subjects, have shown more of good-will towards them, have shown less of a selfish attachment to mis-

chievous powers lodged in their own hands, have displayed a more generous welcome to schemes of improvement, and are now more willing to adopt improvements, not only than any other sovereign existing in the same period, but than all other sovereigns taken together upon the surface of the globe."*

The policy pursued by Lord Mornington (who in December 1799, was created Marquess Wellesley, by which name we shall in future style him) with reference to Oude did not give more general satisfaction to one class of politicians than the measures which we have just detailed. Very shortly after his arrival in Bengal he signified to the resident at Lucknow his disapproval of the policy of the reigning Vizier,† Saadut Ali Khan, and the necessity which he conceived there existed for a more substantial guarantee for the payment of the Company's subsidies than the promises of a capricious and wavering eastern despot afforded. Saadut Ali Khan was of a disposition somewhat different from that which usually characterises the princes of India. His ruling passion was avarice; his mental failings cowardice and irresolution. He did not, it is true, waste the treasures wrung from the hard labour of his subjects in wild extravagance, but he rendered them equally, if not more, useless to the country at large, by hoarding them in a private treasury. He had a body of ministers, but in them he put no trust, for he looked upon them as the tools of the English resident. He had a body of troops, which, had it been disciplined, we might have styled an army, but in it he felt little confidence, nay, rather was he in fear on account of it, for the wages of his soldiers were safely locked in his own coffers—he preferred the gold which justly belonged to *them*, to their love and fidelity, looking for consolation in their tumults and disturbances to the treasures of which he was depriving them, and relying on a foreign power for protection against their violence. Such a Prince, in such a position, might excite contempt in the proud, or pity in the humane, but respect he could win from none.

The military force, which we have just referred to, was the particular part of the Vizier's establishment which the Governor-General considered most defective, and that, in which a "re-form" might be best commenced, and this he was not slow in recommending,—urging that the funds which were consumed in the support of these "numerous disorderly battalions," which were in the service of the Vizier, would be amply sufficient to

* Mill's British India. Vol. vi, p. 330.

† We do not here notice the rebellion of Vizier Ali and its consequences, as these events have been already amply detailed in the pages of this Review. See No. 1, p. 75, and "Postscript."

defray the expense of a subsidiary British force which had "become indispensably necessary to the security of His Excellency's dominions." "This," as Mill truly and sarcastically remarks, "was what the Governor-General, with other Englishmen, called a *reform* of the military establishments of the Vizier ; the total annihilation of his military power, and the resignation of himself and his country to the army of another State." Let us not forget, however, that the state of Oude was almost as completely in the power of the British Government before, as after this reform. The troops of the Vizier were utterly incapable of competing with those of the Company in their disorganized and disorderly condition, whilst there seemed little probability of anything like a real reform during the government of Saadut Ali Khan. The question was then, not whether the troops of Oude were more likely to uphold the Vizier's authority than the British troops, but which was the more likely to be of utility to Oude itself? The disciplined army of the Company able and ready to oppose foreign invaders, such as the Affghan King, or the plundering disorganized bands of the Vizier?

In the progress of the negotiation Lord Wellesley seems to have fixed his eyes at an early period upon Colonel Scott as a man more able and politic than the existing resident. He accordingly wrote to Mr. Lumsden that "as he was aware he would require the assistance of some able military officer in the execution of the arrangement proposed, he (Lord Wellesley) had requested Sir A. Clarke to dispense with the services of Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, the Adjutant General, who would be directed to proceed to Lucknow immediately." This Mr. Lumsden naturally looked upon as an insidious supercession of himself, and sent in his resignation accordingly. His conduct in this transaction, we conceive, most people will admire more than that pursued by the Governor-General. Openness and candour demanded, in our opinion, that the latter should have given the appointment at once to Colonel Scott if he conceived Mr. Lumsden incapable, instead of thus attempting to give the former the power, and the latter the name merely, of Resident.

From a letter addressed on the 4th November 1799 by Lord Wellesley to the Vizier, it would appear that the former made use of the threatened invasion of Zeman Shah merely as an excuse for thrusting *permanently* upon the authorities at Lucknow the maintenance of a force intended at first but for the emergency mentioned. In that letter he says, "it might not be in the power of the British Government, on a sudden emergency to reinforce the troops in your Excellency's country with sufficient

expedition ; my firm opinion, therefore, is that the Company can in no other way effectually fulfill their engagements "to defend the dominions of your Excellency against all enemies," *than by maintaining constantly in these dominions such a force as shall be at all times adequate to your effectual protection, independently of any reinforcement which the exigency might otherwise require*, but which might not be disposable in proper season."* It is not often that we can concur with the censures of Mr. Mill, but in this point we must confess to considering his observations strictly just. "This was," he says, "In other words, an explicit declaration that the military force for the protection of Oude ought to be, at all times, even in the bosom of the most profound peace, at the utmost extent of a war establishment, than which a more monstrous proposition never issued from human organs !" One is almost tempted to suppose this proposition made with the sole intention of rousing the opposition of the Vizier, that advantage might be taken of that opposition to his own destruction, or at least to the destruction of his authority. If such were really the object, it would certainly have been more manly and straightforward in the Governor-General to place his alternatives before the Vizier, and say "accept of one of these, or reject both at your peril. The British Government has the power, and I have the will, to force compliance." The expense incurred by this augmentation, Lord Wellesley again reminded him, might be defrayed by disbanding his own disorderly legions.

The Vizier continued irresolute and indisposed to give any final answer, continually urging that he had a proposition of his own to bring forward, which he hoped would supersede the necessity of this measure being forced upon him : after much delay this proposal was unfolded by him in person to the Resident. It was that he had entertained for some time "an earnest desire to relinquish a Government which he could not manage with satisfaction to himself or advantage to his subjects." This communication Col. Scott heard with pleasure, giving intimation of it, of course, as speedily as possible to the Governor-General. Lord Wellesley, however, with more keen-sighted policy, considered that if his Excellency could but be persuaded to renounce the civil and military administration of Oude in favor of the Company, it would be better far than an abdication,—more advantageous to the latter at least. This proposition, however, the Vizier would by no means agree to. He naturally asked, if he complied with His Lordship's wishes, how much

of his authority would descend to his successors, and being told that the scheme did not provide for a successor at all, he indignantly, and, as we conceive, naturally rejected it. His intention, so far as we can gather it from an attentive perusal of Col. Scott's despatches, in originally having made the proposal, appears to have been, not to renounce the sovereignty of Oude on behalf of himself and his family (if he could do so) for ever, but merely to shift the burden of government upon another, contenting himself with a private station and the enjoyment of his amassed wealth. When Lord Wellesley was informed, however, of the refusal of Saadut Ali to ratify the treaty proposed, he professed to consider his conduct as wholly indefensible, and "intended to defeat by artificial delays, the proposed reform of his Excellency's military establishments," * and again he writes that "he was extremely disgusted at the duplicity and insincerity which mark the conduct of the Nabob Vizier on the present occasion." This duplicity and insincerity may certainly have been exhibited in other transactions by the Vizier, but not, that we can discover, in that to which the above refers—his proposal of abdication in favor of his son. On these charges against this unfortunate Prince, Thornton is very wisely silent—he judiciously says in his very brief notice of the affair, "whether he had ever entertained any sincere intention of relinquishing it (the government of Oude) is a question on which it is impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion."

The Nabob Vizier being now understood to have refused both the propositions of the Governor-General, that is either to resign his civil and military power altogether, or to allow of such an augmentation of his forces as would be likely to render Oude secure in the case of the threatened invasion by Zeman Shah, Lord Wellesley resolved to force the latter measure upon him, whether he agreed to it or not. The march of the troops intended to occupy that country was therefore ordered forthwith. This was on the 31st August, 1800. The Vizier protested against the measure, and the Governor-General was again angry at his protest. The troops were marched on, but no funds were forthcoming from the Vizier for their maintenance. After much delay, and a most voluminous correspondence, he at length acceded to the disbanding of his forces, a measure which the Resident and those acting with him performed with consummate ability—no disturbance of any kind resulting from a measure which the Vizier considered would plunge his country into "a sea of troubles." The funds derivable from this measure, however, were not found

* Despatches, II., p. 199.

to be so great as was anticipated, and the Vizier at length declared his utter inability to afford sufficient for the maintenance of the European squadrons. This declaration once made, it was immediately seized upon by the Governor-General as a reason for insisting upon the performance of the second alternative which had been submitted to his Excellency—"you will require his Excellency," were the orders given to the Resident in January 1801, "to make a cession to the Company, in perpetual sovereignty, of such a portion of his territories, as shall be fully adequate, in their present impoverished condition, to defray these indispensable charges." The portion thus marked out comprised the Doab and Rohilcund, with Azimghur and Goruckpore, if the former should be found insufficient ; that is, nearly two-thirds of the Vizier's entire dominions.

This cession, it is not to be supposed, that the Vizier would readily agree to, and he accordingly endeavored to ward off, for a time at least, if he could not entirely avert the evil by correspondence. This correspondence continued till June 1801, when the Vizier communicated directly to the Governor-General a number of proposals as conditions on which he should agree to the sacrifice required. These, however, did not meet Lord Wellesley's approval, and he accordingly replied that he had demanded this territorial security "as a matter of right and justice, which required no correspondent concession on the part of the Company." For many months after this the negotiation "dragged its slow length along," without anything decisive occurring—the Vizier declaring that unless the Governor-General granted the concessions he demanded, he would not give up so large a share of his territories, and the Governor-General urging upon him the necessity of compliance and submission.

At length Lord Wellesley, who was then on a journey through the Upper Provinces, sent his brother, Mr. Henry Wellesley,* to Lucknow to conclude the negotiation. On the 5th September that gentleman met the Vizier, and informed him of the fixed determination of the Governor-General to proceed with the measure which had been commenced, in defiance of every obstacle. At length in November of the same year, a treaty was concluded on the terms desired by the British rule. The Vizier, by this engagement, bound himself "to cede territory yielding one crore and thirty-five lakhs of rupees, including expenses of collection, in commutation of all claims upon the British Government, and he in return was released from all future demands on account of the protection of Oude or its dependencies.

* Subsequently Lord Cowley.

On the 10th January 1802 the Governor-General was met at Cawnpore by the Vizier, who conducted him to Lucknow, where several minor matters, relating particularly to the better government of the territories still left to the tender mercies of the Vizier's government, were decided. A commission was also formed, about the same time, for the settlement of the ceded provinces, at the head of which Mr. H. Wellesley was placed—the abilities which he had displayed in the negotiation, having satisfied his brother the Marquess, that the settlement of the country could not be placed in more able hands. To this appointment the Court of Directors objected as being a virtual supercession of the rights of their civil service, an objection which was immediately overruled, however, by the Board of Control. In the course of this settlement the relationship in which the Nabob of Furruckabad stood to the Company came naturally under consideration. This Prince had annually paid to the Vizier a stipulated tribute, in consideration of which the latter sovereign defended his dominions and supplied him with soldiers. This tribute being transferred to the Company, Mr. Wellesley conceived it would be greatly to the advantage of the Government which he served, if the Nabob would transfer to him all his civil and military jurisdiction, a portion of the revenues of the district, sufficiently ample, being reserved for the Nabob's private use. To this arrangement the Nabob was unwilling to agree, but Mr. Wellesley pressed the matter, and he at length "reluctantly yielded." "It is to be wished," says Mr. Thornton, "that the transfer had been effected in a less summary way."*

We have now seen the attention of the indefatigable Governor-General directed during the same period to Surat in the West, Tanjore in the South, and Oude in the North, whilst he was planning extensive reforms also in Bengal, but these labours and topics, great as they were, were not the only ones which occupied his mind. Equally formed to grasp the most extensive subject in all its magnificence and entirety, or to pry into the details of the most complicated political mechanism, we have seen him on first approaching the shores of India, planning a great scheme of political action and diplomacy, whereby the dangers impending on British India might be averted, and the British power consolidated, whilst we have subsequently viewed him entering into every minutia of the progress of those great political schemes—the disbanding of the French corps at Hyderabad, the conquest of Mysore, the assumption of the civil and military

* Vol. III., p. 239.

power of Surat, the settlement of Oude. Differing as these various measures did in importance, in their effects, and in their nature, he neglected none of them—his “Despatches” remain an imperishable monument of the universality and greatness of his mental grasp, as they do also of the minuteness with which he entered into every question. We have now to view him providing against the incursion of Zeman Shah, by bringing another power into the field against him, whilst he was providing also against his appearance by the concentration of troops and settlement of territories in his own neighbourhood. We refer to his embassy to the Khan of Persia early in 1800, which was despatched from Bombay. Captain Malcolm, who had proved himself worthy of trust at Hyderabad, was chosen for this service, and acquitted himself in it with distinction. Before the close of 1800 a treaty was concluded with that Prince, by which he bound himself to renew his attack on Khorassan, and to prevent the establishment of the French on any portion of his dominions. This attack was the means of recalling Zeman Shah to his dominions, whilst the assistance given by the Persian ruler to Zeman’s brother, kindled a civil war which ended in the elevation of the latter to the throne, and the dethronement of the booster who was to drive the English from India.

During the same year the Marquess prepared an expedition, which was concentrated at Trincomalee, for the purpose of resisting any act of aggression on the part of the French in the East, or of repelling an attack on India itself, should such be contemplated. The Mauritius, he conceived, might with this force, be easily subdued, and thus great loss to the English commercial navy be prevented by occupying an island, whence numerous cruizers and privateers were continually despatched. To carry out this measure, the Governor-General requested the co-operation of Admiral Rainier, then commanding the British navy in the East, a co-operation which, to his surprise and disappointment, was refused, apparently on the ground that the Admiral had no orders from home to engage in such an expedition. The Marquess remonstrated, but without avail, and the expedition was accordingly sent to Egypt under General Baird to act against the French army there under Napoleon. It consisted of about a thousand Europeans, four thousand Native infantry, escorted by a squadron of Company’s cruizers under Admiral Blankett. Thus, for the first time, were the natives of ‘utmost Ind,’ in co-operation with their European fellow subjects, brought to the banks of the Nile to do battle with the Gallic invaders of the East. Roman history tells us of no such event—it was reserved for that empire on which the sun never sets to embattle the Indian sepoy and the Briton

against the Frank, and that, too, in the land of the pyramids ! The fate of Egypt, however, had been decided before the arrival of General Baird, so that a toilsome march through the desert and the heroic, endurance of hardships, were the only claims which he had to military honors.

We have seen the Governor-General hitherto successful in every thing which he undertook, the course of his administration uniformly prosperous ; when we are informed, therefore, that, on the first of January 1802, he intimated to the Court of Directors his desire to resign his high office at the end of that year, we must look for the causes of this announcement to something differing entirely from unsuccessful policy or disappointed ambition. His reasons for this announcement were not detailed in the despatch alluded to, but are to be found in a private letter to Mr. Addington, which has been prefixed to the 3rd volume of the Wellesley despatches. The causes there detailed, he enumerates under the three following heads—first, that the Court of Directors had manifested a want of confidence in his administration ; secondly, that they had directly interfered “in several of the most important details of the local executive Government of India,” by dismissing persons either directly appointed by Lord Wellesley, or whose appointment had met his approbation, and selecting others for their situations, “whose appointment” was “entirely contrary to his judgment”—the Court intimating further that they intended to pursue the same course subsequently, and thirdly, that the Directors had “positively disapproved” several measures of his administration and withholden its sanction from others. It would occupy too much of our limited space were we to enumerate the particular instances of the Court’s opposition which are alluded to under the above heads. Suffice it to mention, the peremptory order to reduce the military strength of British India ; the peremptory order to reduce the salaries and allowances of several officers which had been increased subsequently to the Mysore campaign, and amongst others those of the Marquess’ brother, General Arthur Wellesley ; the positive order to rescind Col. Kirkpatrick’s appointment as secretary in the political department ; the order to revise Col. Scott’s appointment as resident at Lucknow “with a view to rescind it” ; the peremptory order to appoint Mr. Speke, acting President of the Board of Trade, with the refusal to sanction the Governor-General’s scheme regarding the College at Fort William, (full particulars of which have formerly appeared in this Review).* In answer to his application, the Court requested him to continue in office for another year, that is, till the beginning of 1804, “being persuaded that his Lordship

* See No. IX—Article 2—“The College of Fort William.”

would be enabled, in the course of another season, to terminate with honor to himself and advantage to the Company, every measure of importance connected with their recent acquisition." The war with the Mahrattas, however, prevented his departure till the summer of 1805.

The rise and progress of the Mahratta power form one of the most deeply interesting chapters of Indian history—its later career was worthy of its origin, aggressive, turbulent, fearless and unreflecting. But the spirit which had animated the first energetic leader of the lawless bands of the Mahrattas had now died out in the Court of Púna and in the breast of the Peishwa ; it was to be found only in the untameable ambition of a few predatory chiefs, whose personal daring and hazardous exploits emulated the fame and deeds of the founder of the Empire to which they nominally owed subjection. Harassed as the Peishwa was, however, by his turbulent and ambitious *subject* princes (as they nominally were), and feeble as the Court of Púna had become, still that sovereign was universally recognized by the native states of India and by the British Government as the head of the Mahrattan confederacy—if confederacy that collection of states can be called which was not united by any regular form, any system of constitutional laws, or of established treaties ; whose only bonds of union lay in a vague and indefinite sense of common interest, the recollections of a common origin, the similarity of their civil and religious usages, and finally in their common habits of lawless depredation. In 1792 the Peishwa had materially benefitted by the partition of the conquered and ceded portions of Tippú's dominions, an opportunity of which Lord Cornwallis had availed himself to enter into an alliance with that Prince which was intended to be beneficial, of course, to British interests. Between the years 1792 and 98, however, the authority of the Peishwa had been so materially lessened by Scindia, one of his own military officers, that the latter may be said to have entirely usurped the Government, and thus frustrated any advantages which were expected from the treaty of Seringapatam. The power of Scindia was upheld by that kind of support of which the Mahrattas, better than any other people, understood, the influence, an army, the artillery and regular infantry of which had been trained by French officers—that of the Peishwa, by right, and hereditary title, bases of sand or water in such a State as that. In the condition to which the latter Prince was thus reduced, Lord Wellesley conceived he saw the means of promoting British interests at Púna, if he could but persuade the Peishwa to accept the aid of a British force to reinstate him in his hereditary throne a lawful piece of diplomacy unquestionably, and in the subsequent development of which, we shall find little to censure. At the same time that overtures of this nature were.

made to the nominal head, the real fountain of power was not forgotten. Propositions of the most amicable nature were offered to Scindia, which were, however, immediately rejected. To his influence also the Governor-General attributed the rejection of his offers to the Peishwa, and the breach of treaty by that Prince, in the last war with Mysore.* The circumstances which led the Governor-General to repeat his offers of assistance are thus detailed by himself:—

"The Mahratta states, unconnected with any European ally, could never become formidable to the British Government, excepting in the event of an actual union of the feudal chiefs of the empire, under an efficient sovereign power, or in the event of a revolution, which should unite the command of the resources of a large portion of the Mahratta territory, in the hands of an active and enterprising chief. Such events, however to be deprecated, might have been encountered without apprehension by the British Government, in the commanding position of its foreign relations, and in the vigorous condition of its internal resources and concentrated strength.

But it was obviously prudent to employ every endeavour to effect such an arrangement, as should preclude the union of the Mahratta state under any circumstances, which might menace interruption to the tranquillity of our possessions, or of those of our allies. With this view, it appeared to be expedient to receive under the protection of the general defensive system, of which the foundation was laid by the treaty with the Nizam concluded in 1800, such of the Mahratta states as might be disposed to enter into subsidiary engagements with the British Government: on this principal a subsidiary treaty was concluded with the Guikwar in 1802, the operation of which attached that state to the Company, and secured to the Company a valuable and important territorial establishment in the maritime province of Guzerat. The most effectual arrangement, however, for securing the British Government against any danger from the Mahratta states, appeared to be an intimate alliance with the acknowledged sovereign power of the Mahratta empire, founded upon principles, which should render the British influence and military force the main support of that power. Such an arrangement appeared to afford the best security for preserving a due balance between the several states constituting the confederacy of the Mahratta empire, as well as for preventing any dangerous union, or diversion of the resources of that empire.

It has always been a principal object of the British Government to prevent the sovereign power of the Mahratta state, or the power of any great branch of the Mahratta empire, from passing into the hands of France. While the views of the Government of France shall be directed to the establishment of its authority within the peninsula of Hindustan, it is manifestly the policy of the British Government to accomplish such a system of alliances with the powers of India, as may preclude the occurrence of those internal convulsions, which would afford to France the most favorable opportunity of effecting her ambitious purpose.

The disturbed state of the Mahratta empire would have afforded an advantageous opportunity to the Government of France, for the successful prosecution of its favorite object, of establishing a dominion within the peninsula of Hindustan, by the introduction of a military force, for the purpose of aiding the cause of one of the contending parties; and the views of France would have been materially favoured by the strength and efficiency of Monsieur Perron's force, established with a great territorial dominion

* See his views on the subject at length in his "Notes relative to the late transactions in the Mahratta Empire," an extract from which is given in the "Despatches," vol. iii, p. xxvi—xli.

extending towards the left bank of the Indus through the Punjab, and comprehending Agia, Delhi, and a large portion of the Doab of the Jumna and Ganges, on the most vulnerable part of our north-western frontier of Hindustan; and holding the person and nominal authority of the unfortunate Shah Alum, (the deposed Mogul emperor,) in the most abject and degrading subjection."

In this position of affairs Lord Wellesley considered it no less desirable from policy than from prudence that the Peishwa should be induced, if possible, to place himself in such connexion with the British Government as would have preserved the influence of the former amongst the Mahratta chiefs, and insured that of the latter in the Court of Púna. This connexion the Peishwa resolutely prevented until circumstances compelled him in 1802 to throw himself upon the generosity of the British Government, and ask its aid to re-establish himself on his hereditary throne. These circumstances it shall now be our aim briefly to narrate.

The authority which Scindia possessed at Púna was extended over those parts of the Mahratta empire which will lingly acknowledged the superior authority of the Peishwa. Is a dispute respecting the sovereignty of a territory in Malwa between two brothers of the Holkar family, Scindia had exerted his authority to raise one of them Cashí Rao Holkar to the throne, in consequence, as it is said, of a bribe, variously stated at six and fifteen lakhs of rupees. The other brother he attacked with a military force and slew, dispersing his attendants, taking care however to obtain possession of his infant son Khundeh Rao as soon as born. Cashí Rao appears to have been a man of no energy or independence, and the consequence of these violent proceedings was that the Holkar estates were really administered by Scindia himself. Jeswunt Rao, an illegitimate brother of Cashí's, had espoused the cause of the slain aspirant to the throne, and after many romantic adventures, succeeded at length in collecting and disciplining a force by means of which he hoped to be able to reinstate the infant Khundeh on the throne. On the 14th October 1801, Scindia met him with a considerable force near Indore and completely defeated him; but Jeswunt was not to be extinguished by a single defeat. He employed himself in busily re-organizing and adding to his shattered force, changing the field of his operations from Malwa to Púna, and so effectually had he succeeded in regaining his power, that early in 1802, he was more formidable than he had ever been before.

In the meantime, the Peishwa had been considering more favorably of the offer of Lord Wellesley, and consented to take six battalions of British troops into his service, proposing to

yield a territory, however, as security for the subsidy requisite, over which his authority was but nominal—a security which the Governor-General did not deem sufficient. The advance of Jeswunt Holkar to Púna, and his avowed determination of releasing the Peishwa from the authority of Scindia, and of placing Khundeh on the throne of Malwa, thoroughly alarmed the authorities there, but did not frighten the Peishwa into accepting the Governor-General's offer, until a battle had been fought in October, between the rival chieftains—Scindia and Holkar, in which the troops of Holkar were completely victorious. The Peishwa then fled with precipitation, sending his minister at the same time to the British Resident, Colonel Close, offering to cede to the Company territory in Guzerat, or the southern portion of his dominions, yielding an annual revenue of twenty-six lakhs for the subsidy. This was all that the Governor-General desired, and on the engagement being transmitted to him, he ratified it immediately.

Púna, in the meantime, had fallen into the hands of Holkar, who having failed in obtaining possession of the Peishwa, administered affairs in the name of Amrut Rao,* an adopted son of the Peishwa's father; whilst the fugitive Prince hastened to Savendrug, whence a British ship conveyed him to Bassein in the vicinity of Bombay, where he awaited the answer of the Governor-General to his engagement. Colonel Close followed the Peishwa to ratify the proposed treaty as speedily as circumstances would permit. On the 6th December, the Governor-General's approbation of the Peishwa's offers was received, and on the 31st of the same month, the important treaty of Bassein was concluded. It consisted of nineteen articles,† of which we shall only notice the more important, and that as briefly as possible.

The first and second clauses declare perpetual peace between the two contracting powers, the British Government engaging to defend the rights and territories of the Peishwa, from all acts of unprovoked hostility and aggression, for which purpose, in the third article, the Company agrees to give, and the Peishwa to receive, a "permanent subsidiary force of not less than six thousand regular native infantry, with the usual proportion of field pieces, and European artillerymen attached," which force, it was added, was to be stationed in perpetuity in his Highness' territories. For the support of this force, certain portions of

* Amrut Rao he nominated Regent for his son Vinayak Rao, who was raised to the Musnud.

† It will be found by the student entire in the Wellesley "Despatches," vol. iii, p. 627.

his dominions, estimated to produce twenty-six lakhs, were made over by the Peishwa in the 4th, 5th and 6th articles. Then followed sundry stipulations relative to the manner in which the promised territories were to be ceded, and the employment of the subsidiary force which the Peishwa required. In the eleventh article, it was stipulated that any Europeans in the service of the Peishwa belonging to a State with which the British nation might be at war, should be dismissed from such service and not allowed to reside in the Peishwa's dominions, so soon as it should be proved that these persons entertained hostile feelings, or had entered into intrigues hostile to the British nation. The succeeding clauses prohibited the Peishwa from committing any act of aggression against the Company's allies or dependants, whilst he was to accept of, and abide by, the Company's mediation in his disputes with various native powers specified. Such were the principal stipulations in the celebrated treaty of Bassein, a treaty unquestionably of the utmost importance to the British Government in India, securing as it did, their supremacy and influence in a State, which circumstances, neither improbable nor remote, might have made one of the most formidable, as it certainly was, one of the most turbulent, with which that Government would have to deal.

The reinstatement of the Peishwa upon the throne at Púna, and the ratification of friendly treaties with Scindia or Holkar, were now the principal objects of the British ruler. To accomplish the latter, negotiations were commenced with the former chieftain intended to gain his amicable consent to the arrangements entered into with the Peishwa, and to induce him to become a party to the system of defensive alliance, whilst Holkar was informed of the treaty and requested to allow its peaceful fulfilment.* To this policy the keen observer cannot but attribute unqualified praise, whatever the snarling sarcasms of hostile criticism may insinuate, for it certainly was the wisest course which the Governor-General could pursue, not precipitately to bring the contest between Scindia and Holkar to a close by abruptly marching troops against them, but to gain, if possible, the friendship of one or both. The evasive answers of Scindia to the requests made, and the exorbitant demands of Holkar, the satisfaction of which, he said, would alone induce him to meet the wishes of the British Government, were sufficient to weary out the most patient, and to irritate the most forbearing. Troops were accordingly marched from all quarters upon Púna

* These negotiations did not delay for a single day, however, the reinstatement of the Peishwa, on his throne at Púna.

The Nizam's contingent reached the western frontier of the Nizam's territories, one hundred and sixteen miles from the Peishwa's capital, on the 25th March 1803. Major-General Wellesley advanced from the south, with a considerable British force, aided by two thousand five hundred of the Rajah of Mysore's horse, and, on the 15th, effected a junction with the Nizam's contingent. On the 20th, by a forced march with his cavalry, this enterprising General (whose deeds were so soon to pronounce him, what his European campaigns subsequently confirmed, the first of modern tacticians) was seen before Puna, which, it is said, the Commander of Holkar's forces there had orders to destroy before letting it fall into the hands of the British. Puna was preserved, the family of the Peishwa recovered, and that Prince reinstated on his hereditary throne. Such was the opening scene of the great drama which was now to be enacted on the Mahratta territories; the Wellesleys, Scindia, and Holkar the principal actors; all the world the spectators.

In the march of this force, and the reinstatement of the Peishwa upon the musnud, the Governor-General was far from anticipating the commencement of a long and bloody war. That the Mahratta chiefs, or at least the more powerful of them, would be far from being pleased with the stipulations of the treaty of Bassein, he was perfectly aware, but the Rajah of Berar he knew to be an indolent and pacific Prince, whose rights were not directly invaded by the treaty, and whom therefore he judged not likely to measure swords with the overpowering strength of British India, for a point of honor. Scindia and Holkar were at variance, and even if they united, their raw troops could not be expected long to stand before the valour of the British veterans, whilst they could each enjoy the government of their own territories, or their mutual war, without interference in consequence of the treaty of Bassein. Lord Wellesley's hopes of peace therefore were founded upon the friendship of the Peishwa, the apathy of the Rajah of Berar, and the prudence of the two hostile leaders, Scindia and Holkar; but he was deceived—the "friendship" of the Peishwa had been better designated by the name of enmity, the "apathy" of the Rajah by that of unreflecting resentment, and the "prudence" of the rival chiefs by that of rashness. It is easy for the historian *now* to say that his expectation of peace was folly; his only error was in believing that the Mahratta chiefs would act as prudence dictated that they should act.

The refusal of Scindia to give his consent to the treaty of Bassein, the gradual approach of that chieftain and the Rajah of

Berar towards each other, and the opening up of communications between them and Holkar, all tended to dissipate the dreams of peace which had for some months occupied the Governor-General's mind, and bade him prepare for war. This he did with his characteristic energy and ability. On the 28th June, General Lake, the Commander-in-Chief, then on the northern frontier, was instructed to put the army under his command in a state of preparation for the field, with as little delay as possible, whilst General Wellesley in the south was to advance upon the territories of Scindia to the south of the Godavery. These measures of course were not taken until it was plainly apparent that the discontented chieftains were determined to resist the operation of the treaty of Bassein by force. With his characteristic comprehensiveness of design, the Marquess determined, as war was now inevitable, not to sheathe the sword until such a settlement was affected "as should afford a reasonable prospect of continued peace and security to the British Government and its allies." For this purpose the plan of operations in the north was constituted to accomplish two great military and two political ends—that in the south a great political object and two conquests. "The first of the military objects was to conquer the whole of that portion of Scindia's dominions, which lay between the Ganges and the Jumna; destroying completely the French force" under General Perron, "by which that district was protected; extending the Company's frontier to the Jumna, and including the cities of Delhi and Agra, with a chain of posts, sufficient for protecting the navigation of the river, on the right bank of the Jumna." The second was the annexation of Bundelcund. The political objects were, first, the possession of the unfortunate Shah Alum, and his nominal authority as the Mogul, now in the hands of General Perron, and the extension to the minor Mahratta states of his subsidising military system. On the south General Wellesley was to defeat Scindia and the Rajah of Berar, thereby protecting the Company's territories and the Governments of the Nizam, the Peishwa and the Guikwar. The two conquests to be made on this side were the extensive province of Cuttack from the Rajah of Berar, which would connect Bengal with the Northern Circars, and the port of Baroach from Scindia, with its contiguous district on the coast of Guzerat. Such were the great objects to which the unprovoked war so madly entered upon by the combined chiefs, were to be made subservient! Such the comprehensive ends which the statesman-like mind of a Wellesley saw might be effected when the sword was once drawn! But thus is it ever with genius—the seeming obstructions that start up in its path

are but made the stepping-stones to aims which it had scarcely dared to hope previously might sometime be effected.

It is not our intention, as it would not comport with our limited space, to enter upon a detailed account of the military operations carried on respectively by Generals Lake and Wellesley. A brief notice of the advance of each, however, and at least the names of the battles fought, will be necessary to the due understanding of the Governor-General's subsequent measures. On the 4th June General Wellesley, with a force of about 9,000 men, advanced from Púna to attack Scindia's fort of Ahmednuggur. His progress was impeded by the weather, so that it was not till the 8th of August that he summoned the Killedar of the fort to a surrender. The summons was disregarded, and the Pettah was taken by force next day. On the 10th a small battery was opened upon the fort, and on the 12th it was surrendered. The possession of Ahmednuggur left the whole of Scindia's territories south of the Godavery at the mercy of the British. On the 29th of the same month the fort of Baroach was taken, after a vigorous resistance by Colonel Woodington, acting under the orders of the General. Advancing from Ahmednuggur the British Commander was informed that Scindia and the Rajah of Berar had entered the territories of the Nizam, and were pushing on with a considerable force of cavalry, it was supposed to attack Hyderabad. General Wellesley moved with his force, now diminished by garrisons and losses to about half its previous number, so as to counteract them, and on the 21st September, communicated with Col. Stephenson, who commanded the Nizam's contingent and horse, when a plan was concerted to attack the combined force at Bokerdun on the morning of the 24th. The force which the British General thus decided to attack had been increased a few days before by a large body of infantry under Colonel Pohlman, a French man—no effort having been made apparently on the other side to prevent this junction, a circumstance which strikes us as extraordinary. On the morning of the 23rd, Gen. Wellesley arrived at Naulniah by the eastern route round the hills between Budnapur and Jalna, expecting Colonel Stephenson next day by the western. When there, however, the General heard that the cavalry of the enemy were moving off and the infantry about to follow; he therefore resolved on immediately attacking them as they stood, their cavalry resting on Bokerdun, their infantry on Assye.* The battle which followed

* Thornton says, "it turned out that the information upon which the plan had been arranged had deceived the commander," and subsequently "misinformation brought the battle prematurely on."—Vol. iii., p. 327 and 330. General Wellesley, in his despatch to the Governor-General from the field of battle, writes: "I found the whole combined army encamped on the bank of the Raitna river, nearly on the ground which I had been informed that they occupied."—Wellesley Despatches, iii, p. 324.

has long been matter of history, and has afforded much ground for comment—it was bravely fought, and won, with much bloodshed, by the handful of troops which the General commanded; ninety pieces of cannon being left in the hands of the British. "This victory," said their illustrious commander, "which was certainly complete, has cost us dear."

On Colonel Stephenson joining Wellesley on the 24th, he was despatched in pursuit of the defeated host. The latter body proceeded westward, apparently threatening Puna. To prevent any attack on that quarter, General Wellesley remained himself in the south, ordering Stephenson to the north to attack Burhanpore and Assirghur. This threatened attack Scindia moved to the northward to prevent, whilst the Rajah marched towards Chandore. To oppose Scindia, General Wellesley was again obliged to make a harassing march to the northward, and when Scindia's object had been defeated, he again came southward, passing Aurungabad on the 29th October. Stephenson's force had been completely successful—Burhanpore had been evacuated by the enemy on his approach, and on the 21st of the same month, Assirghur, "the key of Dekhan," surrendered, with all Scindia's dominions in that province. Thence this division proceeded to Berar, threatening Gawilghur, the principal fortress of the Rajah. This movement the Rajah marched to counteract—Wellesley advancing also, to support Colonel Stephenson's detachment. On the 29th November the two divisions of the British army united, taking up a position, six miles from the Rajah's force, which was posted on the plains of Argaum. On being apprised of the proximity of the enemy, the British General, with that characteristic intrepidity and confidence, which so eminently distinguished all his campaigns, whether in India or in Europe, resolved to attack them immediately. The battle of Argaum was fought in the evening and resulted in the complete defeat of the Rajah's force; thirty-eight pieces of cannon remaining in the hands of the assailants. In consequence of this success no time was lost in investing Gawilghur, which was reached after a very toilsome march through the mountains, and taken on the 14th December, after a hard-fought and desperate struggle, in which the bravery and courage of the British forces were especially notable. Thus were the operations against Scindia and the Rajah of Berar in the South completely successful, nor were those conducted by the Commander-in-Chief in the north less able in their progress or satisfactory in their results.

On the 7th August General Lake broke up from Cawnpore, intending directly to attack General Perron, the French officer in Scindia's service formerly mentioned, who, in consequence of his chief's protracted absence at Puna, had acquired and

assumed sovereign power and state in northern Hindustan. On the morning of the 29th the British troops entered the Mahratta territory—Perron having drawn up his troops apparently waiting for the conflict in a strong position near Alyghur. On the approach of the British cavalry, however, the French force speedily retreated, leaving the town of Coel in possession of the attacking force. Preparations were then made for attacking the fortress of Alyghur, which were protracted, however, for a few days to try the effects of negotiation and bribery. These proving unsuccessful, an assault was determined on, and on the 4th September, after a very severe engagement, Alyghur was taken by storm. A vast quantity of military stores, and two hundred and eighty-one pieces of cannon thus fell into the hands of the British. The fall of Alyghur was speedily followed by Perron's surrender to the Commander-in-Chief, a circumstance caused, not so much by the progress of the British arms, as by the loss of Scindia's favor and the unfaithfulness of the French General's subordinates. The indecision and apparent pusillanimity of Perron, however, had not been communicated to Bourquin, one of his generals of division. On the 11th of September that officer met General Lake, about six miles from Delhi, and there took up his position with such judgment and skill, that it was not until the British commander had drawn him from his advantageous post by a stratagem, that victory declared for the forces of the Company. This was the final blow to French power on the Jumna: three days after the battle, Bourquin and four other French officers surrendered themselves to the British.

The conquerors lost no time in advancing to Delhi, where they were joyously received by the heir of the Moguls—the unfortunate and aged Shah Allum, who, in all the misery of helplessness and blindness, had dragged on a wretched existence subject to the power of Scindia and his French generals. The contrast between the former state and present condition of the Mogul Emperors is thus eloquently described by Thornton:—

“The triumph of the British arms under General Lake opened a new scene. Immediately after the battle the Emperor had despatched a message to the victorious commander, offering the monarch's congratulations and soliciting protection. An appropriate answer was returned; and on the 16th of September the heir of Timur, so long the victim of adverse fortune, seated in the capital of his ancestors, gave audience to the English general. In that place his predecessors clothed in the most gorgeous productions of the loom, had sat upon thrones formed of gold, and made radiant by a dazzling profusion of the most costly jewels. Around them had stood hundreds of obsequious guards and dependents, waiting in mute and watchful attention the expression of their sovereign's will and ready to give it effect as soon as uttered; while vassals from distant countries, or their representatives, tendered respectful homage to the lord of the faithful throughout India, and wooed his favour by presents worthy of his rank. Far different was the scene which met the eye of the British general and his

attendants. Beneath a small and ragged canopy, the appearance of which seemed a mockery of regal state, sat one whose age exceeded that usually attained by man, but in whose appearance the operation of time was less apparent than that of long and hopeless misery. Eighty-three years had passed over his head, and they had been filled with trouble and sorrow. While his name was held in reverence throughout India, his life had been passed amid poverty, danger, and suffering, and all around him at this moment indicated the most wretched destitution. But there was one element of misery greater than all. The light of heaven, the common source of enjoyment to the prosperous and the wretched, shone not for him—the face of nature was to him a blank. The miserable satisfaction of contrasting the appearance of all things around him then with former scenes was denied him. Strangers from a far distant country stood before him—in their hands was his fate—they addressed to him words of sympathy, and kindness, and comfort, but he could not read in their countenances a confirmation of the friendly language which fell on his ear. Poor, dependent, aged, infirm, and sightless, the head of the empire illustrated in his person the widespread ruin which had overwhelmed the empire itself.”

Leaving Colonel Ochterlony to hold Delhi with a competent force, the Commander-in-Chief next directed his attention to Agra, which he reached on the 4th of October. Here a sharp conflict awaited the British troops in the town and principal mosque (which were occupied by seven battalions of regular infantry) ere approaches could be made to the fort. On the 10th an attack was made upon this force which was perfectly successful, and with all the fickleness of Asiatics, no sooner had these battalions been defeated, than they transferred their services to the British commander. Seven days subsequently the fort surrendered, a practicable breach having been opened in its ramparts.

Of all the regular forces of Scindia in this part of India there remained now fifteen regular battalions untouched which had been sent to the north by him early in the campaign, and two others which had joined these from Delhi. They were occupying a situation near Laswarri, about thirty miles north-east of Agra, and, from their excellent artillery, were an object of considerable apprehension to the Commander-in-Chief. He resolved, therefore, to march against them at once, a project which he put into execution at the end of October. Arriving first with his cavalry, although he found them strongly entrenched, he resolved to attack them at once with that arm, aided by his mounted artillery. No impression could be made, however, upon the well-appointed and compact masses of the Mahrattas, until the arrival of the infantry, when a hard-fought battle, with severe loss, gave victory at last to the British. “I never,” wrote General Lake to Marquess Wellesley, “I never was in so severe a business in my life, or any thing like it, and pray to God, I never may be in such a situation again;” and again, “I think, without exception, yesterday was the most anxious day I ever experienced, for had we been beaten by these brigades, the consequences attending such

a defeat must have been most fatal. These fellows fought like devils, or rather heroes, and had we not made a disposition for attack in a style that we should have done against the most formidable army that we could have been opposed to, I verily believe from the position they had taken, we might have failed."* These assertions of the General will serve to give some idea of the terrible nature of the battle of Laswarri which our limits compel us thus cursorily to notice. It was, in its results, however completely successful, all the enemy's battalions were cut up or taken, and seventy guns captured, with all their baggage and ammunition.

Thus, after a struggle of three months, of which the concluding blow was the most desperate, fell the dominions of Scindia upon the Jumna, with the seat of the Mogul, into the hands of the British. General Lake's progress had been one of uninterrupted success, a success, so easily obtained in the first part of the campaign, that his conduct in the battle of Laswarri may be justly accused of rashness, but as that battle was the one in which he was most near to being defeated, so was it that also which entailed the greatest loss on the enemy, and which was far the most decisive in its results.

We now return to General Wellesley's operations in the south. The battle of Argaum gained, that intrepid chief had invested and taken, as we have said, with considerable difficulty the fortress of Gawilghur. These two successes following so rapidly upon each other, at length aroused the Mahratta chiefs to a sense of the necessity of making peace if they wished any portion of territory to remain to them, and accordingly, the Rajah of Berar lost no time in concluding a separate treaty with the British General, who for this purpose, had been armed with plenipotentiary powers. General Wellesley was not a man to be tampered with by Mahratta trickery, and he plainly told the ministers of the Rajah what concessions would satisfy the British Government, and that these *must* be made faithfully and truly, or he should proceed conquering. On one occasion when the Vakil of the Rajah had exclaimed against the exorbitance of these demands, the General coolly replied that "the Rajah was a great politician; that he ought to have better calculated his chances of success before he began the war, but that having commenced it, it was proper, he should suffer, before he should get out of the scrape." The Mahratta was convinced at length that with such an unbending character, diplomacy, however cunning, was useless, and on the 17th December 1803, a treaty was concluded, by which the Rajah yielded to his conquerors the province of Cuttack with Balasore, together with all the territories of which he had collected the revenues in conjunction with the

* Wellesley Despatches, Vol., III, p. 41.

Subadhar of the Dekhan, westward of the Wurdah. He was further to renounce all claims on the territories of the Company or its allies, and to admit of the mediation of the former in any disputes with the latter. Further he was to take into his service no French or Americans, nor any Europeans without the consent of the Company.

This important treaty concluded, and the whole force of Berar thus detached from the alliance, Scindia could have little prospect of success. He was therefore anxious to conclude a treaty also with the British General, but was at least equally anxious also to avoid the concession which the conquerors were determined to extort. At length by the 30th, his consent was reluctantly obtained to all the stipulations deemed necessary, and on that day, the treaty was signed, by which he lost the greater part of his dominions. By this agreement he ceded all his rights of sovereignty in the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, and to the northward of the territories belonging to the Rajahs of Jeypûr, Judepûr and Gohud, with each of whom subsequent treaties were concluded; he ceded the fort and territory of Baroach, which were retained by the British, as well as those of Ahmednuggèr, which they gave to the Peishwa; the territory between the Adjunti hills and the Godavery, which Scindia gave up by this treaty, the British transferred to the Nizam, as well as the territory to the westward of the Wurdah obtained from Berar; lastly, Scindia renounced all claims upon Shah Allum, upon the British Government, or its allies the Subadhar, the Peishwa, and the Guikwar. Certain lands belonging to the family of Scindia in the districts by this treaty ceded to the British, it was stipulated, should still remain in their former occupancy, whilst pensions allotted by this chief to his dependants derived from similar land, were confirmed to the extent of seventeen lakhs of rupees a year. On the whole, then, we can scarcely allow that he was treated with any extraordinary severity in the treaty under consideration: he had voluntarily drawn his sword against the British power; he had been totally defeated, and lay at the mercy of that power; a great portion of his territories was certainly taken from him, but the whole lay at the mercy of his conquerors, so that instead of bewailing their rapacity, he should rather, we conceive, have applauded their clemency.

Two months subsequently, on the 27th February 1804, a supplementary treaty to the former was concluded with Scindia, intended to place him in a situation capable of opposing Holkar, if necessary, to whose movements and projects our attention must be speedily directed. By this agreement the British Gov-

vernment was to supply Scindia with a force of 6,000 infantry, and the usual proportion of artillery, the expense of which was to be defrayed from the resources of the ceded districts, whilst it was expressly stipulated by that crafty chieftain, and agreed to by the British General, that this force was not to be stationed within his territory, evidently with the intention that it might not there acquire influence. The policy of these concessions by Colonel Wellesley has been applauded by various writers, and was not certainly impugned by the Governor-General; we must confess to not seeing in it, however, either prudence or wisdom. Scindia was very much reduced, it is true, and may have been inferior to Holkar in strength, but in what lay the necessity of putting them on a footing of equality? Besides, was it not known previously that they had hushed up their mutual grounds of quarrel, in order to act together against the British, and why might they not do so again? And, if such a contingency was, however distantly, to be apprehended, would it not be impolitic to make one of the parties stronger than he would otherwise be? Again it was argued that Scindia was now poor and could not support this force from his own resources—this fact granted, we conceive, proves more convincingly the ease with which his future enmity might have been frustrated did he really want the force, by its being insisted on that it should be quartered in his territories.

Thus, by the able movements and masterly operations of Lake in the north, and Wellesley in the south, was peace re-established, a peace which the Governor-General fondly hoped would be, if not perpetual, at least, prolonged. The Peishwa had been restored to his throne, and to a *nominal* sovereignty, the British Government obtaining the *reality*—the Rajah of Berar had been convinced of his own impotence, and an extensive and valuable province of his kingdom added to the British possessions—the French force threatening the north-western frontier had been destroyed, and the seat of the Moguls transferred to the British—Scindia, the crafty, proud and energetic Prince, who had been so long accustomed to success, that he believed he had for ever parted company with defeat, had been humbled—his finest provinces, his strongest fortresses had been torn from his iron grip, and a force granted to *protect* him by that power in which he thought it was presumption ere while to conclude a treaty with the Peishwa without his consent. Besides all this, too, the Nizam had gained extensive territories, and the Peishwa's dominions had been strengthened and increased—so that the greatest of the British allies shared in the consequences of their success. Reflecting on all that had been

done, then, we can scarcely wonder that the Marquess Wellesley now anticipated a prolonged peace—an anticipation, which, however reasonable, was destined to be disappointed.

Hitherto we have seen the British arms triumphant in every serious encounter with the Mahrattas. We have now, however, to view a new phase of this strange, eventful history, and to behold those arms lately so victorious, sullied by defeat and tarnished by flight.

Jeswunt Rao Holkar, we have said, was a party to the alliance between Scindia and the Rajah of Berar in the late war. He had not given these chiefs, however, any effectual assistance in consequence of the panic produced by the battle of Assye, at its very commencement. In December 1803 Holkar, with his army, took up a position threatening the allies of the British, and commenced a series of depredations to which the latter were not disposed to submit, however much they might be the practice of his nation. The Commander-in-Chief, therefore, on the conclusion of the war just narrated, did not disband his army, but kept it at Agra ready for operations, if such should prove necessary. A correspondence commenced between the two leaders in January 1804, which led to no satisfactory results—General Lake requiring that Holkar should retire to his own dominions, or at least to those of his family which he claimed, whilst that chief in return made demands so exorbitant the price of his compliance as entirely to preclude any probability of a settlement. Under these circumstances there was no resource but for the British Government to compel a retreat, and this the Commander-in-Chief, under instructions from the Governor-General, marched to effect in the month of April.

We have already noticed the progress of an unpolitic and vain confidence in the breast of General Lake, which had nearly been the cause of a defeat at Laswarri. This overweening reliance in British resources, and undue contempt for those of their enemies, had been gradually developing themselves in the Commander-in-Chief's mind from the first period of his first advance into the Mahratta territories, and a considerable portion of the disasters which we have now to record, may, we conceive, be traced to the consequences of this folly.

The territories of the Rajah of Jynaghur being threatened by Holkar's position, General Lake sent a detachment of three battalions under Colonel Monson of H. M. 76th Regt. to protect them. The approach of this force caused Holkar to suspend his depredations and retreat rapidly to the south. Colonel Monson pursued, the Commander-in-Chief advancing also in his rear

On the 10th May a happy omen of future success attended the British in the capture of the fort of Tonk Rampúra, by Colonel Don, dispatched from the main body for that purpose—an omen, however, which subsequent events unfortunately belied. The flight of Holkar, for it can scarcely be called a retreat, was rapid in the extreme, so much so, indeed, that the Commander-in-Chief became weary of pursuing so despicable a “freebooter,” and accordingly marched back his troops into quarters, leaving Monson to guard against Holkar’s return, with whom it was expected that Colonel Murray from Guzerat, acting under General Wellesley’s orders, would co-operate. It has been asserted that this retreat of General Lake was necessitated by the sufferings his army endured in consequence of the hot winds, but if so, how were Colonels Monson and Murray, with their detachments, expected to survive them? The fact was, General Lake despised Holkar’s force too much, and believed Monson’s detachment alone more than a match for him.*

The first reverses experienced were in the newly-acquired province of Bundelcund, where one of Holkar’s generals fell suddenly upon two companies of British sepoy and artillerymen, whom he completely destroyed, taking their guns and tumbrils. In the meantime Holkar continued retreating and Monson advancing—the latter having been considerably reinforced. Kotah and the pass of Mokundra were successively passed by both armies, and on the 1st of July the British leader attacked and took the strong fortress of Hinglaisghur, one of the oldest possessions of Holkar’s family. About fifty miles in advance of the Mokundra pass, whither Monson now proceeded, he expected to get supplies and to communicate with Colonel Murray, whom he supposed to be advancing from Guzerat to Oujain. The supplies, however, were not forthcoming in the abundance which he had anticipated, and Murray had formed the extraordinary resolution of retreating behind the Mahie river, and was now actually falling back for that purpose. This posture of affairs was doubtless what Holkar was waiting for. Like the wary tiger he had been but flying to entice his enemy into the coils whence he could not extricate himself, and was now preparing for a fatal spring. When Murray resolved on retreating, he was in Malwa, at the other side of the Chumbul river. This he now re-crossed with his army and confronted Monson. The British officer resolved to retreat to the Mokundra pass, instead of measuring swords with the

See his letter to the Governor-General, dated July 21, 1804. Wellesley Despatches, IV, 178.

Mahratta "freebooter," as General Lake was fond of styling him. Two reasons induced him to take this step: first, a scarcity of grain, and secondly, the absence of two detachments of his force, one gone for a supply, and another advancing from Hinglajshur. On the 8th before daybreak he commenced his retreat—a retreat as inpolitic and unwise as had been his advance—leaving his cavalry on the ground he had occupied, with orders to follow in half an hour. When he had advanced twelve miles on the road, intelligence was brought that the cavalry left behind had been cut to pieces by Holkar's. On the 9th he reached the Mokundra pass in safety. On the 10th the Mahratta army made its appearance, and on the 11th Holkar summoned Colonel Monson to surrender. This modest request was of course refused and an attack from the enemy was the result, which was bravely repulsed. The British leader, however, felt no return of confidence in his own resources in consequence of this success. Next morning he was on the road to Kotah, where he hoped to obtain shelter and provisions—leaving his camp standing to deceive the enemy.

The retreat of a dispirited army in the midst of severe rain and overinundated roads, with a powerful enemy in its rear, was not calculated to win to it many friends or to confirm the wavering in their allegiance. Arrived, after enduring numerous hardships at Kotah, the Rajah told Colonel Monson that he had no provisions and could not admit him into the town. Without food or rest or hope therefore this disastrous retreat was to be continued—the heavens still conspiring to render it more toilsome and gloomy by repeated deluges of rain. On the 15th, scarcely a week after the foolish and vain-glorious advance, the guns were obliged to be abandoned, and the march was continued over a country completely covered with water. At length the Chumbul was reached and re-crossed, the two armies having exactly reversed their situation since they had last forded it—Monson now flying, and Holkar pursuing. On the 29th the British force reached Tonk Rampúra, where it was joined by a reinforcement of two battalions and some artillery, and where Monson, by his delaying, appeared to have decided on making a stand, as he certainly might have done. But no! retreat, retreat was still the cry the moment the enemy made his appearance, and whilst the Commander-in-Chief, with that supercilious contempt of his enemy which led to so many disasters, was writing to the Governor-General that Holkar's "insolence" was "abominable!" and that he would not easily "get his cavalry again to attack British infantry,"* that "freebooter" was driving before him with pre-

precipitate and headlong haste the force which had been intended to "crush him."

On the 22nd of August Colonel Monson reached the Banas river, which was found unfordable for two days, an interval which gave the Mahrattas time to approach. They were again beaten off, however, and the river crossed on the 24th with the loss of the British baggage, whilst no attempt whatever appears to have been made to prevent the passage of the enemy. On the night of the 28th Rûshailghur was reached, where the British leader met with convincing proofs of Scindia's hostility in an attack from a portion of his troops. Disasters were now thickening round this devoted army: the want of resolution in their leader, the strength of their enemy's cavalry, the defection of their friends, the loss of their artillery, the inclemency of the weather, all combined to depress their spirits and cut off all chance of ultimate safety. At Rûshailghur two companies of infantry and four hundred horse deserted to the enemy—on the 28th all order on the march was lost,—numbers perished—and, by the 30th of August, all who had escaped the enemy, arrived at Agra. Such was the consummation of Holkar's "abominable insolence!"

The consequences of this most disastrous retreat were serious and lamentable. By the successes of the British troops in the Dekhan and Hindustan during the previous war with Scindia and Berar, the Native Princes had been convinced of the superiority of the British power to any forces which they could bring into the field—battle after battle had been won, fortress after fortress had been taken; however numerous the enemy, however strongly fortified the place of refuge, success attended the British arms with uniformity, and seemed stamped upon their banner. But how easy is the work of destruction, how difficult that of construction! A maniac may, in playful or malicious madness, destroy the monument of architecture which was reared by genius and labor, and has stood for centuries! One year of impolicy, imbecility or irresolution may irreparably injure the political fabric which it has taken a hundred years to consolidate! and so the *prestige* which a hundred victories has scarcely sufficed to confirm may be shaken or destroyed by one signal reverse. So was it in the present instance. Scindia and the petty chiefs on the borders of the British territories began now to look again with hope for a restoration of lost power, and where fear and humility formerly prevailed, resolution and defiance were now to be met. The influence acquired by the victories of Assye, Argaum, Gawilghur, Delhi, Agra and Laswarri had well nigh been destroyed by the fatal consequences of Lake's vain confidence and Monson's temerity—that unfortunate retreat.

Immediate measures were taken by the British authorities to put matters on a different footing and to check the "abominable insolence" of Holkar. An army equipped for light movements was assembled by the Commander-in-Chief at Cawnpore, and marched against Holkar on the 3rd of September. On the 22nd, it had arrived at Agra, another portion of the army of Hindustan being posted at Secundra, only six miles distant. On the advance of the British forces towards Muttra early in October, Holkar drew off to the north-west along the bank of the Jumna, the Commander-in-Chief using his utmost exertions to bring the enemy to action, but without effect. Holkar not only knew when to strike, but when to retreat also. Whilst this distinguished "freebooter" was gradually leading the British general to the north-west, he had despatched his infantry and artillery to surprise Delhi, then defended by a small force of about 800 men under Colonel Ochterlony, the Resident. General Lake had ordered that in case of an attack, the city should be deserted and the citadel alone defended, an order which Ochterlony promptly gave to the Commandant, Colonel Burn, on the appearance of Holkar's immense force. But that brave officer declared that the city also should be defended, extensive as it was, dilapidated as was the surrounding wall, and small as was the force to defend it. For nine days did this small band (some companies of which were in a state bordering on open mutiny,) with its gallant officers withstand the attack of 20,000 of Holkar's best troops, backed by the cannonade of 100 guns. The Mahrattas were foiled and retired from Delhi in disgrace—the British troops, in this gallant defence, proved that the valour and ability which had heretofore guided their arms had not yet fled, and that they were still the men who had fought at Plassy, at Assye, and at Laswarri.

General Lake reached Delhi on the 18th of October, where he remained till the 31st, a period which Holkar busily employed in laying waste the newly-acquired British provinces between the Jumna and the Ganges. On the 31st, the British forces were divided into two parts to oppose the two divisions of the enemy—that under General Frazer going in pursuit of Holkar's artillery and infantry; that under the Commander-in-Chief proceeding against Holkar's cavalry in the Doab. On the 12th of November, General Frazer's forces came up with the army of which they were in search in the vicinity of Goburdun, the left of the enemy resting on the fort of Deeg, whence the battle that ensued gets its name. On the 13th the enemy, who were strongly posted, and defended by a very powerful park of artillery, were attacked by the British forces on all sides and driven

from the field, with the loss of two thousand men and eighty-seven pieces of cannon. This victory was purchased by the loss of nearly six hundred on the side of the British, with their brave commander, who died a few days after the battle in consequence of a wound received in it.

On the 17th of the same month the victory of Deeg was followed by another, still more decisive, gained by General Lake. On the night of that day Holkar's camp with its thousands of slumbering horse and men, was surprised by the British cavalry riding in, to put an end to its quietude and their slumbers. The "freebooter" rode off with all the attendants he could muster, speedily as his horse could carry him. Three thousand of his men having fallen in the attack, whilst his force was still further decreased by desertion and dispersion. The completeness of the surprise may be estimated from the fact of the British force having lost but two men killed and twenty wounded.

The fortress of Deeg, which belonged to the Rajah of Bhurtpore, was the next object of attack by the British forces. *Professedly* an ally of the British, the Rajah had shewn his *real* sentiments by aiding the Mahrattas with a body of horse, and firing on the British forces from Deeg during the battle fought under its walls. On the 13th December, Lord Lake took up his position for the siege—on the sixteenth a breaching battery was opened, and on the 23rd the fortress was stormed. Thus was the year 1804 brought to a close in the midst of renewed successes gained by the British forces. Nor were those recorded the only ones so gained. Holkar's dominion south of the Tapti and west of the Chumbul in the Dekhan, were respectively taken possession of by Colonels Wallace and Murray.

Into the history of the succeeding six months of the Marquess Wellesley's administration we cannot particularly enter. A brief digest of the operations of the armies such as we have hitherto given, may suffice to convey some idea to the reader of the manner in which those operations were directed, and of the never-tiring energy of the head of the Government who planned them. But the history of a siege, such as that of Bhurtpore, or the proofs of Scindia's treason, and the interminable diplomacy to which it gave rise, are not matters which can be crowded into the small remaining space now left us. Suffice it therefore to state, that on the 1st of January 1805, Bhurtpore was invested by Lord Lake, that in numerous assaults he was repulsed, and that finally the Rajah appears to have become so convinced of the hopelessness of Holkar's cause, that he was

glad to conclude a treaty in April of the same year. greatly to the advantage of his enemies. The failure in this siege is probably to be attributed to the want of an efficient artillery in the British camp, a want arising, perhaps, from Lord Lake's undue depreciation of the strength of the fort and of the Rajah's resources, as much as from his undue confidence in the valour of his troops—that valour was as conspicuous in the siege as it had been before, but against deep ditches and mud walls, defended by undaunted men, valour alone could do little.*

The loss of so powerful an ally as the Rajah of Bhurtpore reduced Holkar to the lowest position as a chief and as a leader. Other chieftains also were ready again to join what appeared to them to be the strongest side and to desert him whom fortune had already deserted. Surrender, however, he does not seem to have thought of, but continued to carry on a desultory warfare with his cavalry, ravaging the country when there was any thing to be gained by so doing, flying when his enemies advanced, and advancing when they retreated—but still looking probably to the co-operation of Scindia as the one gleam of light still left him in the deepening gloom of his horizon. Scindia appears to have been misled by the defence of Bhurtpore into the belief that matters were again becoming more favorable for the Mahrattas, and that if he joined Holkar at this crisis, the British might be routed. But he was not a man of sufficient energy of character to strike at the proper time. Anxious to ward off the consequences of his march if events turned out unpropitiously, he still maintained communications with the British, protesting, in reply to the Resident's remonstrances, that his only object was to make peace between the two enemies. On the 15th of April, two days previous to the signing of the treaty between the British and the Rajah of Bhurtpore, Holkar joined Scindia, the latter still temporising with the British. The

* A writer in the *East India United Service Journal* fully bears us out in this censure of Lord Lake. Writing of the superintending Engineer he says "if an officer of the requisite ability and experience had been present, it is doubtful whether he would have been attended to, for so confident was the General in the resolute bravery of his troops, and so impatient withal, that he could hardly brook the delay that was necessary to enable his guns to make a breach in the ramparts. He had undertaken to besiege a large, populous, and strong place, with means that were totally inadequate for such an enterprise; and in a military point of view he was highly culpable."

The attentive student of Lord Lake's campaigns cannot, we conceive, fail to be struck with the progress of overweening confidence in British resources which possessed him. The ease with which he destroyed or dispersed the French corps of General Perron in his first campaign appears to have done him infinite harm. In the storming of Agra he was indebted for success to the unconquerable resolution of his men alone—at Laswarri his vain confidence had well nigh caused him to lose the victory—at Bhurtpore it occasioned the loss of thousands and ultimate defeat. To us it appears strange that this failing did not prominently strike the historians of British India—Mill and Thornton; even Wilson only incidentally notices it.

junction with Holkar, and the refusal to comply with the Governor-General's wishes, induced the British resident to demand from Scindia leave to depart, a permission which was not granted, however, although enforced by the authoritative order of the Governor-General. Compliance would have been speedily enforced by the weighty arguments of Lord Lake's artillery, had not a change come over the spirit of the councils at Calcutta. Towards the end of July the Marquess Cornwallis arrived in India, and superseded his illustrious predecessor in its Government. Lord Wellesley, aware that he must speedily arrive, had somewhat delayed the execution of measures which he conceived to be absolutely necessary in order that his successor might have an opportunity of confirming them or pursuing others without embarrassment. Accordingly, when Lord Cornwallis arrived, affairs were in the position we have indicated. Holkar, Scindia, and all the other insurgent spirits of the Mahrattas were together; Lord Lake was prepared for hostilities; the British resident was still detained by Scindia, and the demands of that chief were as exorbitant as ever. Into the policy pursued by the successor of the Marquess Wellesley, in compliance with the wishes of the Directors, or into the course followed by Sir George Barlow on Lord Cornwallis' death, it does not come within the scope of this article for us to enter—suffice it to say, *that* policy seems to have been dictated by but one principle—the desire to conclude a peace on *any* terms; Scindia's insults were to be submitted to, and the demands of the conquered Holkar were to be complied with; the faithful allies of the British were to be surrendered to the tender mercies of Mahrattan "freebooters," and the successes of three years of war were to be recompensed by the surrender of territories, and the abandonment of friends!

We have now brought the administration of the Marquess Wellesley to a close, and in briefly summing up the character of that administration, it will not be necessary for us to enter particularly into its various acts. These have been freely criticised as they successively came before our notice. We have shewn ourselves, we trust, no blind or indiscriminate admirers of his government: where wrong was apparent we have duly noted it, where injustice was done, we have not feared to denounce it, where praise appeared to us to be due, it has been given. Our sketch is imperfect and somewhat hurried, but our limits must be remembered—the acts of Lord Wellesley's government, recorded at any length, would fill a volume, not merely an article in a Review.

It has been urged that the Marquess' administration was characterised by excessive ambition and rapacity, that his system

of defensive alliance "was impolitic and unsound," that in opposition to the dictates of wisdom, he was fond of engaging in war. That his procedure with regard to the minor states brought under British control during his government, is not in every case to be defended, we have already shewn to be our conviction, but that his administration was characterised by rapacity, we unhesitatingly deny—and as to his ambition, we have yet to learn that ambition is a crime. That he was not rapacious may be proved by his conduct to Mysore : there the whole country was at his mercy, he could have annexed it all to the British territories, but he did not do so. Oude lay at his mercy ; he did not annex it, but merely provided for the safety of the British frontier, as policy demanded that he should do. Berar was conquered ; he took only a part and left the rest ; Scindia's force was annihilated, and he restored him to a great portion of his dominions. If these be instances of rapacity, we strangely misunderstand the term. But he was ambitious ! He was—but not inordinately or traitorously so. He was ambitious that the British empire in India should be supreme—that British interests should be secure—that the lives of British subjects should be safe. Does *this* ambition then, we ask, criminate a British ruler ? If so, we should be glad to learn *what* ambition would be commendable in him.

The failure of Lord Wellesley's system of defensive alliance in the case of Scindia is surely not sufficient to brand that system as utterly impolitic in the face of numerous examples to the contrary. Had Scindia acted with ordinary prudence, with ordinary sagacity, with ordinary regard for his own interests, he would never have allowed himself to have been drawn into alliance with Holkar when Holkar was defeated, and when there existed not a chance of success. Against the mad acts of capricious folly in those entrusted with power, what system can secure us ? Scindia's defection is to be ascribed to Scindia's folly, not to the impolicy of Wellesley's system. In Mysore that system of subsidiary alliance appeared to be successful—in Hyderabad it was the means of preventing insurrection, and forwarding British interests—in Oude its results were so far beneficial to the people and their sovereigns—in Púna it accomplished all that was anticipated. If these facts be true, then can it justly be objected that the system was impolitic and unsound ? It accomplished all that was expected of it, and to condemn it for not accomplishing more, would be as absurd as to condemn the conductor of a railway-carriage, because he could not bring it up the side of a mountain.

The charge of his being fond of war is so ably refuted in Thornton's history, that it will not be necessary to travel over the same ground here. It appears paradoxical to assert, and yet is unquestionably true, that Wellesley's administration was

a pacific one, although almost constantly engaged in war. The fact is, war was the necessity, peace the choice. If it had been prudence to wait for Tippu's attack, if it had been prudence to allow Scindia and the Rajah of Berar to ravage the British territories, if it had been prudence to remain in quarters till Holkar chose to invade them, then, indeed, were the wars we have briefly recorded in the foregoing pages, unnecessary—not otherwise.

In conclusion, it only remains for us to point out one or two of the distinguishing excellencies of the administration we have just chronicled. Lord Wellesley's first great excellence as a Governor has not escaped the notice of the leading historians of India. The excellent choice he made of the men by whom his projects were to be carried out, and his suiting of the character, disposition and previous habits of the man to the work he was called on to perform. Kirkpatrick and Malcolm at Hyderabad were the able effectors of the reform there carried out—a reform of so much importance, and so eminently useful to the British Government. Generals Harris, Baird and Wellesley were the instruments of the conquest of Mysore, and what enterprise was ever more thoroughly successful, or more ably consummated? Mr. Webbe in Madras was the instrument through which several important negotiations were conducted by the Governor-General, and the perfect success which attended these, proves the capacity of the agent. Colonel Scott and Mr. Henry Wellesley in Oude fully answered the Governor-General's expectations in bringing about the settlement of that impracticable country. In fine, we shall find on a cursory review of the history of the Wellesley administration, that whenever the choice of his subordinates lay in the Governor-General's power, that choice was exercised with a discretion and foresight, which gave the strongest proofs of genius and ability. In this he resembled all great rulers. Discrimination in the choice of their inferiors was equally a characteristic of Cæsar, of Napoleon, of the Duke of Wellington, and of the Marquess Wellesley.

Nor were the plans which these men were called on to carry out unworthy of the men themselves. Comprehensive in the extreme, suited to the circumstances of the country and to the desiderata to be supplied, they afforded the strongest proofs of the talent and capacity of the source whence they emanated. No omission was left to be supplied, no error to be corrected, no contingency was forgotten—and whether their object was the disbanding of a tumultuous enemy as at Hyderabad, the conquest of a powerful kingdom such as Tippu's, the settlement of a difficult question such as that connected with the Mahrattas,

or the prevention of the evils anticipated from the Affghan's invasion, every particular of the plan, as well as of the result to be attained, was laid down with a precision, an exactitude, and an ability which proved the capacity of the drawer. The Wellesley "Despatches" will ever remain an imperishable monument of the indefatigability, the zeal, and the talent of the Marquess.

Lastly, we cannot, even on the most cursory inspection of this administration, avoid being struck with the promptitude with which every means were seized by which these comprehensive plans could be forwarded. Circumstances, apparently the most inimical, were made the means of bringing about results the most important and beneficial. The existence of the French corps at Hyderabad was made the instrument of effecting the complete prostration of the Nizam's resources, and his entire dependance on the British. The threatened invasion of Zeman Shah led to an offensive and defensive alliance with Persia, as well as to the settlement of Oude, whilst the flight of the Peishwa from Puna was the foundation of British supremacy amongst the Mahrattas. In this particular the Marquess Wellesley gave the most decisive proof of his possession of genius, which ever thus shapes and moulds the circumstances of the times and its own position, whether those circumstances be favorable or not, into the means of carrying out its own plans and accomplishing the objects which it desires.

This discrimination then in the choice of the men whom he employed, this comprehensiveness of plan which characterised all his schemes, this moulding of all circumstances to work out his own ends,—these were the principal characteristics of the Marquess Wellesley as a Governor, and these were the efficient causes of that success which so eminently distinguished his administration. He found the British power in India a second-rate, if not a subordinate power—he left it supreme, the arbiter of the destinies of the country. Let this then be his highest praise as it was his noblest work. He added another to that noble list of statesmen and of administrations which distinguish the pages of British Indian history, and in the long list of worthies whose deeds that history chronicles, we dare boldly to affirm, that there is no name which, in future ages, will shine more brightly on the roll than that of Wellesley; none of whom the future British historian may more justly be proud. Clive's name will ever be associated in that history with successful warfare—Hastings' with unrivalled diplomacy—Cornwallis' with consummate prudence,—but that of Wellesley alone with victory, diplomacy, and prudence combined.

The brief notice which we have given at the commencement of this article of Lord Wellesley's early career, previous to his appointment as Governor-General, renders it necessary for us shortly to notice his subsequent appointments and employments. He returned from India in January 1806 only to witness the death of his former benefactor and friend Pitt, with whom he had but a single interview subsequent to his return. "Wait till Mornington comes from India, and then we shall know something of it!" was an observation once made by that distinguished statesman, fully proving, that he relied on the Marquess' ability and talent for observation. Lord Wellesley was solicited to take a place in the new cabinet, formed on Pitt's death, by the Duke of Portland, but refused to take office until the House of Commons had expressed its opinion on the charges brought against his Indian administration by Mr. Paull, and subsequently supported by Lord Folkstone. The charges "of high crimes and misdemeanors committed by Richard Colley, Marquess Wellesley, &c., &c.," related principally to the settlement of Oude. Lord Folkstone's resolutions were negatived by a large majority—31 voting in favor of, 182 against them. A subsequent resolution, commendatory of the Marquess' conduct in the transaction referred to, was moved by Sir John Anstruther and carried triumphantly. In May 1808, the question of an impeachment was again brought before the House by Sir Thomas Turton (in reference to the Carnatic settlement) whose "speech remains as a standing disgrace to the speaker," says Lord Wellesley's biographer. In the course of that speech he openly charged the Marquess and Lord Clive with having connived at the murder of the heir to the Nawab's throne. "Sir Thomas Turton's resolutions and motion were indignantly negatived by the House; and Mr. Wallace at once moved a vote of approbation on the conduct of the Marquess. It was carried;—there being but nineteen votes against it."

On the 1st of April 1809, Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed General-in-Chief of the English forces in the Spanish Peninsula, then overrun by the legions of Napoleon; and on the 30th of the same month, his elder brother the Marquess was nominated "Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand the Seventh." Thus were the distinguished abilities, military and diplomatic, of these two distinguished brothers of an illustrious house, brought to bear against the talent and good fortune of the great French conqueror in the field, which he had chosen as the battle-ground of Europe; and never were operations more successfully conducted than those which gradually resulted in the expulsion of the French from

Spain. The enthusiasm with which the Marquess was received may be judged of from the following account of his arrival at Seville, by Mr. Jacob, M. P., who witnessed it :—

"The arrival of this celebrated nobleman in Seville produced an extraordinary sensation, certainly neither prepared nor fostered by the body to whom he was sent, whose narrow souls were jealous of his character, and apprehensive lest his powerful talents should detect and expose their contracted policy and futile projects. All the respectable inhabitants of the city, among whom were many of those men whose information, patriotism, and energetic minds, had planned and effected the first revolution, became the leaders on this occasion also, and conducted the triumphal entry of the British minister. Seville was emptied of its population, and the expecting crowds patiently endured, without the city, the heat of the sun, the privation of their meals and of their siesta, and tranquilly waited from morning till dark to welcome the approach of a man whose high rank and distinguished capacity were considered as pledges of the generous and disinterested intentions of the monarch he represented.

The shouts of the people, and the acclamations of the multitude, were genuine and unequivocal demonstrations of the strong feelings of the nation ; but the conduct of their rulers discovered merely that routine of compliments which the hollow intrigues of a Court may teach,—but what he who had ruled such Courts in India, knew how to appreciate. The welcome of Lord Wellesley had, perhaps, been increased by the news of his brother's victory at Talavera ; but at Seville all was unmixed pure joy at the arrival of a man whose nation was venerated, whose character had preceded him, and to whose high qualities they looked up for deliverance from the Government of a body of men fortuitously raised to the unlimited exercise of the executive and legislative power of a great nation."

The abilities of the talented Marquess were, however, speedily sought again in England itself, and his important mission in Spain was transferred to his brother Mr. Henry Wellesley, by whom it was ably fulfilled.

The duel between Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh, and the subsequent retirement of the Duke of Portland, having broken up the cabinet of which the last-mentioned nobleman had been the head, Mr. Perceval and Lord Liverpool proceeded to form another without delay, in which the Marquess Wellesley received the appointment of "Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs." Into the negotiations which the Marquess conducted with the United States of America, in this new capacity, which negotiations led remotely to the war of 1812 ; or into the part which Lord Wellesley took in the Regency question in January of that year, it will not be possible for us to enter ; suffice it to say, that in all that emanated from his pen or tongue, as well as in his actions, he upheld the dignity of his office and his country, without compromising himself individually. But it was in the energetic assistance which he gave to his brothers in the Peninsula, that his position in the Secretariat was of most use and importance to the welfare of England. *There* the blow was first struck which, in conjunction with the retreat from Moscow, humbled the power of Napoleon and levelled his pride with the dust.

On the 19th February 1812 the Marquess resigned his position in the Government, in consequence of differences of opinion with his colleagues as to the manner in which the war in Spain should be supported, the Government in Ireland conducted, and with reference also to the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, a measure which he strongly advocated. In May of the same year, the Prince Regent called upon him in conjunction with the Earl of Moira (subsequently the Marquess Hastings and Governor-General of India) to form a ministry, which, however, he was unable to accomplish, and accordingly Lord Liverpool remained at the head of affairs. In the course of the same year he distinguished himself greatly by a speech on the subject of Catholic Emancipation, which proved at once his liberal ideas, his argumentative power, and his goodness of heart.

From this period till 1821 we find the Marquess principally engaged as a Parliamentary speaker, alternately condemning and lauding the measures of the Government, as they seemed to him to be fraught with evil or good to the country. In that year he was appointed to the high office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in which his taste for splendor and magnificence was displayed in the grandeur of the viceregal court, no less than was his wisdom in the settlement of the troubles of that unfortunate country, then, as now, convulsed with tumult and disorder. During his administration the most even-handed justice was dealt out to all parties in the island. The Orange societies, on the one hand, were discouraged, the associations of Ribbonmen, on the other, were suppressed. In 1825 his domestic happiness was secured by a second marriage to a lady who appears to have been in every way worthy of him. She was the daughter of Mr. Caton, of Baltimore, in America, and widow of Mr. Paterson, and, what is somewhat remarkable for the descendant of a republican, sister of the Duchess of Leeds, and of Lady Stafford. A difference of opinion between the Marquess and his illustrious brother, the Duke of Wellington, when the latter was Premier in 1828, led to the retirement of the former from the high office which he held. The subject of difference was the much-debated question of Catholic emancipation which his Grace then opposed, although in the following year he carried it himself.

In 1830 Lord Wellesley became Lord Stewart of the Household in Earl Grey's ministry; in the discussions on the Reform Bill he took a prominent part, although he was far from opposing that measure, and in 1833 he resumed the government of Ireland which he held until the summary dismissal of the Whig Cabinet by King William the Fourth in the following year.

In 1835 the Whigs were restored, and the noble Marquess once more accepted office as Lord Chamberlain, which he resigned, however, after a month's service, when he retired into private life in his seventy-fifth year. In retirement he occupied himself in those literary pursuits which had been the employment and delight of his earlier years, dedicating in his eighty-first year a volume of poems ("Primitiæ and Reliquiæ"), "*Amico suo dilectissimo*," Lord Brougham. In reply to a beautiful Latin ode from the Provost of Eton, he sent the following touching lines, on the occasion of his bust being placed in that college :—

"Affulsit mihi supremæ meta ultima Famæ
Iam mihi cum Lauro juncta Cupressus erit ;
Mater amata, meam quæ fovit Etona juventam,
Ipsa recedentem signat honore Senem."

Thus translated by himself :—

"On my last steps fame sheds her purest rays,
And wreathes with Bays the Cypress and the Yew,
Eton, blest guardian of my youthful days,
Greets my retiring age with honors new."

Finally in 1841, the year preceding his death, the Marquess, full of years and honor, had the satisfaction of finding his former honorable masters, the East India Company, acknowledging their sense of his Indian administration by placing his statue in the India House, and thus tacitly censuring the opposition which their predecessors of 1801 to 1805 had offered to the Marquess' schemes and policy.

"Last scene of all"—he died on the 26th of September 1842, in the eighty-third year of his age, and was buried with unusual pomp in the chapel of his old "*alma mater*," Eton College.

SELECTIONS

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Life of the Amir, Dost Mahommed Khan of Kabul; with his political proceedings towards the English, Russian and Persian Governments, including the victories and disasters of the British Army in Afghanistan, by Mohan Lal, Esq., Knight of the Persian Order of the Lion and the Sun; lately attached to the Mission in Kabul. 2 vols. Longman and Co. 1846

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Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey, Knt., first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, Bengal; with anecdotes of Warren Hastings, Sir Philip Francis, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, Esq., and other contemporaries; compiled from authentic documents, in refutation of the calumnies of the Right Hon'ble Thomas Babington Macaulay, by Elijah Barwell Impey. London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1846

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2. *An Essay on the Antiquity of Hindu Medicine*, by J. Forbes Royle, M. D., F. R. and L. S., &c., &c., &c., 8vo. London, 1837. ... *ib.*
Tracts, Historical and Statistical on India, by Benjamin Heyne. M. D., F. L. S., &c., &c., &c., 4to. London, 1814. ... *ib.*
A view of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus, including a minute description of their Manners and Customs, and Translations from their principal works, by William Ward, of Serampore. 8vo. London, 1822. ... *ib.*
5. *Materia Indica; or some account of those articles which are employed by the Hindus, and other Eastern nations, in their Medicine, Arts, and Agriculture, &c.*, by Whitelaw Ainslie, M. D., M. R. A. S. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1826. ... *ib.*
6. *Asiatic Researches; or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for enquiring into the History, the Antiquities, the Arts and Sciences and Literature of Asia.* 18 vols. 4to. Calcutta. The articles relating to Hindu Medicine. ... *ib.*
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8. *The History of India*, by the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, 2 vols, 8vo. London, 1841. Vol. I, Chapter IV. On Hindu Medicine. ... *ib.*
9. *The History of British India*, by James Mill, Esq., edited with notes and continuation by H. H. Wilson, Esq., M. A., F. R. S. 8vo. London. Book II, Cap. 10, vol. 2d. ... *ib.*

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| 10. | Essai d'une Histoire Pragmatique de la Médecine, par Kurt Sprengel, traduit sur la deuxième édition. par C. F. Geiger. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1809. Section III. vol. I, Médecine Indienne. | 619 |
| 11. | The History of Medicine, Surgery, and Anatomy, from the creation of the world to the commencement of the 19th Century, by W. Hamilton, M. B. 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1831. Cap. 1, vol. 1. History of Medicine from the time of Adam to the birth of Hippocrates ... | <i>ib.</i> |

LORD WELLESLEY'S ADMINISTRATION.

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| 1. | Memoirs and Correspondence of the most noble Richard Marquess Wellesley, &c., &c., by R. R. Pearce, Esq., London, Richard Bentley, 1846. | 674 |
| 2. | Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the time of George the Third, by Henry, Lord Brougham, &c., &c., Third Series, London, Charles Knight and Co. 1843 | <i>ib.</i> |
| 3. | The Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley, 5 vols. London, W. Allen and Co. 1837 | <i>ib.</i> |
| 4. | Mill's History of British India, vol. VI. | <i>ib.</i> |
| 5. | Thornton's History of British India, vol. III. | <i>ib.</i> |
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THE SINDH CONTROVERSY—NAPIER & OUTRAM.

DRS. MURRAY AND DUFF.

1. *Correspondence relative to Sindh, 1838—1843. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, 1843.*
2. *Supplementary correspondence relative to Sindh. Presented to Parliament, 1844.*
3. *The Conquest of Sindh, by Major General W. F. P. Napier : Parts I. and II., 1845.*
4. *The Conquest of Sindh, a Commentary. Parts I. and II., by Lieutenant-Colonel J. Outram, C. B., 1846.*

WE are now in a position to enter on a full and final examination of the British conquest of Sindh. A sufficient length of time has elapsed, and we are far enough removed from the scene of the transaction, to enable us calmly and dispassionately to review the history of that much controverted measure, while the materials for our inquiry are both copious and authentic. There are now before us two volumes of official correspondence relative to Sindh, presented to Parliament; we have an eloquent defence of the conquest from the practised pen of the conqueror's brother, and we have a most minute commentary upon that defence, by an officer who possessed unequalled opportunities for acquiring a thorough knowledge of the country and its people, and whose name is an ample guarantee for the scrupulous accuracy of his statements. Reserving to the sequel the few observations we shall have to offer on the respective merits of these publications, we shall at once proceed, with the aid of the historical materials which they supply, to lay before our readers a brief narrative of the events which immediately led to the subjugation of Sindh, together with an examination of the justice and policy of the measure.

The valley of the lower Indus, which forms the scene of the transactions we are about to record, has of late years been rendered familiar to all our Indian readers. Bordered, like the kindred valley of the Nile, by a range of mountains on one side and by a desert on the other, it is traversed throughout its entire length by the classic river from which it takes its name. The country on both banks of the river, from near the point where it receives the waters of the Punjab to its junction with the sea, formed the territory of the Amirs or rulers of Sindh, and was divided into two principal shares—the southern division forming the principality of Lower Sindh, and the Northern, that of Upper Sindh: leaving, towards the Dutch frontier, a third and inconsiderable division, that of

Mírpur, the affairs of which we will scarcely have occasion to notice.

At the period at which our narrative opens,—the early autumn of 1842—five Amírs held independent but associate rule at Hyderabad, the capital of Lower Sindh; namely, Mír Nússír Khan, his two cousins Mírs Mír Mahommed Khan and Sobdar Khan, and his two nephews Mír Shadad Khan and Hússen Ali. At Khyrpúr the seat of the Upper Sindh Government, the venerable Mír Rústum Khan was the acknowledged Rais, or supreme ruler; with whom were associated, as subordinate partners in the Government, his two younger brothers Mírs Ali Morad and Mahommed Khan, and his nephew Mír Nússír Khan. One Amír, Mír Sher Mahommed Khan, ruled the small principality of Mírpur.

Our political relations with the Amírs of Sindh at that time, were those established by Lord Auckland's treaties of 1839, which, as our readers are aware, were forcibly imposed upon these Princes at the commencement of the first Affghan campaign. In Lower Sindh, separate treaties, identical in their provisions, were concluded with each of the Hyderabad Amírs which contained, among other less important particulars, the following stipulations;—First, the maintenance of a British subsidiary force in Lower Sindh, either at Tatta or at some other station west of the Indus, towards the cost of which an annual tribute of three lakhs of Rupees was to be paid in equal proportions by three* of the Amírs—the fourth (Mír Sobdar Khan) being exempted on account of his early submission;—Secondly, the protection of their territories by the British Government against foreign aggression, and the arbitration of all complaints of aggression which the Amírs might make against each other;—Thirdly, non-interference by the British Government in the internal administration of the Amírs, or in any complaints made against them by their subjects;—Fourthly, the prohibition of all negotiation on the part of the Amírs with foreign states, unless with the sanction of the British Government;—Fifthly, the abolition of tolls on trading boats passing up or down the Indus;—Sixthly, the payment of the usual duties on merchandize landed from such boats for sale, with the exception of goods sold in a British camp or cantonment.

In Upper Sindh one treaty only was considered necessary,

* One of these shares was now divided between Mírs Shadad Khan and Hússen Ali, the sons and heirs of the deceased Mír Núr Mahommed, one of the original parties to the treaties.

which was exchanged with Mír Rústum Khan as the acknowledged "Chief of Khyrpúr." Its engagements were analogous to those concluded with the Lower Sindh Amírs with the following differences ;—First, no stipulation was made for the payment of a subsidy ;—Secondly, there was no engagement for the permanent location of a British force : permission being only given "to occupy the fortress of Bukker as a depôt for treasure and munitions in time of war ;"—Thirdly, no stipulation was made for the abolition of river tolls : the Amírs merely promising "co-operation with the other powers" in any measures which might be thought necessary for extending and facilitating the commerce and navigation of the river Indus. Lastly, short "Agreements" were at the same time concluded with each of the other three Amírs of Upper Sindh, whereby the British Government engaged "never to covet one reá of the revenue of their shares of Sindh, nor to interfere in their internal management." The treaty entered into with the Amír of Mírpúr, in the following year, was similar in its provisions to that of Lower Sindh, and included an engagement for the payment of a subsidy of Rs. 50,000 per annum as the price of British protection.

It is unnecessary, for the purpose of our present inquiry, to examine either the justice or the policy which dictated these compulsory treaties. They formed a part (and, it may be, a necessary part) of that ill-advised and disastrous "Affghan policy," which forms the one disfiguring blot on Lord Auckland's otherwise beneficent administration : and it was only by the unconquerable firmness, and extraordinary personal influence, of the distinguished diplomatist* who conducted the negotiations, that the Lower Sindh Amírs were induced to yield a tardy and reluctant assent to their harsh provisions, and thereby preserved, though but for a season, the sovereignty of their kingdom.

Having been thus reduced from independent Sovereigns to tributary allies of the British Government, it was not to be expected but that some degree of alienation and a distrust of our future measures would take possession of the minds of the Amírs. Whatever may have been the real state of their feelings, their acts, even during the disasters of 1842, evinced no appearance of hostility : for it is a remarkable fact, that, under the able management of Major (now Lieutenant Colonel) Outram, Sindh continued in a state of profound tranquillity ; robberies were unknown ; British subjects of all classes, unattended by a single armed attendant, traversed the country without danger or molestation ; and carriage and supplies were

* Major General Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart. G. C. B.

liberally furnished for the support of our armies in Southern Afghanistan.

Such was the condition of Sindh, and such were our relations with its rulers, when Major General Sir Charles Napier, then Commanding the Puna Division of the Bombay Army, was invested by Lord Ellenborough with the military and political control of Sindh and Belúchistan. The veteran soldier hastened to Sindh (we are told) with all the alacrity of a young warrior; and on the 9th September landed at Kurrachi. Before we accompany him on his diplomatic and military career, it is desirable that we should first become acquainted with his character, and that of the political functionary whom he was about to supersede.

The name of Colonel Outram will ever be associated, in this country, with some of the finest and noblest qualities of the soldier. His character exhibits a remarkable union of calm, steady, resolute valour, with a passion for daring and chivalrous enterprise, and an energy and determination of purpose which no danger or difficulty can daunt. These qualities, added to an open, ardent, generous disposition, and a quiet, unassuming courtesy of demeanour, have deservedly rendered him the pride of the Bombay Army, and appear to have attracted, in a rare degree, the personal attachment and esteem of those who have served under his orders, or have been otherwise associated with him in public duty. But it were an unnecessary, though a pleasing task, to dwell upon these features of his character. The conqueror of Sindh himself has, with a just discernment, awarded to him the appropriate and expressive title of "*The Bayard of India*," and twelve hundred British officers of the Indian services have publicly recorded their admiration of his heroic achievements in India, Afghanistan, and Sindh.

Colonel Outram's experience of native character is extensive and varied. In common with the majority of officers who have known the natives long and well, who are conversant with their languages and customs, and who judge them by an Indian, and not by a British standard, he appears to have formed a generally favourable opinion of them. His intercourse with them seems to have been marked on all occasions by a considerate attention to their social usages and feelings: and his interest in their welfare is evinced by a desire to preserve and improve the more innocuous of their institutions, rather than precipitately to subvert them, in order to introduce the systems and usages of Europe in their place. Like all functionaries who have been guided by such principles

and feelings he has acquired in a high degree the confidence and good will of the people over whom he has been placed : and we need scarcely add, that the possession of such influence over the minds of the natives, particularly of those in high rank and stations, is one of the most important qualifications which a British diplomatist can possess ; and is calculated, more than any measures of abstract wisdom, to reconcile the Princes and people of India to our rule, and thereby to preserve the peace, and promote the best interests of the country.

Lest any of our readers should consider such political accomplishments as antiquated and worthless, we will supply a more practical test of Colonel Outram's diplomatic qualifications, and try them by the magnitude and importance of the services which he rendered to his country, during the eventful year that immediately preceded his removal. At that memorable crisis, when disasters unparalleled in our history clouded the past, and gloomy apprehensions overcast the future—when the storm of insurrection, which had burst with such fatal fury at Kabul, threatened to endanger the safety of our armies at Quetta and Kandahar—Lord Auckland, amid the general panic, turned to Colonel Outram with the assured confidence that he would hold his dangerous post with a firm and steady hand, and that by his prompt and zealous assistance, he would enable the Government also to weather the storm.* And the result shewed that the Governor-General's confidence was neither exaggerated nor misplaced. Within the three preceding years, we had imposed a subsidiary tribute and a subsidiary force upon the Amirs of Sindh ; we had stormed the capital and slaughtered the ruler of Belúchistan, and we had waged a sanguinary warfare upon the neighbouring mountain tribes. Yet—smarting though they were under these grievous injuries, and instigated by Affghan emissaries to raise the standard of insurrection in the common cause of Islam—such was Colonel Outram's wondrous activity, vigilance and zeal, that he not only with a small and detached military force, preserved tranquillity throughout these vast countries, which formed both the base and the line of our military communications with Kandahar ; but he also furnished and forwarded, from these very countries, the carriage and supplies which enabled General Nott to accomplish his triumphant march to Kabul, and General England to retire in safety on the Indus. These were, in truth, services which, to cite the words and the authority of the honorable

Mountstuart Elphinstone, "it would be difficult to parallel in the whole course of Indian diplomacy:" and they had just been brought to an honourable and successful termination, by the safe descent of General England's army beneath the passes, when their author was summarily, without warning and without reason assigned, removed by Lord Ellenborough from his high political appointment.*

And what were the peculiar qualifications of the officer selected to supersede a man who had, at so perilous a crisis, conferred such signal services on his country? On Sir Charles Napier's eminent military talents it were now superfluous to dwell. Long before his appearance in Sindh, his high reputation as a soldier had been inscribed on the page of history; the numerous scars with which he was furrowed attested his heroic valour on the sanguinary fields of Corunna and Busaco: and though untried as a General, he soon proved himself worthy of a place in the first rank of British Commanders. With a military experience of half a century, he had, moreover, deeply studied the art of war:—strict and stern in discipline, but ever watchful of the interests and attentive to the wants of his men, he was peculiarly the soldier's friend. Though bending somewhat under the weight of threescore years and one, yet did he retain all the vigour and energy of youth, with a capacity for the endurance of fatigue which the youthful soldier might well have envied.

But, though unquestionably a brave and accomplished soldier, he was singularly deficient in the particular qualities required for the safe and beneficial exercise of political authority in India. He was not only ignorant of the language, the character, the customs, and the institutions of the natives but he seemed to look upon such knowledge as unnecessary, if not prejudicial. He was, moreover, apparently embued with strong prejudice against the princes of Sindh, and disposed to regard his mission, as that of a Military Dictator appointed to overawe and control a "barbarous durbar," rather than that of a political agent deputed to maintain the relations of amity and friendship subsisting between a protecting and a protected State. Disregarding, in short, the maxims of sound practical wisdom so strenuously recommended, and so successfully practised by

* It is any thing but creditable to the Government that no honors should have been conferred on Colonel Outram and Mr. George Clerk for the important political services they rendered at that critical juncture; while analogous services performed on the same scene four years before, by Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir Claude Wade, were respectively rewarded, (and justly rewarded) by the honors of a Baronetage and Knighthood.

Munro, Malcolm, and Elphinstone, and by other distinguished statesmen of the same eminent school—Sir Charles soon betrayed a determination to open up a new political path for himself. The progress and results of this novel diplomacy we now proceed to examine.

Sir Charles Napier, as has been stated, landed at Kurrachi on the 9th September 1842, and on the 17th of the same month he started for Sukker. On his passage up the Indus he paid a visit to the Amírs of Lower Sindh at their fortified capital of Hyderabad. The established courtesy uniformly observed by the Indian Government towards the Native States, of formally announcing any change in the British Representative at their courts, does not seem to have been observed towards the Amírs on the present occasion: nor does Sir Charles Napier appear to have been furnished by the Governor-General with any credentials of his appointment. Such an omission may be considered by the English reader to be of trifling import, but will be very differently viewed by those acquainted with the importance that Native Princes attach to all these matters of etiquette. Notwithstanding the neglect, however, on the part of the Governor-General, of the customary forms of courtesy, Sir Charles Napier was received by the Amírs of Hyderabad with every demonstration of respect due to his rank and station. Before leaving the capital, he addressed to them a letter regarding certain alleged infractions of the treaty, committed under their orders, or with their knowledge. These charges will pass under our review when we examine those preferred against the Amírs of Upper Sindh: but we must not omit to notice the style and tone used by the British Commander in this his first communication with Princes, wielding the absolute power of sovereignty within their own territories. It is characterised by the historian as an "austere, but timely and useful warning," given in the prosecution of "a fair and just, but stern and unyielding policy." We willingly pay Sir Charles the compliment of assuming that this extraordinary document, which will be found in the Parliamentary Papers (page 358) was merely the first rough draft of the letter, and that in the process of translation it received a form and phraseology better suited to the station of the Princes to whom it was addressed. But, even under this favourable interpretation, there will remain much in the tone and tenor of the letter that is deserving of the strongest censure, and in complete opposition to the letter and spirit of Lord Ellenborough's judicious circular instructions to his political agents, directing them "on all occasions to manifest the utmost personal consideration and respect to the

several Native Princes with whom they might communicate ; to attend to their personal wishes ; to consider themselves as much the representation of the *friendship*, as of the *power* of the British Government ; and to be mindful that even the necessary acts of authority may be clothed with the veil of courtesy and regard." We shall find, as we proceed, that the whole tenor of the General's political administration in Sindh, of which this was the commencement, was an exact antithesis of those admirable maxims.

Sir Charles Napier, having addressed this arrogant and offensive letter to the rulers of Hyderabad, continued his journey up the Indus, and on the 5th October arrived at Sukker, the head quarters of the British force then stationed in Upper Sindh. There, as the historian informs us, he "forthwith commenced a series of political and military operations, which reduced the Amírs to the choice of an honest policy or a terrible war."* These operations, with their fatal results, it is now our duty to record.

On his first nomination to the military and political control of Sindh, the General had been officially informed, that if "the Amírs, or any one of them, should act hostilely, or evince hostile designs against the British forces, it was the Governor-General's fixed resolution never to forgive the breach of faith, and to exact a penalty which should be a warning to every Chief in India." This communication, it will be observed, intimated the Governor-General's determination to punish *future* hostility : but the following instructions, which awaited Sir Charles on his arrival at Sukker, shewed that his Lordship had modified his intentions, and was now determined to inflict retributive punishment for *past* offences, should the General, on inquiry, discover satisfactory grounds for such a procedure. "Should any Amír or Chief, with whom we have a treaty of alliance and friendship, *have* evinced hostile designs against us during the late events which may have induced them to doubt the continuance of our power, it is the present intention of the Governor-General to inflict upon the treachery of such ally and friend so signal a punishment as shall effectually deter others from similar conduct : but the Governor-General would not proceed in this course without the most complete and convincing evidence of guilt in the person accused. The Governor-General relies entirely on your sense of justice, and is convinced that whatever reports you may make upon the subject, after full investigation, will be such as he may safely act upon."

* Napier's Conquest, 23.

The first political duty, therefore, which devolved upon Sir Charles, was to inquire into certain alleged breaches of treaty and hostile intrigues charged upon some of the Amírs, with the view of deducing from these past offences "a pretext" for remodeling the existing treaties, and inflicting a "signal punishment" upon their authors. And this brings us at once to the consideration of what proved to be the remote cause of the Sindh conquest. And as there has been much misapprehension and misstatement on this subject, it is necessary to trace the origin and history of the revised treaties, to the imposition of which, the General's investigation ultimately led.

In the early part of the year (1842) Major Outram appears to have come to the conclusion that our intended withdrawal from Affghanistan would render some change in our relations with the Amírs of Sindh very desirable, in order to remedy the errors of our Military position in that country; to define more clearly the commercial provisions of the existing treaties; and to ensure an adequate supply of fuel for the steamers composing the Indus flotilla. About the end of May of the same year he had received an intimation of Lord Ellenborough's wish to exchange the payment of tribute for "the continued occupation of Kurrachí and Sukker," including the fortress of Bukker: He therefore only awaited a favourable opportunity for opening a negotiation with the Sindh Government. In the meantime he received information from his assistants in Sindh, which gave him grounds for suspecting that certain of the Amírs, taking advantage of our Affghan disasters, and instigated by Affghan emissaries, had engaged in some petty intrigues inimical to the British Government. They were considered by Major Outram to be in themselves puerile: nevertheless, he conceived that they evinced an unfriendly feeling on the part of the Amírs, and furnished good grounds for proposing, and would materially assist the negotiation for the required changes in the treaties, which, under other circumstances, would most probably be resisted.

In accordance with these views, he submitted to Government on the 21st of June, a draft-treaty embodying the proposed changes. The following were its principal stipulations: * 1st. The cession to the British Government, in perpetuity, of the city and cantonment of Sukker (including the fortress of Bukker) and of the town and harbour of Kurrachí; 2nd. Free transit for commerce between Kurrachí and Tatta on the Indus; 3rd. Permission to cut wood within a hundred yards

of each bank of the Indus; 4th. The total abrogation of river tolls, and 5th. In consideration of the above cessions the British Government engaged to release the Amírs from all pecuniary obligations whatever.*

Such were the provisions of Major Outram's proposed treaty—a treaty which stipulated for territorial and other privileges of the estimated annual value of Rs. 3,16,500,† to be ceded by the Amírs to the British Government, in exchange for a total release from the future payment of tribute which (exclusive of arrears) amounted to Rs. 3,50,000 per annum.‡

The objects proposed to be attained by this new arrangement were in themselves of great importance to British interests; and the pecuniary price to be tendered for their purchase was just and liberal: but, in the absence of any pressing necessity for the change, it became matter of regret that the subject should have been mooted at that particular juncture. The minds of the Amírs, who had on all occasions shewn themselves determinedly averse to any alteration in their relations with our Government, were at that time peculiarly distracted with apprehensions in regard to our future measures; in addition to which, Major Outram was himself at Quetta,—whither he had gone for the purpose of aiding General England's force in its retreat upon the Indus—and was consequently deprived of the opportunity, by personal negotiation, of exerting his great influence over the Amírs, by which alone could any hope be entertained of reconciling their minds to the contemplated changes. Nor were the grounds assigned as the basis of negotiation of clear and unquestionable validity. The hostile intrigues alleged against the Amírs, were considered by Major Outram at the time neither important nor dangerous; while the evidence in support of them, forwarded by

* A negotiation had previously been entered into at the instance of Lord Auckland's Government, for the cession of the district of Shikarpúr: but Major Outram reported that this must be abandoned under Lord Ellenborough's contemplated occupation of Kurrachí, and the proposed river arrangements.

† Territorial Cessions.....	Rs. 1,06,500
Abolition of transit duties and river toll:	„ 10,000
Compensation for cutting wood.....	„ 2,00,000
Total annual value.....	Rs. 3,16,500
‡ Annual tribute from the Amírs of Hyderabad.....	Rs. 3,00,000
Ditto ditto of Mírúpúr.....	„ 50,000
Total Rupees.....	3,50,000

This was exclusive of certain claims against Mír Nússír Khan of Khyrpúr, the heir of the late Mír Múbaruk Khan, consisting of about three years tribute of Rs. 1,00,000 per annum, in addition to Rs. 7,00,000 claimed in behalf of the late Shah Shúja.

his assistants, and which he had not the means of testing, was any thing but conclusive of the guilt of the Amírs, even if it had been as unimpeachable as it subsequently proved to be worthless and false.

But while we make these observations, we readily admit that the treaty, as originally proposed by Major Outram, was framed in a spirit of perfect fairness towards both Governments; and there is every reason to believe, that had the negotiation for its settlement been committed to that officer, it would have been brought to an amicable and successful termination. Little could it have been foreseen, that a proposal to negotiate the equitable purchase of certain privileges by an equivalent remission of tribute, would be made the groundwork—and even, in some quarters, the justification—of the oppressive and retributive penalties which were subsequently imposed upon these Princes.

Lord Ellenborough, who had only a few weeks before signified his intention of continuing to hold military command of the Indus, seems now to have hesitated regarding the line of policy which it was desirable to follow. In acknowledging the receipt of the draft treaties, he stated that he "did not see the necessity for pressing negotiation upon them (the Amírs) precipitately, and on the contrary would rather desire to leave their minds in tranquillity for the present;"* and that it would be "a matter for future consideration whether any probable benefit to be ever derived from the treaties, could compensate for the annual expenditure which would be brought upon the Government of India by the maintenance of a large force at Sukker and Kurrachí." Here, therefore, terminated the discussion regarding Major Outram's Treaty, which was never presented to the Amírs.

On his return from Quetta to Sukker, three months afterwards, Major Outram was directed, before leaving Sindh, to lay before Sir Charles Napier, "the several acts, whereby the Amírs or Chiefs may have seemed to have departed from the terms or spirit of their engagements, and to have evinced hostility or unfriendliness towards the Government of India." In obedience to these instructions, he submitted to the General two "Returns of Complaints" preferred respectively against two of the Amírs of Upper Sindh, and against four of the Hyderabad Amírs, together with the documentary evidence in support of these charges. Having done this, he resigned into Sir Charles Napier's hands the political powers which he

had wielded with so much credit to himself and with such signal benefit to the public service, and left Sindh on the 12th November, carrying with him the regrets of every officer in the country.

We now resume the narrative of the proceedings of his successor.

Sir Charles lost no time in commencing the investigation of these charges, the establishment of which was to form the ground-work for the imposition of a new treaty; nor was he long in bringing it to a conclusion. In the course of twelve days after his arrival at Sukker, and a week before he had received the charges against the Amírs of Lower Sindh, he completed his report—that report which was to be Lord Ellenborough's guide in his Sindh policy, and to decide the fate of the Sovereign Princes of that country. We have perused this remarkable document with much pain. Passing by the sneering allusion to "sticklers for abstract rights;" the undisguised admission that "we want only a pretext to coerce the Amírs;" the uncalled for remarks on the "barbarism of those Princes and their fitness to govern a country;" the (too true) prophecy that "the more powerful government will at no distant period swallow up the weaker;" and the opinion that it would be better to come to this result at once, "if it could be done with honesty:"—setting aside these, and many similar unseemly doctrines, as well as the palpable inaccuracy of the statement, that under existing treaties we were authorized to maintain our camps permanently in Upper Sindh, we proceed at once to examine the specific accusations, and the evidence by which they were verified.

The charges prepared against the Amírs are reducible to two heads:—First, certain acts of constructive hostility attributed to Mír Rústum Khan, the chief Amír of Khyrpúr, and Mír Nussír Khan, the Senior Amír of Hyderabad; and Second, certain infractions of the existing treaties alleged against these two Amírs, as well as against Mír Nussír Khan of Khyrpúr, and Mírs Mír Mahommed Khan, Shahdad Khan, and Hússen Ali of Hyderabad.

1. The first charge, under the first of these heads, alleged against Mír Rústum Khan, was a breach of treaty, of a hostile character, in having written a letter to the Maharajah Shír Singh of Lahore, the purport of which was to negotiate for the renewal of an alliance between that sovereign and certain of the Amírs of Upper and Lower Sindh. The letter, though intimating in vague and ambiguous language that the parties to the negotiation entertained unfriendly feelings towards the

British ("that tribe") did not indicate any hostile designs against our Government, and seemed to have principally in view an engagement to secure the succession of Mír Rústum's son to the chieftainship after *his own death*. It was intercepted by Agents of Mír Ali Morad (Rústum's brother), who was inimical to Rústum, and a rival candidate for the chieftaincy.

The authenticity of this intercepted letter rested exclusively on the supposed fact, that it bore Mír Rústum's seal, and was in the handwriting of His Highness' Minister. We need scarcely remind our readers that this species of judicial evidence is received with great distrust in this country. The forgery of letters and the fabrication of counterfeit seals are of very common occurrence, and had been recently and successfully exemplified in Sindh. Colonel Outram informs us* (and the Amírs in their final conference at Hyderabad reminded that officer of the fact) that in the preceding year he had occasion to complain to the Amírs of frequent forgeries of his own seal which, affixed to letters professed to be written by him, had so far imposed on their Highnesses as to procure grants of land for those who presented them; and in September of the same year several forged seals of the Amírs were found in the possession of a man apprehended in the Sukker bazar. These circumstances, combined with the fact that the parties through whose agency the letter was intercepted were hostile to Mír Rústum, and, as we shall afterwards find, were interested in embroiling him with the British Government, ought to have shewn the necessity of care and caution in pronouncing a final decision. Major Outram, having latterly entertained considerable doubts as to the authenticity of the letter, forwarded it to Mr. George Clerk, the Envoy at Lahore, in the hope that from his official relation to the sovereign to whom it was addressed, he might be able to determine the question. That most eminent public officer, however, after retaining it six months in his possession, reported to Lord Ellenborough, that its "authenticity was still a matter of doubt to him as it had been to Major Outram in sending it."† But the doubts which were entertained by Major Outram and Mr. Clerk were very summarily disposed of by the General's Political assistant. On the very day, the 23rd November, on which he received back the letter from Mr. Clerk, Sir Charles Napier wrote to Lord Ellenborough that Lieutenant Brown had assured him that there could, not

* Out. Com. 74.

† Sindh Parl : Pap. p. 478.

be the slightest doubt of its authenticity.* And thus, on the simple assurance of an officer, who neither spoke nor wrote the language in which it was written, and without any opportunity being given to the accused party to rebut the charge, was the authenticity of the letter summarily decided: Nor was there the slightest attempt to prove that the seal, even if genuine, had been affixed with His Highness' sanction, while there were strong reasons for suspecting that it had been used without his knowledge. Mohun Lall informs us,† that, during the negotiation of the treaties of 1839, Mír Ali Morad surreptitiously obtained possession of Mír Rústum's seal, with the intention of using it for the furtherance of his own perfidious schemes, but* was defeated in his object by the penetration of Sir Alexander Burnes. This fact, combined with our knowledge of Ali Morad's subsequent treachery, renders it by no means an improbable supposition that that "arch-intriguer" had now a second time possessed himself of his brother's seal, and that he was the real author of the secret letter which his own agents were instructed to intercept.

The second accusation preferred against Mír Rústum consisted in having, through his Minister Futteh Mahommed Ghorí, compassed the escape of a British prisoner. This charge appears to have been established against the Minister: but there was no proof or even suspicion of the Amír's implication in the matter. The substantiation of such an offence would have justly warranted the British Government in requiring the punishment or banishment of the Minister by whom it was committed, but certainly never could be held to justify the forfeiture of Mír Rústum's territory.

The last charge under this head was preferred against Mír Nussír Khan of Lower Sindh,—and consisted in his having authorised the writing of a letter to Bíbuk Búgty, the chief of the Búgty hill tribes, containing some general expressions of hostility towards the English ("some people") and calling upon him and his brother Belúchís to hold themselves in readiness. The authenticity of this letter was unsupported by a tittle of evidence that could be considered as conclusive; and in this instance, as in the former, no opportunity was afforded the suspected Prince of disproving the charges.

The principal infractions of the treaty, constituting the *second* division of charges, consisted in the levy of river tolls on boats belonging to subjects of Sindh. These accusations affected

* Sindh Parl : Pap. p. 427.

† Life of Dost Mahommed Khan, p. 78.

Mír's Nussír Khan, Mír Mahommed Khan, and Hússen Ali of Hyderabad, and Mír Rústum Khan of Khyrpúr, all of whom admitted the facts, but denied that they were in contravention of treaty. It was argued by the Hyderabad Amírs that the treaties exempted British and foreign boats from duty, but were not considered by them to interdict the levy of duties on their own subjects, over whom, under the 3rd Art. of the treaty, they possessed "absolute" jurisdiction : and that, in point of fact, they had levied these tolls from them without hindrance up to 1840. Lord Auckland's Government, however, decided against their construction of the engagement, and the Amírs had recently issued *perwannahs* granting an entire exemption from tolls ; upon which the Assistant Political Agent expressed a confident hope that the question would now be set at rest.

On the part of the Khyrpúr Amírs it was urged with great truth, that the treaties concluded with them contained no stipulation whatever for the abolition of tolls—the Amírs simply promising "co-operation with *the other powers* in any measure which may be thought necessary for extending or facilitating the commerce and navigation of the Indus." Now "the other powers" holding territory on the Indus, were the Maharajah of Lahore, the Nawab of Bhawulpúr, and the Amírs of Hyderabad ; the arrangements with the two former "powers," permitted them to levy a small stated duty ; while the latter, on account of their hostile opposition to the British Government, were compelled, without receiving any pecuniary or other equivalent, to abolish all tolls. On the general principles of equity and justice, therefore, the *friendly* Amírs of Khyrpúr, whose adherence to our cause had elicited the enthusiastic admiration of the negotiator of the Treaty,* had a right to expect the terms which we concluded with the *friendly* "powers" of Lahore and Bhawulpúr, and not those which were imposed on the then *hostile* "powers" of Hyderabad, between whom and themselves a marked line of distinction had professedly been drawn throughout the whole of the negotiations. But apart from these grounds, there were special reasons for guiding the Government to the more favourable interpretation of the engagement : for Sir Alexander Burnes

* "With such adherence (says Sir Alexander Burnes) I feel quite at a loss to know how we can either ask money or any favour of this family. I have never doubted their disposition to cling to us : but in their weak state, I had not expected such promises in the day of trial." And in a marginal note to the Treaty the same officer observes : "I might have easily abolished the toll for ever : but this would be a hazardous step. The toll binds the Mír to protect property ; the release from it would remove this duty from his shoulders."

had received specific instructions from Lord Auckland to put Khyrpúr on the same footing as Bhawulpúr, and with that view had been furnished with the Bhawulpúr treaty for his guidance.* Finally, it has been considered an established maxim with the most eminent of our Indian statesmen, that "when any article of an engagement is doubtful, it should be invariably explained with more leaning to the expectations originally raised in the weaker, than to the interests of the stronger power.† Notwithstanding all these considerations, Lord Ellenborough decided that the treaty must be construed as binding the Khyrpúr Amírs to acquiesce in the same arrangements as those subsequently imposed on "their kindred Amírs," of Hyderabad; and he intimated that he should expect them to be observed with the same strictness as if they had been expressly inserted in the treaty. This opinion, pronounced by the paramount power, finally decided the prospective operation of the contested article: but that it was not intended to authorise the infliction of a penalty for duties previously levied under a different, and, we think, a more equitable construction of the treaty, may be inferred from the fact, that a clause explanatory of the article in question was introduced into the revised treaty.

It is unnecessary to notice the other trifling charges of breach of treaty, the more particularly as it was distinctly admitted by the Governor-General,‡ that the right to make any demand, extending to the cession of territory, depended upon the truth of the three offences specified under the first head. The proposed treaty, writes Lord Ellenborough to Sir Charles Napier, "rests for its justification upon the assumption, that the letters said to be addressed by Mír Rústúm to the Maharajah Shir Singh and by Mír Nussír Khan to Bábúk Búgty, were really written by the chiefs respectively, and that the confidential minister of Mír Rústúm did, as is alleged, contrive the escape of Syed Mahommed Shurríp,*** I know (he added) that you will satisfy yourself of the truth of these charges before you exact the penalty of the offences they impute."§

The final decision on these three important questions having been then remitted to Sir Charles, "on whose word, as the historian truly states, the fate of Sindh now depended,"

* Sindh Parl : Pap. p. 61.

† Sir John Malcom's Institutions.

‡ Sindh Parl : Pap. p. No. 387, p. 437.

§ Sindh Parl : Pap. No. 389, p. 440.

he lost no time in pronouncing a verdict of guilt against the two Amirs, on each of the accusations.* The Governor-General, in confirming the decision, stated that if Government were to wait in every case of suspected hostility until it obtained such proof as should be sufficient to convict the person suspected in a court of justice, it would in most cases expose itself at once to disgrace and disaster.† It may readily be conceded, that in the investigation and settlement of international questions arising between a paramount State and its tributary allies, we cannot expect either the technical procedure or the scrupulous nicety of evidence of a criminal court: but we have clearly a right to require that, in such an inquiry, the principles of substantial justice should not be violated. Every one who is practically conversant with the elements of judicial evidence will concur with us in opinion, that the *ex parte* evidence of an intercepted letter, written in a language unknown to those who decided upon its authenticity, and intercepted by interested and hostile parties, was altogether insufficient, in the absence of any corroborative testimony, to establish the accusation preferred against these two Princes.

Before we examine the exactions of the revised treaties which Lord Ellenborough determined to impose as the punishment of these alleged offences, it will be necessary to inquire into the proceedings and position of the parties affected by them.

The condition of the Amirs at this period was a very painful one. Their minds were agitated and alarmed by the current rumours of our intention to impose new treaties upon them, if not to subjugate their country; they had seen the Bengal portion of General England's force detained at Sukker, instead of proceeding to their own provinces; the political agency, heretofore their sole medium of communication with the British Government had been abolished; and an unknown Military Commander exercised arbitrary sway in the heart of their country. No official intimation of these changes had been vouchsafed to them; no reason had been assigned for the detention of the troops, although such detention was unauthorized by treaty: and instead of endeavouring to allay their fears by personal intercourse and friendly explanation—a duty which had been expressly enjoined by the Governor-General—it seemed as if the General's object was to confirm

* Sindh Parl. Pap. Nos. 409, 410 & 414.

† Sindh Parl. Pap. No. 414. p. 457.

and increase their apprehensions by an insulting arrogance of demeanour, and by an ostentatious display of military strength. Surely, under such suspicious and menacing demonstrations, it cannot be wondered at that the Amírs should have adopted some defensive measures for the protection of their interests.

If the British Government deemed it justifiable, after the abandonment of Affghanistan, to concentrate a large army in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital of Upper Sindh, at a time when, under the provisions of the treaty, we had no right to station a single soldier within the limits of that country, on what grounds of abstract justice, or under what clause of the existing treaties, can we dispute the right of the Upper Sindh Amírs to take the precautionary measure of assembling their armed dependants within the precincts of their capital? Ours were the offensive, their's strictly defensive measures. On the 6th November, Major Outram reported in regard to the Khyrpúr Amírs, that all their measures and preparations were defensive, and would lead to nothing offensive: and a week later his assistant at Hyderabad writes: "I cannot learn that the Amírs meditate collecting any troops' in consequence of the large assemblage of British force at Sukker: but their Highnesses continue very uneasy on the subject, and impute any but friendly motives to it."

Lord Ellenborough's revised draft treaties bear date the 4th of November, and were received by Sir Charles Napier on the 12th of that month. On examining their provisions, we find that the following terms were common to the Hyderabad and the Khyrpúr treaties:—

1. The relinquishment of all tribute payable by the Amírs to the British Government.

2. The introduction of a British currency throughout Sindh, and the relinquishment, by the Amírs of the privilege of coining.

3. The right to cut wood within a hundred yards of both banks of the Indus.

4. The cession, in perpetuity, to the Khan of Bharribpúr of the rights and interests of the Amírs in the districts of Subzulkote, and all the territory intervening between the present frontier of Bhawulpúr and the town of Rorí.

The Khyrpúr treaty stipulated in addition, for the cession to the British Government of Sukker, Bukker and Rorí; while the Hyderabad treaty exacted, in like manner, the cession of Kurrachí and Tatta, with free transit between those places, and the cession to Mír Sobdar Khan of territory producing 'f a lakh of revenue, in consideration of his share of Kur-

rachí, "and as a reward for his good conduct." It was finally provided that a British Commissioner should apportion, by mutual exchanges, the cession of each Amír in Lower Sindh, according to the amount of tribute payable by each; and in the event of the cessions falling short of the amount of tribute, lands yielding an annual revenue equivalent to the balance were to be appropriated to the indemnification of such Amírs of Upper Sindh, other than Mírs Rústum and Nussír Khans, as were called upon to cede territory under these new arrangements.

The imposition of these treaties proved the remote cause of the Sindh Revolution. The oppressive severity and injustice of their exactions will be at once understood, when it is stated that the pecuniary value of the confiscated territory and the other forfeited privileges, amounted to the sum of Rupees 10,40,500* per annum; of which two-thirds (being about one-third of their entire revenues) fell upon the Amírs of Khyrpúr. We have seen that the object of Major Outram's proposed treaty was to commute, on equitable terms, the payment of tribute for the cession of territory, and to make the territorial possessions thus acquired, available for securing the military command of the Indus and the efficient protection of its navigation. Lord Ellenborough's treaties on the other hand, in addition to these and other stipulations, had in view the infliction of a signal punishment upon the Amírs, and the grant of "a great reward to our most faithful friend and ally," the Khan of Bhawulpúr.

Without stopping to discuss the expediency or otherwise of retaining military possession of both banks of the Indus (after the withdrawal of our troops from Affghanistan) the impolicy of which had been so strongly denounced by Lord Ellenborough in his celebrated Simla Manifesto only a month before, we will confine our present observations to the injustice and the folly of the proposed confiscation to Bharrib Khan. We have already expressed our conviction that the evidence adduced in support of the already hostile intrigues, upon the proof of

* Territorial cessions to the Nawab of Bhawulpúr.....	Rs.	6,40,000
Ditto Ditto to the British Government	"	1,90,500
Free transit from Kurrachee to the Indus at Tatta.....	"	10,000
Right of cutting wood on the banks of the Indus.....	"	2,00,000
Compensation to Mír Sobdar Khan.....	"	50,000

10,90,500

DEDUCT.

Amount of tribute remitted..... Rs. 3,50,000

Balance Rupees. " 7,40,500

which the justification of the treaty was declaredly made to rest, was altogether insufficient to establish the accusation. But let us admit for the sake of argument, that the authenticity of the secret correspondence had been satisfactorily proved, and there will still remain the important question, whether the imputed offence justified the penalty inflicted. If it be admitted that nothing can warrant a Paramount State in sequestrating the territory of one of its allies, excepting such acts on the part of the latter as placed it in the position of a public enemy, and imparted to the former all the rights of war, no one, we think, will venture to assert that the intercepted letters justified such a measure. They indicated, it is true, an unfriendly feeling towards the British, and they pointed to measures of defence—in the one case by a foreign alliance, and in the other by the collection of troops—against our expected hostility: but there was not one hostile act either committed or apparently meditated. They were also in contravention of the existing treaties which prohibited negotiation with other States and therefore furnished grounds for remonstrance, or even for precautionary measures of self defence, had any real danger been actually apprehended: but in no point of view, could they be held to warrant either a public declaration of war, or a public confiscation of territory. Viewing their alleged offences in this light, we would next proceed to inquire, whether such petty and childish intrigues on the part of the Amírs, had placed them beyond the pale of mercy, or whether there were not some extenuating circumstances to plead, at least in mitigation of their punishment, if not for their entire forgiveness. On the part of the Amírs, it might have been urged that the British Government had itself contravened one of the most important provisions of the former treaties with these Princes, by transporting troops and military stores up the Indus—that we had forced the existing treaties upon them at the point of the bayonet, in pursuance of a policy the original grounds of which had just been publicly announced to be visionary and impolitic,* and which we had now been compelled to abandon—that we had given an illiberal, and, as appears to us, an unjust interpretation to an ambiguous clause of the treaty with Mír Rústum, and compelled him to abolish all river tolls without any recompense for the pecuniary loss it entailed—that notwithstanding our solemn pledge to Mír Rústum that we would not “covet a dam or drain of his territories nor the fortress on this bank or that bank of the Indus,” the Governor

* See Lord Ellenborough's Proclamation of the 1st October, 1842.

General had intimated his intention to retain possession of the fortress of Bukker and the town of Sukker nearly five months before the inquiry into the charges against that Prince commenced—that we were at this very moment directly infringing our engagements with the same Prince by retaining Bukker, which we had especially engaged to restore after the Affghan campaign, and by concentrating a large army at Sukker, when we had no authority, under the treaty, to station any troops whatever in Upper Sindh*—and finally, that the Governor-General's Military Commander in Sindh was then meditating other and more flagrant violations of national justice and of public faith. It might have been further urged in behalf of these Princes, that they had not derived from these treaties any of the advantages, political or commercial, which we had led them to expect—and that they had substantially befriended us at a time when even their passive friendship or neutrality would have been most injurious to our interests, and when their active hostility would have endangered the safety of our armies, and perilled the whole of our Indian possessions. Under such a combination of aggravating circumstances on the one side, and of extenuating considerations on the other, we cannot but think, that if ever there was an occasion when complete forgiveness would have been an act not merely of generosity but of justice, it assuredly was in the case we are now considering.

But if the declaration of an amnesty for all past offences, whether real or alleged, was deemed to be either impolitic or undeserved, surely no one will contend that either the demands of justice or consideration of sound policy required that the Amírs should be punished by such an arbitrary and indiscriminate spoliation of territory as the revised treaties contemplated. Was it not enough for the purposes of "just punishment," and for the efficient protection of British interests, that we should exact the perpetual cession of Sukker, Bukker, Rorí, and Kurrachí, and occupy these stations' with our troops at pleasure? Was there occasion to humiliate and oppress them still further by gratuitously and recklessly confiscating one-third of the Upper Sindh territory, as if it had been a conquered province, for the purpose of conferring it on an obscure ally whom the Governor-General, for reasons only known to himself, delighted to honor and enrich, at the expense of other States?

* "It will be remembered (writes Lord Auckland in December 1839) that we are under special engagement to restore Bukker to the Khyrpúr Amírs, and that we have no absolute right under treaty to station our troops within the Khyrpúr limits."

If the punishment denounced against Mír Rústum Khan of Khyrpúr and Mír Nussír Khan of Hyderabad was thus arbitrary, oppressive, and unjust, how inexpressibly flagrant was the injustice inflicted on the other Amírs, who had not even been accused of any participation in these puerile intrigues—on Mírs Mír Mahommed Khan and Shadad Khan of Hyderabad, against whom there were only some trivial charges of evasions of treaty on the part of themselves or their officers—on Mír Nussír Khan of Khyrpúr, with whom we had not even the semblance of a written engagement—and on Mír Hússen Ali of Hyderabad, and Mírs Mahommed Khan and Ali Morad of Khyrpúr, against whom there was no sort of complaint.* And yet these Princes, equally with the two former, were despoiled of their territories and sovereign rights, in defiance of every principle of honesty, justice and good faith.

While we thus strongly reprobate this unrighteous act, it is just to Lord Ellenborough to record, that at the time he directed its execution, he was obviously not aware of the full extent of the injustice he was committing. In the letter of instructions to Sir Charles Napier which accompanied the draft treaties, he expressly avowed his ignorance of the precise value, position and ownership of the districts which he had ordered to be confiscated: and indeed, so vague and utterly erroneous was his information, that he made provision for the disposal of the *surplus tribute* to be surrendered by us *in excess* of the annual value of confiscated territory, when, in point of fact, the latter exceeded the former, as we have shewn, by upwards of seven lakhs of rupees. Seeing the grievous error which had been committed, Major Outram, on perusing the treaties when on the eve of leaving Sindh (on the 12th November), strongly urged Sir Charles Napier to make a reference to the Governor-General before tendering them to the Amírs; which, indeed, he was authorized to do by the discretionary instructions just referred to.† Notwithstanding the imperfect information avowedly possessed by Lord Ellenborough, and heedless of Major Outram's advice and of Mír Rústum's subsequent remonstrances, he delayed making the reference until the 30th of January—two months and a half after he received the treaties, and nearly two months after he had presented them to the Amírs. This fatal delay is the

* Mír Sobdar Khan (of Hyderabad) "our friend" was alone exempted from these exactions.

† Sindh Parl. Pap. No. 383.

more deeply to be regretted, because on the day of its receipt, his Lordship intimated, that, while he wished all the territory which had been conquered from Bhawulkhan to be restored, his object in confiscating the country between the Bhawulpur frontier and Rorí was "to establish a communication between our territories on the Sutlej and Rorí through a friendly State, rather than to inflict any further punishment on the Amírs of Khyrpúr," and therefore, that, if Sir Charles was of opinion that the cessions originally demanded, pressed too heavily upon the Amírs, he was directed to submit any suggestion he might have to offer for its modification. These instructions, however, arrived too late; they came not until the battle of Míaní had sealed the fate of Sindh and its rulers.

The conduct of Sir Charles Napier in this matter betrayed a most culpable neglect of duty, both towards his own Government and to the Princes of Sindh, and is deserving of the severest condemnation. But this constitutes only a part of his guilt in this painful transaction. Sir Charles had assured the Governor-General that *he himself* would present the treaty to the Amírs; and that he would "spare no pains to convince them that neither injury nor injustice were meditated, and that by accepting the treaties they would become more rich (!) and more secure of power than they now were." Instead of pursuing this course, which a sense of duty no less than his promise so clearly prescribed, he deputed his assistant, neither to explain, to advise, nor even to negotiate, but to present the treaties and to admit of no remonstrance. They were tendered to the Amírs of Upper Sindh on the 4th, and to those of Lower Sindh on the 6th of December, accompanied by letters from the Governor-General as well as from Sir Charles to these Princes, and were verbally accepted on the 7th by the deputies of both Provinces, who at the same time remonstrated against their injustice. The hostile attitude and menacing tone of the General had previously induced the Amírs of Upper Sindh to adopt the precautionary measure of collecting some of their troops at their capital; but the perusal of the draft treaties, harsh and humiliating though they were, and the (fictitious) report made to them by their Vakíls that the General had now abandoned his intention of marching on their capital, and was about to send away the Bengal force, seems to have, in some degree, reassured them; and, in the apparent hope of being able to procure by negotiation some remission of the terms, they began to disband their troops. The General's hostile measures, however, soon led to their recall.

Having crossed the Indus in hostile array, he, on the 8th,

publicly proclaimed the districts between Rorí and the Bhawulpúr frontier to be confiscated to the British Government from the first day of the ensuing year, and ordered that thenceforth "one cowree shall not be paid to the Kamdars of the Amírs." On the 18th he issued a second irritating proclamation, annexing these districts to the Nawab of Bhawulpúr, and prohibiting the Amírs, under threats of amercement, from collecting their revenues : and on the same day he sent the Bengal column to occupy the confiscated territory. The possessions, be it remarked, thus summarily and illegally seized, were the districts regarding which, he was at the moment withholding such official information, as in all probability would have induced the Governor-General to modify his orders for their sequestration : and these districts were now seized on the plea of a treaty which was still unratified, and which remained so for nearly two months afterwards. Well might the chronicler of the conquest affirm ; that "the sword was now raised, and the negociation became an armed parley."*

While he was thus forcibly appropriating the territory of Mír Rústum, which he had been authorized only to negotiate for, by treaty, he on the 12th thus abruptly addressed that Amír, "I must have your acceptance of the treaty immediately—yea or nay." And again in the same arrogant strain: "The Governor-General has occupied both sides of your Highness' river, because he has considered both sides of your Highness' argument. But I cannot go into the argument,—I am not Governor-General ; I am only one of his Commanders. The Governor-General has given to you his reasons, and to me his orders ; they shall be obeyed."† We will venture to state, that the annals of Indian diplomacy do not present a picture of more overbearing haughtiness than this. To have treated a conquered enemy in this manner, would have been deemed an act of barbarous inhumanity : but to address such language to a sovereign Prince, with whom we were at peace, argued a scandalous dereliction of public duty. Well might the venerable Rústum say : "You have issued a proclamation, that in accordance with the new treaty, my country, from Rorí to the boundary of Subzulkote shall be considered as belonging to the British Government from the 1st January. As yet I have not entered into a treaty to this effect : * * * moreover, be it known that I have distributed the districts above alluded to among my kindred and chiefs of Belúchistan." Such was the series of unjust and oppressive acts

* Napier's Conquest, p. 156.

† Suppl. Sindh : Pap. No. 8.

which proved the remote occasion of the Sindh Conquest ; its proximate cause is now to be noticed.

Mír Rústum Khan, the Rais or Prince Paramount of Upper Sindh, the spoliation of whose territory has just been described, was now above eighty years of age. The succession to the sovereignty after his death was claimed, on the ground of prescriptive usage, by his younger brother Mír Ali Morad ; while Rústum, on the other hand, claimed the right of bequeathing the turban (or crown) to his eldest son Mahommed Hússen, and even of placing it on his head during his own life.

Of these two rival candidates, the ablest and the most unprincipled was Ali Morad, whose guilty intrigues were so soon to involve his kindred and country in ruin. His first object was to obtain from the British Government an acknowledgement of his title to the succession, and a promise of support, if necessary, in establishing his claim after Rústum's death : and this object being attained, he meditated the extortion of the turban, if practicable, during his brother's life. In furtherance of these objects, he persuaded Mír Rústum and the Khyrpúr Amirs to invest him with full powers as their representative to conduct all communications with Sir Charles Napier, and on the 23rd of November he succeeded in obtaining a personal interview with the General. At this memorable conference—memorable from the disastrous consequences to which it ultimately led,—Sir Charles having decided, on what ground is not stated, that Ali Morad had “the right” to the turban after the death of Mír Rústum, promised, on the part of the Governor-General, to protect him in that right, provided “he continued to act loyally towards the British Government.” He further assured him that Mír Rústum would not be permitted by the Governor-General to invest his son with the dignity in question during his own life ; because he said, “it would be against the treaty for any one Amír to defraud another of his right.”* Without presuming to decide, in the absence of any recorded data, whether the abstract right to the turban rested exclusively with Ali Morad as was authoritatively announced by Sir Charles, or whether the claims on that ground were equally balanced between the two candidates as had previously been decided by Major Outram,† we are clearly of opinion that, under the existing treaty, which acknowledged the supremacy of Rústum and his absolute control within his own territories, we should have had no grounds for interference had Rústum carried into effect his

* Sindh Parl. Pap. No. 413, p. 45.

† Outram's Commentary, p. 104.

intention of investing his son with the turban during his life ; although, in the event of a disputed succession after his death, its settlement might have rested with the British Government.

While Sir Charles thus guaranteed to Ali Morad the eventual succession to the sovereignty of Upper Sindh on Rústum's death, he indiscreetly, though perhaps unconsciously, intimated that the turban would be preserved to Rústum during his life "*unless he forfeited the protection*" of the Governor-General : an intimation which Ali Morad appears to have determined to turn to his personal advantage, even before he left the General's presence : for he at once indirectly accused Mír Rústum of hostility, by stating that he (Ali Morad) and Mír Sobdar Khan of Hyderabad, were "the only friends of the English," and by proposing that they two should make a secret treaty to stand by each other. It seems passing strange that such a proposition, coming from a Chief who had expressly solicited the interview as the accredited deputy of Rústum, should not have excited any suspicion of his perfidy in the mind of the General.

Having thus attained, and more than attained, the secret object of his visit, this bold and unscrupulous Prince hastened to compass the immediate deposition or compulsory abdication of his brother : and Sir Charles appears to have heartily seconded him in his guilty ambition. "The next step, (writes the General*) after giving Ali Morad a promise of the succession to the turban after Mír Rústum's death, was to *secure him the exercise of its power now, even during his brother's life.*"* How this was accomplished is now to be shown.

At the very time when a British General was confiscating Mír Rústum's territory, and a perfidious brother was secretly meditating his deposition, domestic troubles had befallen "the good old man." On the 18th December—the day on which the General threatened to march on his capital and proclaimed his districts to be confiscated to the Khan of Bhawulpúr—he sent a secret message to the General, to the effect that he was in the hands of his family and could not act as his feelings of friendship for the English nation prompted him to do, and that if the General would receive him he would escape and come to his camp.† Surely, under such an appeal, it would have been an act of friendship and humanity peculiarly befitting, if not absolutely incumbent upon the British General, whose duty it was "to represent the friendship as well as the power" of his Government, to have promptly responded to so

reasonable a request. But setting all such feelings aside, a just regard to political consideration should have dictated a ready compliance; for if it really was the wish of the General to secure an amicable settlement of the treaties, no better opportunity for effecting this object could have been desired than this spontaneous offer on the part of the Amír to place himself under British protection. And, be it remembered, that the request emanated from the Sovereign Prince of the Province, at whose court he was the delegated British representative, and within whose territories he had resided for two months and a half, but with whom he had not yet had an interview.* To have invited the aged Amír to his camp would most probably have effected the settlement of the treaties and secured the peace of the country, as it would have unmasked the character of Mír Ali Morad; and it was therefore a duty which Sir Charles owed both to that Chief and to his own Government. But we shall shew how different was the course of policy which he followed: "The idea struck me at once (he writes to the Governor-General two days afterwards,) that Rústum might go to Ali Morad, who might induce him, as a family arrangement, to resign the turban to him:" and accordingly in pursuance of this "idea," he sent a secret letter through Ali Morad to Rústum, recommending him to take refuge in his brother's fortress, trust himself to his care, and be guided by his advice. Bewildered and alarmed by the hostile proceedings of the General and by the dissensions within his own family, he fell into the snare, and on the 19th fled to Dejí-ka-kote. Having thus "thrown himself into his brother's power" by the General's advice, he was placed under restraint, deprived of his seals, and compelled on the following day to resign the turban to Ali Morad.† The great object of his policy having been successfully accomplished, Sir Charles thus laconically and exultingly reports its results:— "This (the transfer of the turban) I was so fortunate to succeed in, by persuading Mír Rústum to place himself in Ali Morad's hands. This burst upon his family and followers like a bombshell,"‡

Although the General was not acquainted at the time with the precise circumstances under which the turban had been fraudulently extorted from Mír Rústum, he, from the first, sur-

* Mír Rústum had solicited an interview with Sir Charles on a previous occasion, but postponed it on the plea of sickness, though, in reality, he was dissuaded from it by his intriguing brother. He repeated his request, but was refused.

† Sindh Parl. Pap., p. 503.

‡ Sindh Parl. Pap. No. 445, p. 483,

mised that Ali Morad had "bullied his brother into making it over to him:" and now his suspicions as to the honesty of the proceedings were increased by the fact, that a determination was obviously manifested in some quarter to prevent his having personal access to Rústum. This he resolved to counteract, and on the 27th, he intimated to Ali Morad his intention of visiting Rústum on the following day. But before the morning's sun had risen, the aged Prince had fled in dismay to the desert.

The intelligence of Rústum's flight, viewed in connection with the extraordinary transactions of which it was the consummation, could not fail to stagger the General, and to augment his former well-grounded suspicions. Accordingly, in reporting the matter to the Governor-General, he attributed it either to the aged Prince's dread of his (the General's) making him a prisoner—a dread, he adds, which had all along haunted him—or to his having been frightened into the foolish step by Ali Morad, who, in order "to make his possession of the turban more decisive," might have told him that he (the General) intended to seize him.* The accuracy of his conjectures was amply confirmed by the receipt of a communication, written on the following day from Mír Rústum himself, disavowing the validity of the cession of the turban, as having been extorted from him, and stating that he had been induced to flee into the desert, and to avoid a meeting with the General, in consequence of the representation of Ali Morad that he (the General) wished to make him a prisoner. Rústum further intimates in his letter, that he had sent ambassadors to the General to explain every thing, and concludes by expressing a hope that his case may be examined "by the scales of justice and kindness," and that he may receive his rights according to the treaty. The correctness of his statement was a week afterwards confirmed by the deputies just referred to, in presence of Ali Morad's own minister, as well as of Major Outram and Captain Brown.†

With such an array of circumstances and facts, all affording the strongest presumption that Ali Morad had fraudulently extorted his brother's birthright, and that, in the accomplishment of his wicked purpose, he had dared to stain the British name by imputing meditated treachery to the British representative,—it was the bounden duty of that officer to lose not an instant in instituting a full and searching inquiry into the whole circumstances of the transaction. An inquiry was due to the Sovereign Ally, whose rights we had guaranteed—it was due to the

* Sindh Parl. Pap. No. 446.

† Outram's Commentary, p 126.

personal character of the General himself—and it was, above all, due to the vindication of the faith and honor of the Government whom he represented. We grieve to record that no investigation whatever was made, either then or at any subsequent period, though thus imperatively required for the credit of the British name, and repeatedly and urgently solicited by the Amírs both of Upper and Lower Sindh. On the contrary, on the very day (the 1st of January) on which he received from Rústum the confirmation of his own previous suspicions, the General, with incredible inconsistency and in violation of every consideration of political prudence and moral justice, issued an arrogant and offensive Proclamation, addressed to the Amírs and people of Sindh, in which he gives a short but inaccurate outline of what had occurred; asserts that Mír Rústum, by his flight, had insulted and defied the Governor-General; and declares his intention to “protect the chief Amír Ali Morad in his right, as the justly constituted Chief of the Talpúr family.”* On the following day he addressed a letter of similar purport to Rústum,—charging him with misrepresentation, subterfuge and double dealing; and concluding with these words: “I no longer consider you to be the Chief of the Talpúrs, nor will I treat with you as such, nor with those who consider you to be Rais.†

Ali Morad having been thus formally proclaimed as the justly constituted Rais of Upper Sindh, the General, without waiting for instructions from the Governor-General, did not hesitate to pledge the British Government to grant to the usurper all lands said to appertain to the turban, without knowing or inquiring what those lands were. Supported by the General, Ali Morad appropriated territory at his pleasure, and resumed, on the plea of the turban, lands which had passed into the possession of feudatory chiefs, thereby creating general disaffection and alarm.

The aggregate annual value of the territory left to the Amírs of Upper Sindh, under the exactions of Lord Ellenborough's yet unratified treaties, was only Rs. 14,29,000: of this amount Ali Morad's share was Rs. 4,45,500, leaving to the other Amírs Rs. 9,83,500. Now Sir Charles had not only pledged to Ali Morad, in virtue of his usurpation of the

* Suppl. Sindh Pap. p. 6.

† Suppl. Sindh Pap. No. 17. We have deemed it to be quite unnecessary to enter into an examination of the discordant and contradictory statements to be found in the different versions given by Sir Charles Napier of this very discreditable transaction; but refer our readers to the fifth chapter of Colonel Outram's Commentary, where they will find the whole subject of the compulsory abdication of the turban analyzed and exposed with much minuteness and ability.

turban, one-fourth of the aggregate revenues of Upper Sindh, but had moreover stipulated that this fourth should be deducted, not from the aggregate revenues of the Province (Ali Morad's, own revenues included), but from the revenues of the other Amirs. Thus these unfortunate Princes were called upon to pay, not the fourth of their own possessions, *viz.*, Rs. 2,40,000, but a fourth of the entire revenues of the Province, or Rupees 3,57,250, which, added to the sum of Rs. 1,50,000 to be paid to Ali Morad as an indemnity for his possessions confiscated to Bhawul Khan, swelled the total exactions made by the usurper to Rs. 5,07,250—leaving a balance of little more than six lakhs of Rupees for the support of no less than eighteen Amirs, with their families, dependants and feudatory chiefs, who had up to that period enjoyed an annual revenue of Rs. 17,44,000.

In the meantime, while these startling events were in progress, Major Outram, who was on the eve of embarking for England, was recalled to act as a British Commissioner, under Sir Charles Napier, for settling the details of the Ellenborough treaties. That officer, disregarding all personal considerations, promptly repaired to Sindh, to act as a subordinate in the countries where he had so recently held supreme political control. He accepted the situation in the hope that he might yet be enabled to save the ill-fated Princes of that devoted country: but their doom was fixed, and he was unable to avert it. What Sir Alexander Burnes was in Affghanistan under Sir William Macnaghten, Major Outram was in Sindh under Sir Charles Napier. Both were powerless for good: and both must have appeared, in the eyes of the Princes and people of the country, as countenancing and approving a system of policy which was utterly at variance with their known characters and with their former opinions. This is painfully exemplified in the final conferences, when the Amirs pour forth their remonstrances and complaints against the cruelties and injustice which they had suffered, and the Commissioner, in consequence of the instructions he had received, has not the power of holding out the slightest hope that their grievances would even be inquired into. We are, however, anticipating the regular course of our narrative.

Major Outram joined the General's camp at Deji-ka-kote, the fortified residence of Ali Morad, on the 4th of January (1843)—three days after the proclamation of that Prince as the supreme ruler of Upper Sindh. He used every effort to check the General in the course on which he had so unfortunately entered. He pointed out the palpable treachery and extortion by which Ali Morad had possessed himself of the turban; his unwarrantable and indiscriminate resumption of

lands alleged to appertain to the Rais-ship ; the consequent injury and injustice it would entail on the other subordinate Princes and Chiefs, and the general disaffection, if not insurrection, it would create throughout Sindh. But the warning was disregarded : the General, deaf alike to the voice of reason, to the calls of justice, and to the solemn obligations of treaty, pursued his impetuous career. Having without any declaration of war, marched in hostile array upon the capital of Upper Sindh, with whose Chief we were at peace, and at whose hands we had received such signal benefits ; having taken military possession of an extensive tract of country on the plea of a yet unratified treaty ; having unauthorizedly lent the sanction of the British name to the usurpation of the turban by a crafty and unprincipled chief, under circumstances—to which he himself had been a party—that involved the strongest suspicions of treachery and violence ; and having sanctioned his indiscriminate appropriation of lands on the pretext of their appertaining to that turban which he had usurped ;—the General proceeded in the name of the usurper, to seize and make over to him all the fortresses in Upper Sindh. One of the first of the strongholds invaded was Emaunghur, the name of which must be familiar to all our readers.

Emaunghur, let it be observed, was the private property of Ali Morad's nephew, Mír Mahommed Khan, a chief against whom no charge of "hostility or unfriendliness" had even been preferred, and whose possessions were guaranteed to him, by a separate agreement, under the treaties of 1839. The sole object which the General seems to have first had in view, when he determined on capturing this "Sindhian Gibraltar" as he terms it, was the moral effect likely to be produced by so daring an achievement : and we find him writing to the Governor-General on the 27th December : "I have made up my mind, that though war has not been declared (nor is it necessary to declare it) I will at once march upon Emaunghur, and prove to the whole Talpúr family of both Khyrpúr and Hyderabad, that neither their deserts nor their negotiations can protect them from the British troops." But as this might be considered, and justly considered, an unwarrantable invasion of private rights, he some days after bethought himself of calling in question Mír Mahommed's title to the fort, and here, as on former occasions, we are again startled by the General's contradictory statements. In one place we find him describing it as "belonging to Mír Mahommed Khan, but becoming the property of Ali Morad by his election to be

chief."* But if the fort appertained as of right to the turban, why was it not in possession of Mír Rústum who wore the turban? In another place he states that "it *was* Ali Morad's, but he gave it to one of his relatives (Mír Mahommed Khan) three years ago." If it did really belong at some antecedent period to Ali Morad—which we merely assume for the sake of argument—we would ask, how came he, not only to be the proprietor of it, but to alienate it to another chief, while Rústum wore the turban, to which Sir Charles had just told us it of right belonged. Again, on a third occasion, he shifts his ground of defence, and rests the justification of its seizure on the allegation that the owner was "in rebellion" against Ali Morad. But it is painful to dwell on such contradictions. Nothing but an inward conviction of the injustice of the measure could have drawn forth such a defence.

Sir Charles marched on Emaunghur with a light detachment on the night of the 5th of January, saw no enemy on his route, and on his arrival at his destination found the fort deserted. Before setting out on this expedition he had intimated to the Governor-General his intention of sending word to the Amírs in Emaunghur that he would neither plunder nor slay them if they made no resistance. These chiefs, however, apparently distrusting the General's good faith, abandoned the fort; and the latter, in breach of his solemn promise, destroyed and plundered it, after having obtained with difficulty the consent (not of "the owner" but) of Ali Morad. Before quitting this subject, we must prominently notice, that while Sir Charles affects to have taken possession of this fortress in support of the authority of Ali Morad, we find that he had resolved on placing all the forts in the hands of his puppet, even before he had usurped the turban. "I will place their forts (he wrote before Rústum's abdication) in the hands of Ali Morad, nominally in those of Mír Rústum."†

Having accomplished this unprovoked inroad into the heart of the territory of an allied Prince, and having completed the spoliation and destruction of the fortress in direct violation of the treaty, and of his own plighted word, the General retraced his steps towards the Indus. He, at the same time, deputed his Commissioner Major Outram to Khyrpúr to meet the Amírs of Upper and Lower Sindh, with a view to the arrangement of the intricate details of Lord Ellenborough's treaties.

In a circular letter addressed to them by the General, the several Amírs were directed to attend at Khyrpúr, either personally or by Vakíls, adding that, if any one of them failed to furnish his deputy with full powers, he would not only exclude him from the meeting but would "enter the territories of such Amír with the troops under his orders, and take possession of them in the name of the British Government." Notwithstanding this threatening letter, none of the Khyrpúr Amírs made their appearance within the stipulated period. Having been distinctly informed that no alteration could be made in Sir Charles's arrangements with Ali Morad,—whose usurpation of the turban, with all its attendant territorial exactions, was to be considered a closed question,*—Mír Rústum proceeded in the direction of Hyderabad to join his fugitive relations.

Finding it impossible to avert the ruin which was befalling the Amírs of Upper Sindh, Major Outram asked the General for permission to proceed to Hyderabad without delay, in the hope of reaching that capital in time to prevent its Princes from giving aid or refuge to their fugitive kinsmen, and also of being enabled, by their means, to procure the submission of the latter. The General's reply, acceding to his application, was intercepted, it is believed, by Ali Morad's Minister, and never reached Major Outram. Two days after this, Vakíls, bearing the seals of the Amírs of Hyderabad, arrived at Sir Charles's head-quarters, with full authority to affix them to the treaties. Instead of procuring the signature of the Vakíls to their unconditional acceptance (leaving the details for future adjustment) he injudiciously desired the deputies to return to Hyderabad to meet Major Outram on the 6th of February. This was certainly an unfortunate decision: but, with a still more lamentable want of judgment and of consistency, he in a letter to the Hyderabad Amírs apprizing them of what he had done, expressed a hope that the Khyrpúr Amírs would also proceed to Hyderabad to meet his commissioner, adding, "if they do not, I will treat them as enemies:"—thereby advising and directing the adoption of the very measure which Major Outram so much deprecated, and the prevention of which was the main object of his proposed visit to Hyderabad.

* Notwithstanding the obviously imperfect information under which Lord Ellenborough drew up the draft treaties, and the discretionary power which he gave the General to refer all doubtful points the latter persisted to the last in carrying out these oppressive exactions to the uttermost. "Whether such arrangement," he writes to Major Outram, "leaves the former (the opposed Amírs) one rupee or one million, does not, in my view of the case, come within our competence to consider."

The interception of the General's letter and other unavoidable causes prevented Major Outram's departure from Sukker till the 4th of February, and on reaching Hyderabad on the 8th, he found that Mír Rústum, acting in obedience to the General's orders, had arrived there four days before him. Thus Sir Charles Napier had completely embroiled the Amírs of Hyderabad in the misfortunes of their cousins of Khyrpúr, and had succeeded, most effectually, in frustrating the very object for which his Commissioner had been deputed to Lower Sindh—a result which the Hyderabad Chiefs themselves had all along dreaded and had heretofore prevented, and to which they attributed all their subsequent misfortunes.

Having entered so much at length into the remote and proximate causes that led to the subjugation of Sindh, it will be unnecessary to dwell upon the memorable occurrences which marked its final accomplishment. In the conferences which Major Outram held at Hyderabad with the Amírs of both Provinces, they solemnly denied the truth of the charges on which the new treaties were imposed, and complained that they had never been allowed an opportunity of disproving them. The great subject of earnest and repeated remonstrance however, was the unjust exaction of the turban from Mír Rústum. That chief reiterated previous allegations, that in conformity with the General's express directions, he had sought refuge with Ali Morad, who placed him under restraint, made use of his seals, and compelled him first to resign his birthright, and then fly from Dejt-ka-kote on the General's approach. Although they strongly protested against the harshness and injustice of the exactions of the revised treaties, the Amírs agreed to sign them, upon condition that Mír Rústum should be restored to his hereditary rights.

Finding that the Commissioner was unauthorized to give them any assurance, or even to hold out any hope of Rústum's restoration, they then endeavoured to exact a promise, that an *inquiry* should be instituted, and that in the event of their substantiating the truth of what they had alleged against Ali Morad, the turban should be restored to Rústum, and the lands which had been wrested from his kindred and feudatories on the plea of belonging to the turban, should be given back to them; or, should this request not be complied with, they entreated that they themselves might be allowed to settle their dispute with Ali Morad without British interference. They urged a promise of inquiry, not only as an act of justice to Rústum, but also as the only means of allaying the excitement of the Belúchís; who had been flocking into the capital

during that day and the preceding night, and who had refused to disperse until Rústum's wrongs should be redressed.* Major Outram's instructions, however, were peremptory, and left him no discretionary power: he could only promise to forward to the General any representation they might have to make on the subject; and in the meanwhile urged upon them an immediate compliance with the terms of the treaties.

At length, on the evening of the 12th, the Amírs formally affixed their seals to the draft treaties in open durbar. On their way back to the Residency, Major Outram and his companions were followed by a dense crowd of Belúchis, who were only prevented from attacking them by "a strong escort of horse sent for their protection by the Amírs, under some of their most influential chiefs." On the following day the Amírs sent a deputation to Major Outram to intimate that, after his departure from the Residency on the preceding evening, all the Belúchi Sardars had assembled, and learned that, notwithstanding the acceptance of the treaties, the commissioner had given no place whatever to the redress of Rústum's grievances, they took an oath on the Koran to oppose the British troops, and not to sheath the sword until that chief and his brethren had obtained their rights. The Amírs further stated, that they had lost all control over their feudatories, and that they could not be answerable for their acts, unless some assurance were received that the rights of Rústum would be restored. On that and the following day, they forwarded repeated verbal and written messages to Major Outram to the same purport,—entreating him, should he not be empowered to grant the required assurance, to leave the Residency, as they could not restrain their exasperated followers. Notwithstanding these warnings he determined to remain at his post at all risk, lest his departure should precipitate hostilities.

While these events were in progress, Sir Charles Napier was marching with his small army upon Hyderabad. He had intended and pledged himself, as late as the 12th, to halt and embark the troops for Kurrachí, as soon as he received the Amírs' acceptance of the treaties: but, ere it arrived, he was within two or three days' march of the capital, and had obtained information that the Belúchis were assembling in large numbers in the town and neighbourhood of Hyderabad. Under these circumstances, which had been brought about by his own acts, the safety of his army, and other military considerations

* The Belúchis were further exasperated at the moment by the intelligence of the seizure of Ilyat Khan, a Muri and Sindhian Chief.

determined him, instead of halting as he had promised, to continue his march. The news of this determination was brought to the Amírs by the camel rider who had conveyed Major Outram's despatch announcing the acceptance of the treaties.

War was now inevitable, and both parties appear to have arrived at this conclusion at the same time. At 9 A. M. on the 15th, Sir Charles wrote to Major Outram, "I am in full march on Hyderabad, and will make no peace with the Amírs. I will attack them instantly, whenever I come up with their troops." At the very hour, when the British General thus formally *declared* war—for he had practically been carrying on warlike operations for two months—hostilities were commenced by the Amírs' troops in their attack on the British Residency, the heroic defence of which by Major Outram, with his small honorary escort under the command of Captain Conway, against eight thousand Belúchís, formed, perhaps, the most extraordinary achievement of that brief but memorable campaign. Then followed, in rapid succession, the brilliant victory of Míaní, won by the gallantry of our troops and by the military genius and intrepid valor of their General, against the united forces of Upper and Lower Sindh—the surrender of the Amírs, and the capitulation of Hyderabad—the hard-fought battle of Dubba, in which our troops defeated the army of Mír Sher Mahommed of Mírpúr, who escaped after the battle—the public notification of the annexation of Sindh to the British dominions,—and finally, the captivity and exile of all the Amírs. It does not fall within our present purpose to give a detailed narrative of these transactions, but there are a few points connected with them which require special notice.

The first of these relates to the attack on the Residency. That measure was characterised by Lord Ellenborough in his notification of the 5th March, as "a treacherous attack upon a representative of the British Government," and as a "hostile aggression prepared by those who were in the act of signing a treaty:" the character thus affixed to this hostile measure being based upon Sir Charles Napier's official report, that the Amírs signed the treaty on the night of the 14th, and that they attacked the Residency on the following morning. On this we would remark, 1st. That the treaty was signed on the 12th, and not on the 14th, as erroneously reported by the General; 2nd. That during the two days and three nights which intervened between the execution of the treaty and the commencement of hostilities, the Amírs, as has been shewn, sent repeated messages, verbal and written, to Major Outram,

urging his departure on the ground that they could not restrain their feudatories, and that they themselves would be compelled to join with them, unless the General should halt, and promise an inquiry into Mír Rústum's grievances. To designate the attack on the Residency, after such repeated warnings, as a "treacherous" attack, was a direct perversion of language and of fact. It was in truth the first reciprocation, on the part of the Amírs, of hostilities which the British General had commenced two months before, and which before the commencement of the attack, he had resolved to prosecute with vigour.

The second point which requires notice is the suppression by Sir Charles Napier of the notes of the conferences between the Amírs of Sindh and Major Outram, in violation of his official duty and of his promise to forward them to Government. An examination of these documents by the Governor-General was absolutely necessary to his acquiring a just knowledge of the points at issue between the Amírs and his representative. The perusal of them would have acquainted his Lordship that the Amírs had unreservedly acquiesced in the terms of his treaties, harsh and oppressive as they were, but that they protested against the fraudulent exactions from Mír Rústum, which formed no part of their stipulations, and the unjust and unauthorized enforcement of which, by his General, proved the immediate cause of the war. The shifting and contradictory reasons subsequently assigned for withholding these important documents are melancholy exemplifications of the subterfuges to which it becomes necessary to resort in support of an indefensible act.

A third point to which we would advert, regards the terms on which the Amírs surrendered on the day after the battle of Míání. Having previously received, through their Vakíls a promise of honorable treatment, those Amírs who were present in the battle, (*viz.*, Mír Rústum, Nussír, and Mahommed Khans of Khyrpúr, and Mír Nussír, Shahdad, and Hússen Ali Khans of Hyderabad) entered the British camp, and surrendered to the General, who returned their swords, and intimated that they would be treated with consideration, until the receipt of the Governor-General's instructions for their ultimate disposal. Under this guarded stipulation, Sir Charles could not be held responsible for the fate of any of these six Princes, with the exception of Mír Hússen Ali, Major Outram's ward. As no charge had ever been preferred against this young Prince, who was only sixteen years of age, except that of being present in the battle, Major Outram interceded

in his behalf, and obtained his release, and as was inferred, his pardon. Notwithstanding this, he was soon afterwards arrested without any assigned reason and imprisoned with the others. That there may have been a misconception of the General's precise meaning when he set him at liberty, is extremely probable; but as the misapprehension was entertained not only by the Prince himself and the whole of his family, but also by the British officer at whose intercession he was released, his subsequent imprisonment, without any known cause, cannot be reconciled with the strict principles of justice and good faith.

But whatever difference of opinion may have existed regarding the treatment of Mír Hússen Ali, there can be but one opinion as to the injustice perpetrated on Mírs Sobdar Khan and Mír Mahommed Khan. The former of these had, up to the outbreak of hostilities, been recognized by all parties as the "old and ever faithful friend and ally" of the British Government, the latter had on all occasions been employed as a mediator between contending chiefs, and neither of them had been present at Míani. It was in consequence intimated to them by the General after the battle, that no harm should befall them, if they remained quietly in their houses. Under this assurance they peaceably surrendered the fort of Hyderabad, which Sir Charles admitted he could not have captured without reinforcements; and three days afterwards they were arrested and condemned to share the fate of their kindred. The treatment of these two Princes has left an indelible stain upon the humanity, justice, and good faith of the British Government.

The next question which arises, and which has been the subject of much angry discussion, refers to the property seized in the fort of Hyderabad, and subsequently appropriated as prize. As the fortress was surrendered and not captured, it follows that whatever treasure or other property was found therein, that could justly be considered lawful prize, belonged of right to the British Crown, or the East India Company, and not to the army. But the complain. chiefly insisted on by the Amírs was, that they had been deprived by the prize agents acting under the General's orders, not only of the State property, but also of their personal and private property, including personal ornaments, clothing and articles of household furniture. Another complaint urged by them under this head, was that the privacy of the female apartments was violated; that the Princesses were compelled to throw away their ornaments, rather than undergo the shameless scrutiny to

which they knew they would be subjected ; that jewels and other property were actually taken from the persons of their female attendants ; and that the houses of some of their servants were plundered. These alleged acts of spoliation were aggravated by the circumstance of their having been committed, not in the immediate excitement of a siege, but at an interval of two or three days after the peaceful surrender of the fort. There may possibly have been some exaggeration, and misstatement in these accusations, but their substantial truth has never been publicly disproved.

It is scarcely necessary to notice, except for the purpose of denouncing the apparently vindictive spirit in which Sir Charles Napier, with the aid of his brother, the historian, has traduced the public and private characters of the Amirs. There is something, to our thinking, at once unmanly and ungenerous in the seeming virulence with which the conqueror of Sindh has thus endeavoured to embitter the exile of the unfortunate victims of his power and his injustice. If he had even established the truth of the monstrous crimes and vices which he has laid to their charge, he would not in the slightest degree have thereby diminished the political and moral injustice which led to their dethronement ; but when we find that these charges are either utterly devoid of truth, or to say the least, grossly exaggerated, we feel as if the original injustice of the conquest were almost obliterated by the atrocity of the subsequent libels upon the conquered Princes. In vindication of the character of the Amirs, however, Colonel Outram has adduced the written testimony of several British officers who, from their official relations to these Princes during the later period of their rule, and since their exile, have had peculiar opportunities for acquiring a correct opinion, and whose characters are a sufficient guarantee for the scrupulous accuracy of their evidence. From the concurring testimony of the officers, we are bound to exonerate their private character from some of the more revolting vices which have been laid to their charge, and to rank them as rulers rather above than below the ordinary level of the *Mahommedan Princes* of India.

We have already, in the course of our narrative, anticipated most of the observations that naturally arise from a review of the transactions which have been detailed. But before we conclude, it seems right that we should endeavour to apportion to Lord Ellenborough and to his General their respective shares in the responsibility of these proceedings.

The first great error which Lord Ellenborough committed in the management of our relations with the States on the

Indus, was the supercession of Major Outram, the British representative, by Sir Charles Napier, and the subsequent entire abolition of the political agency in that country. We are fully aware of the advantages which result from an union of political and military control in the person of one officer, both on account of the additional weight and influence with which it invests him, and also because it tends to prevent the delays, jealousies, and consequent injury to the public interests which may arise, in cases of emergency, from a divided and conflicting authority. But where the officer selected for the duty does not possess the requisite union of political and military qualifications, then there is no measure more hazardous to the public peace, or calculated to be more detrimental to the public interest. Lord Ellenborough selected for the discharge of these united functions in Sindh, an officer who was as admirably fitted for the one duty as he was utterly disqualified for the other. He superseded an incapable Commander by the ablest General in India; but at the same time he displaced a political functionary of tried efficiency to make room for an inexperienced officer, whose utter incompetence for the duty has been made apparent in almost every page of the foregoing narrative. In this arrangement his Lordship evinced either a want of discernment of character, or a more culpable waywardness of disposition, to the indulgence of which the public interests were sacrificed.

The second objectionable measure, for which he must be held responsible, was the imposition of the Revised Treaties, which, as we have shewn, proved the remote cause of the revolution. It has been seen that, had the General not culpably withheld official information which it was his duty to have communicated, the details of the measure might have been modified and rendered less oppressive to the Amirs: but, after making the necessary deduction on this ground, there will remain much that is censurable both in the terms of the treaties and in the grounds upon which they were imposed. In the first place, he acted unwisely in entrusting to an inexperienced subordinate agent the power of passing a final decision upon a matter which was to involve in its consequences the forfeiture of the sovereign rights, and of a large proportion of the territorial possessions of an allied State. But even if the General's decision upon the questions referred to him had been supported by clear and undeniable evidence—a supposition very remote from our real conviction—we should still consider the treaties which Lord Ellenborough based upon them to be most impolitic. Independently of all other objectionable clauses,

the indiscriminate sequestration of the territory of the different associate rulers of Sindh, and its cession to the neighbouring chief of Bhawulpûr, not only immediately involved all these rulers in the punishment avowedly inflicted for the alleged offences of only a portion of them, but was calculated to perpetual future discord between the rulers and people of the two States, and to provoke a feeling of bitter and lasting animosity against the British Government.

Lastly, it is to Lord Ellenborough alone that we are to ascribe the dethronement, captivity, and exile of the Amîrs, and the annexation of Sindh to the British dominions.

Along the more prominent errors and faults committed by Sir Charles Napier, during the few eventful months of his diplomatic career in Sindh, the first to be noticed is the general mode in which he performed the political duties of his office.

The functions of a British representative at the court of a protected native State, if we understand them aright, involve the two-fold duty of upholding the authority and interests of his own Government, and of conciliating the friendship and watching over the interests of the durbar to which he is accredited. He represents a Government which has engaged to protect as well as to control; and if he neglects the performance of either of these offices, he must be considered to have failed in the fulfilment of the responsible duties committed to his charge.

If we apply this test to the political services of Sir Charles Napier in Sindh, we shall find how grievously and how fatally he failed in their performance. Of the two branches of political duty just referred to, he altogether neglected the one, and he performed the other with unnecessary and unjustifiable harshness. The former political agents, as the historian admits,* had gained the friendship of these Princes, and there appears no reason to doubt but that Sir Charles would have been equally successful had he evinced a similar desire to obtain it. Instead of attempting to conciliate their confidence, he evinced in all his communications with them a degree of arrogance and harshness, that was altogether unprecedented in the official intercourse between allied States, and that was calculated to have a most injurious effect upon the interests of both Governments. Almost every page of the Sindh blue books confirms this fact. He, moreover, exercised an interference in their internal affairs that was not only unauthorized, but was expressly prohibited by the treaties.

The second point to which we have to advert is his inexcusa-

ble omission in not supplying the Governor-General with full and correct information on points where his Lordship's knowledge was declaredly defective or obviously inaccurate; and in not forwarding to him such representations and remonstrances as the Amírs repeatedly made against the measures which were in progress or were about to be enforced. This is perhaps to be ascribed, in part, to forgetfulness, but it seems also to have arisen in some degree from a mistaken conception of the duties of his office. He appears to have looked upon himself as the Governor-General's "commander," delighted to carry his orders into rigorous effect, rather than as his Lordship's political agent, whose duty it was to supply him with full and accurate information on every point connected with the duties of his office. The grievous results of Sir Charles Napier's ignorance or heedlessness or culpable neglect of this duty have been fully detailed.

His hostile invasion of the dominions of the Princes of Upper Sindh, with whom we were at peace, and were then negotiating a treaty, and his military occupation of extensive districts on the plea of that yet unratified engagement, constitute his third great offence. The injustice of this, however, must be shared by the Governor-General, who when issuing instructions to the General for an amicable negotiation, intimated at the same time, in no unintelligible terms, his wish that the Amírs should feel the force of our arms.

The fourth measure chargeable against Sir Charles Napier is one of which the conception and execution rested entirely with himself. We allude to the unjustifiable capture and demolition of Emaunghur—a fortress belonging to a chief who had never even been accused of any participation in the hostile intrigues alleged against some of the others.

The greatest, however, of his numerous offences was his having, in conjunction with Mír Ali Morad, compassed the forcible deposition of Mír Rústum Khan, the Prince paramount of Upper Sindh, at whose court he was at the time the British representative. In furtherance of this intrigue, as has been shewn, he counselled Mír Rústum to put himself into the power of Ali Morad; he publicly proclaimed the usurper's accession to the throne without the Governor-General's authority for so doing, and in utter disregard of Mír Rústum's solemn protest against the illegality of his abdication, as having been forcibly and fraudulently extorted from him, he publicly notified his determination to treat as rebels all who refused to acknowledge the authority of the usurper; he officially sanctioned the usurper's unwarrantable and indiscriminate

appropriation of territory in the possession of the other Amírs ; and lastly, he obstinately refused to institute or sanction any inquiry into the circumstances of the usurpation. This series of impolitic, unjust, and discreditable acts, proved the proximate cause of the Sindh Revolution, and has left an ineffaceable stain on Sir Charles Napier's reputation as well as on the good name of the British Government.*

Such is a very imperfect sketch of the leading particulars of the conquest of Sindh—a conquest which, whether it be viewed in reference to the political and moral injustice in which it originated, or to the unjustifiable proceedings which marked its progress and its close, has happily no counterpart in the history of British India during the present century. If we would find a precedent for the spoliation of the Amírs, we must go back to the times of Warren Hastings, and to the injuries inflicted on Cheyte Singh by that able but unscrupulous statesman. In the revolution of Benares, as in the revolution of Sindh, the paramount authority imposed unjust and exorbitant demands (pecuniary in the one case, territorial in the other) on its tributary allies—answered respectful remonstrances by insolent menaces and hostile inroads—treated defensive preparations as acts of aggressive hostility—rejected all overtures for amicable negotiation—goaded them to resistance in defence of their sovereign rights—defeated them in battle—confiscated their territories—and finally drove them into exile. While there was this general resemblance, however, between the atrocities committed on the banks of the Ganges in 1781, and those enacted in the valley of the Indus in 1843, the impelling motives, and the ultimate results of the policy pursued by the two Indian rulers, were widely different. In the one case, there was an exaction of money demanded, on the urgent plea of State necessity, to relieve the pressing financial embarrassments of the Government ; in the other, there was a spoliation of territory, originating in a whimsical solicitude to enrich a favourite ally, who had no claims whatever upon our bounty :—the one Governor-General, by his unjust policy, acquired a district yielding a considerable addition to the permanent revenues of the State—the other, by a similar course of injustice, bequeathed to his country a province burdened with what has hitherto proved a ruinous,

* The venerable ill-requested Chief who was the victim of such unparalleled injustice, has been released by death from the sorrows of his exile. He expired at Púna on the 27th of May last, and the grave closed, soon after, over another victim of British oppression—Mír Sobdar Khan, the "ever faithful friend and ally" of the British Government.

and may prove a permanently ruinous annual expenditure to the State.

While the present century nowhere furnishes a precedent or a parallel to our recent proceedings in Sindh, it is a subject of congratulation that the current year supplies us with a most remarkable and instructive contrast. The spotless justice of the recent war on the Sutlej, and the deep-stained guilt of the war on the lower Indus—the forbearance of Lord Hardinge, who scrupulously maintained peace until a wanton and unprovoked invasion compelled him to draw the sword, and the unjust aggressions by which Sir Charles Napier goaded the Princes and people of an allied State to resistance in defence of their sacred rights—the generous moderation which closed the triumphs of the former, and the oppressive and retributive severity with which the latter followed up his victories—all furnish points of contrast so striking and so extraordinary, that posterity will hardly credit the fact, that the chief actors in these two campaigns lived in the same century, and were brought up in the same military school.

It only remains to say a few words regarding the two works whose titles are placed at the head of this article.

The "Conquest of Sindh" presents the same characteristic peculiarities which we alternately admire and regret in the previous writings of the historian of the Peninsular war. We find the same spirited and graphic narration of military operations; the same clearness of topographical delineation; the same vivid and thrilling descriptions of the battles. But these merits, great as they undoubtedly are, are disfigured by even more than the usual proportion of his characteristic faults. A turgid extravagance of diction pervades the general narrative; many of his statements and opinions are singularly distorted by personal and party prejudice, and the direct perversions of facts are so many and so serious, as irretrievably to mar its character for trustworthiness. These misrepresentations are rendered subservient on every occasion, either to the undue exaltation of Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier, the unjust depreciation of Lord Auckland and Colonel Outram, or the indulgence of a feeling of what we fear must be regarded as malignant hostility towards the Ex-Amírs of Sindh.

Many of the misstatements to which we have alluded are exposed with unsparing freedom, but in a tone of great moderation in Colonel Outram's Commentary, which presents, in many respects, a remarkable contrast to the work upon which it comments.

We regret that our limits do not admit of our furnishing

any adequate specimens of the earnest, truthful, straightforward and business-like style in which the author has treated every department of his intricate and voluminous subject. Our anxiety has been to disentangle, for the benefit of the general reader, the main thread of the narrative of leading facts, from the multitudinous details which are apt to weary or repel those who are neither personally nor officially concerned in the evolutions of the Sindhian tragedy. In this way we have endeavoured to contribute our mite to the diffusion of sound and accurate views respecting its real character and merits, since an undistorted retrospective view of what has actually occurred can alone effectually pave the way to healing prospective measures. And we are very sure, that to the noble-minded author of the Commentary, any service calculated to exhibit *the truth, the plain undisguised truth*, as respects the memorable series of events which led to the subversion of the Talpúr dynasty in Sindh, must prove far more gratifying, than any elaborate attempts to illustrate his own personal merits, or those of his recently published work.

Towards the conclusion however of the work, there is one passage so well fitted to display the moral grandeur of his sentiments, that we must find room for it :—

“Reverentially I say it, from my first entrance into public life, I have, thought that the British nation ruled India by the faith reposed in its honour and integrity. Our empire, originally founded by the sword, has been maintained by opinion. In other words, the nations of the East felt and believed that we invariably held treaties and engagements inviolate ; nay, that an Englishman’s word was as sacred as the strictest bond engrossed on parchment. Exceptions, no doubt, have occurred ; but scrupulous adherence to faith once pledged was the prevailing impression and belief, and this was one of the main constituents of our strength. Unhappily this charm has, within the last few years, almost entirely passed away. Physical has been substituted for moral force—the stern, unbending soldier for the calm and patiently-enduring political officer ; functions incompatible—except in a few and rare cases—have been united ; and who can say for how long a space—under such a radical change of system, such a departure from all to which the Princes and People of India have been accustomed and most highly value and cherish—the *few* will be able to govern the *millions* ?

* * * * *

The moral effect of a single breach of faith is not readily effaced. “I would,”—wrote the Duke of Wellington, on the 15th of March 1804,—“I would sacrifice Gwalior, or every position in India, ten times over, to preserve our credit for scrupulous good faith, and the advantages and honour we gained by the late war and peace ; and we must not fritter them away in arguments drawn from overstrained principles of the laws of nations, which are not understood in this country. *What brought me through so many difficulties in the war, and the negotiations for peace ? The British good faith and nothing else ?*

It is another great misfortune, that acts like those I am deploring, pre-

vent those who are really imbued with pacific views and intentions, from acting upon and carrying them out. The present Governor-General, to his honour be it said, has endeavoured to carry out his wise and pacific intentions to the utmost verge of prudence and forbearance. Who shall however venture to say that his measures, which we know to have been purely defensive, have not, under the warning of Sindh, been regarded by the Sikhs as indicative of meditated aggression on the first favorable opportunity, or that the bold step they adopted of invading our borders, is not to be attributed to the distrust and suspicion excited in their minds by the subjugation of the Princes and People of Sindh?

If in the performance of the necessary duty of self-vindication, I have read a warning to those in power to retrace their policy before it is too late, may it not be neglected; for nations require occasionally to be reminded that "the love of Conquest is national ruin, and that there is a power which avenges the innocent blood." Our interests in the East require consolidation, and not extension of our dominion."

With this single but characteristic quotation, however, we must conclude. Of the Commentary, it may in brief be said, that without displaying the fitful eloquence or the practised literary skill of the military historian, it evinces a thorough mastery of the subject on which it treats, and it is written in clear, forcible and unaffected language, with an earnestness that bespeaks the author's honesty of purpose, and with a scrupulous accuracy to which his opponent can lay no claim. Colonel Outram has most fully and triumphantly vindicated his hitherto unsullied reputation from the aspersions which have been so ungenerously and so unjustly thrown upon it; he has cleared Lord Ellenborough's character from much of the guilt heretofore imputed to him in connection with the injuries inflicted on the Amírs; he has taken down the conqueror of Sindh from the political eminence on which the historian had so indiscreetly placed him, and fixed on him a brand of political dishonesty which, it is to be feared, he will find it difficult to efface; and he has exposed, in General Napier's history of the Conquest, a series of misstatements so numerous and so flagrant, as must for ever damage its claims to historical accuracy.

DOST MAHOMMED KHAN.

* BY SIR JOHN KAYE, K.C.S.I.

Life of the Amīr, Dost Mahommed Khan of Kabul; with his political proceedings towards the English, Russian and Persian Governments, including the victories and disasters of the British Army in Affghanistan. By Mohan Lal, Esquire, Knight of the Persian Order of the Lion and the Sun; lately attached to the Mission in Kabul. 2 vols. Longman and Co. 1846.

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We had purposed to have given a few specimens of Mohan Lal's style, which he assures us is Persian, and which is certainly not English—but we think that we shall better carry out the objects of this journal by taking advantage of the present opportunity to compile, from the different authorities,—more or less trustworthy—at our command, a memoir of the eventful career of Dost Mohammed, which if not entirely free from error, will, we trust, be as close an approximation to the truth, as can be attained in the absence of all authentic records of the varied incidents of the Amīr's life. Much is, necessarily, mere tradition, and must be received with liberal allowances for the exaggerations of oriental retailers of court-gossip, through whom the greater number of the anecdotes, which illustrate the biography of the Amīr, have been received. We may sometimes be tempted, as we proceed, to throw into a note an original passage from Mohan Lal's volumes.

Dost Mohammed Khan is the son of Poyndah Khan, and the grandson of Hadji Jamal Khan, Barukzye. The latter was in his days a noble of high repute, and chief of the Barukzye tribe. On his death, Taimur Shah, who then ruled

in Affghanistan, bestowed, with due regard to primogeniture, the dignity of the chiefship upon Rahimdad Khari, the eldest of the four sons of the deceased Hadji. But this man had not the qualities necessary to control or conciliate his tribe. He was sordid and morose. He shut himself up in his house ; seldom associated with his equals without offending them, or with his inferiors without injuring them. He wanted courtesy—he wanted hospitality ; he had a bad temper and a bad heart. The Barukzyes rose up against him and appealed to the king. Taimur Shah responded to the appeal ; Rahimdad Khan was degraded, and the second brother, Poyndah Khan, became chief of the tribe.

Poyndah Khan was a man of a widely different character and temperament. He was liberal and chivalrous—hospitable to his equals, affable to his inferiors, faithful to his sovereign ; a brave soldier and a popular chief. He appears first to have distinguished himself by joining an expedition sent to coerce a recusant Governor of Kashmir, and exhibiting on this occasion, consummate gallantry in the field. The refractory Governor was beaten at all points ; and the leader of the expedition on his return to Kabul, brought the distinguished services of the Barukzye chief to the notice of his sovereign who conferred new honours upon him, appointed him to offices of emolument and trust, and bestowed upon him many signal marks of personal favor and friendship.

When Prince Abbas rebelled against his father, Taimur Shah selected Poyndah Khan to command the expedition against the insurgent hosts ; and the Barukzye chief, with characteristic energy, put himself at the head of his troops, and moved down upon Salpúrah, where the rebels had taken up a strong position. The river flowed between him and the enemy, but disregarding such an obstacle, he rode down to the water's edge and plunged into the stream, calling upon his men to follow him. The energy and devotion of the chief filled his soldiers with enthusiasm, and they followed him to a man. The whole party arrived in safety on the opposite

side of the river, and at once proceeded to the attack. The rebels were ignominiously defeated, and Poyndah Khan returned in triumph to his sovereign. New honors were lavished upon him, and the title of Sarfraz (or "the exalted") was bestowed upon him, in consideration of his glorious achievements.

His services were soon again in requisition. A disturbance on the Usbeg frontier so alarmed the Shah, that he had determined on quitting the capital and flying to Herat, when Poyndah (now Sarfraz) Khan implored his sovereign not to betray his apprehensions, but to retain his right place in the regal palace, and trust to that energy and skill which had before been so serviceable to him. Taimur Shah consented to remain in Kabul; and Sarfraz Khan set out for Balkh. Here the diplomacy of the Barukzye chief was as effectual as before his gallantry had been. He returned to Kabul without striking a blow; but opposition to the Dourani sovereign was at an end. His reputation, after this statesmanlike achievement, continued rapidly to increase.

Taimur Shah died in 1793. There was a disputed inheritance. Prince Abbas had his adherents; others supported the claims of Mahmud; but a stronger party, headed by Sarfraz Khan who, it is said, had been won over by the favorite queen of Taimur Shah, sided with Prince Zemaun. Zemaun was the successful candidate. In no small measure did he owe his elevation to the influence of Sarfraz Khan, and the Barukzye chief, for a time, was even a greater favorite with Shah Zemaun than with his predecessor.*

* Mohan Lal here takes occasion to observe, "As soon as Dost Mahommed Khan gained distinction and became chief of Kabul, he stamped the following verso on his coin, and this honoured and gave prominence to the name of his affectionate father :—

Sim o tila he'shams o qamar medabad naved
Vaq te ravag sikhai Poyndah Khan vasid.

"Silver and gold give the happy tidings to sun and moon that the time has arrived for the currency of Poyndah Khan's coin." "It would certainly be wonderful if Sarfraz Khan could hear with his own ears that his enterprising

But the favorites of kings are ever surrounded by peril. Shah Zemaun, who made the great mistake of his life when he elevated Wuffadar Khan to the wuzirship, was induced by the minister to suspect the fidelity of the man to whom he owed his throne. The wuzir poured poison into the ears of the Shah. The overthrow of Sarfraz Khan was accomplished. The wiles of the false minister prevailed, and the favorite of two monarchs was disgraced. The strong-minded Barukzye chief was not one to remain quiet under the injustice that had been done him. He had been suspected without cause; he now gave cause for suspicion. He conspired, with other powerful chiefs, to destroy Wuffadar Khan and to depose Shah Zemaun. The conspiracy was discovered, and the leaders were seized. An officer was sent to the house of Sarfraz Khan, charged with the apprehension of the rebel chief, and was received by his son the celebrated Futteh Khan. The youth alleged that his father was absent and undertook to summon him. He then presented himself before Sarfraz Khan, warned him of his danger, and offered to assassinate the officer and seize the guard. The foul proposition was rejected. Sarfraz Khan went out, and surrendered himself to the representative of the king. On the following morning he was executed, and the other conspirators shared his fate.*

Sarfraz Khan died leaving twenty-one sons, of whom Futteh Khan was the eldest, and Dost Mahommed the twentieth.† The former, on the death of his father, fled to Ghireck, but was soon compelled to abandon his sanctuary and fly from the pursuing wrath of his enemies. "These," says Mohan Lal, "were the days in which the descendants and family of "Poyndah Khan suffered most miserably. They were beg-

son, Dost Mahommed, had become as celebrated as one of the kings, and that the ambassadors of the Russian, the Persian and the Turkistan Governments waited in his court. It happens seldom in this sad and changing world that parents are alive to derive pleasure from the prosperity of their promising sons; and if they ever happen to be alive, still, when the child has gained dignity, it is to be regretted that he seldom pleases them entirely, by performing his filial duties according to their expectation."

* Mohan Lal seems to assume the innocence of the alleged conspirators. He says, that they were all unjustly massacred. That the injuries they had received at the hands of the minister incited them to rebellion is true; but that they did actually conspire against their sovereign is not to be denied.

† Mohan Lal, determined that there should be no mistake about the matter, says—"If I did not mention that they had different mothers, it might puzzle the reader to consider that so many children were born from one mother." He adds, "I must safely say, that the mother of Dost Mahommed was the favorite wife of Sarfraz Khan. She accompanied him in the various campaigns, and would not allow him to rise early and march long after sunrise. For this she was blessed by the troops and camp followers who did not like to start earlier in cold."

"ging from morning to night for pieces of bread. Many were prisoners and others had taken shelter in the mausoleum of the late Ahmad Shah, with the view of gaining food, which was daily distributed for charity's sake." But their trials were only for a season. The Barukzye brothers soon emerged from the clouds which had environed them. There was no power in the Dourant empire which could successfully cope with these strong and determined spirits.

In Affghanistan, revenge is a virtue. The sons of Sarfraz Khan had the murder of their father to avenge; blood cried aloud for blood, and the appeal was not made in vain. Futteh Khan had fled into Persia and there leagued himself with Mahmoud, the brother of Shah Zemaun. The ambition of this prince, failure had not extinguished. His prospects at this time were gloomy in the extreme, but the arrival of Futteh Khan, whose extraordinary energy of character had gained him the highest reputation among his countrymen, inspired the exiled prince with new courage, and he resolved, under the direction of the son of Sarfraz Khan, to strike another blow for the throne of Kabul.

With a few horsemen they entered Affghanistan, and raising the standard of revolt, were joined by thousands of their countrymen. The result is well known. Shah Zemaun and his detested Wuzir made but a feeble stand against the irresistible energies of Futteh Khan. The Shah was seized, the eyes of the unfortunate monarch were punctured with a sharp lancet, and he was cast, a blind and hopeless prisoner, into the Balla Hissar. Wuffadar Khan and his brother were executed, the revenge of the Barukzyes was accomplished, and their triumph complete.

At this period (the first year of the present century) Dost Mahommed was a boy. According to Mohan Lol he was then twelve years of age. This statement must be received with caution. It is alleged, upon good authority, that Dost Mohammed was born in the year 1793. If this assertion be correct, on the ascension of Shah Mahmoud, he was only seven years old. We should be sorry to stake our character for accuracy on any statement relative to the precise year on which the Amir was born; but we may question whether he has lived fifty-eight years in the world. We feel inclined to accept neither statement, but rather to believe that Dost Mahommed was born between the two dates indicated—1788 and 1793.

The early years of Dost Mahommed were years of absolute servitude. His mother, though much beloved by Sarfraz Khan,

was not a woman of condition. She belonged to the Kuzzilbash tribe, and by the other wives of her lord—high-born Dourani ladies—was regarded with contempt. It is related by General Harlan that “by an honorary or devotional vow of his mother he was consecrated to the lowest menial service of the sacred cenotaph of Lamech... This cenotaph is known, in the colloquial dialect of the country, by the appellation of Meiter Lam. In conformity with the maternal vow, when the young aspirant become capable of wielding a brush, he was carried to Meiter Lam by his mother and instructed to exonerate her from the consequences of a sacred obligation, by sweeping, for the period of a whole day, the votive area included within the precincts of the holy place enclosing the alleged tomb of the antediluvian, the father as he is termed, of the prophet Noah.” At a later period, the boy attached himself to his enterprising brother Futteh Khan—becoming his personal attendant, first in the character of *Abdar* or water bearer, and afterward in the higher office of *hukah-bardar*, or bearer of the great man's pipe. His ministrations appear to have been incessant. He was always in the Wuzirs presence, following his every movement and often watching him when wrapt in sleep.*

This is the history of the boyish life of Dost Mahommed in which we would fain repose our belief. A neglected younger brother, slighted by powerful relatives, because the child of a woman of inferior condition, but his high spirit not crushed by contumely—patiently biding his time, dreaming of the future, and only lacking opportunity to show the strength of his mind and the temper of his courage—such a picture we may look upon with pleasure. There is another and a darker one. Among the twenty brothers of Dost Mahommed, was one named Summund Khan. Profligate among the profligate, his life was one of debauchery most revolting. His vices were of that dark hue, which though not unknown at oriental Courts, in Christian countries is viewed with abhorrence even by the most licentious. The extreme beauty of the young Dost Mahommed is said to have attracted the attention of the profligate Nawab; and the boy soon found himself the most favored of the many youthful minions who polluted his brother's house. The story is not wanting in probability. Uneducated, neglected, contaminated by the all-surrounding

* Mohan Lal says, “this promising young man was in attendance upon him at all times, and never went to sleep till Futteh was gone to his bed. He stood before him all the day with his hands closed, a token of respect among the Affghans. It was not an unusual occurrence, that when Futteh Khan was in his sleeping room, Dost Mahommed Khan stood watching his safety.”

debauchery—evil influences of every kind assailing him, the boy may have fallen a victim to the wickedness of men, and yet excite rather pity than loathing.

From this horrible pollution he was soon rescued. The Othos of the East are not always sunk in sloth and effeminacy. His was no woman's nature. Whilst yet a boy he had all the daring resolution, the impetuous courage, of manhood. His first achievement as a man was one unhappily but too characteristic of *Affghan* manhood—it was an act of deliberate murder. He had long sought an opportunity of recommending himself to the especial favor of his powerful brother—long sought an opportunity of showing the "sterner stuff" of which he was made. The Wuzír happened one day, in durbar at Peshawur, to express some apprehensions of the designs of a personal enemy, whom he named ; and to indicate, by some indirect allusions, the satisfaction he should feel, if the man were removed from a proximity to the court, which seemed to threaten so much danger. The words sunk deep into the mind of young Dost Mahommed—then a stripling of fourteen—who was in attendance on his brother ; and brooding over them, he left the durbar, mounted his horse, and had scarcely struck into the street, when he found himself face to face with the object of the Wuzír's hatred. Dost Mahommed was armed with a rifle ; both parties were mounted—he had but to raise the weapon and rid his brother at once of a dangerous enemy. The resolution was formed in an instant. It was broad day ; they were in the public streets : the townsmen were passing to and fro, and the man, whom he had marked as his victim, was attended by a band of followers. The lion-hearted stripling saw all this ; but no personal fears could turn him aside from the task he had set himself ; he raised his rifle and fired. The enemy of Futteh Khan fell a corpse at his horse's feet, and Dost Mahommed rode home to announce to his brother the death of his dangerous rival. The suddenness of the act must have paralysed the followers of the murdered man ; for, the youthful assassin escaped in the midst of the confusion which the daring act created in the streets of Peshawur. From this time his rise was rapid. Various are the roads which led to fame and fortune. In the East, cruelty and lust are the darling vices of the great. Whatever ministers to these brutal passions, is sure to meet with favor in the sight of the magnates of the land. Dost Mahommed had now approved himself a hero.

That he did not pay the penalty of his murderous act—that the relatives of the man he had slain, did not in accordance

with national usage, and in fulfilment of the duties of Affghan consanguinity, demand blood for blood, we must attribute to the immense power of Futtch Khan, who during the reign of the indolent and licentious Mahmoud, was the virtual monarch of Affghanistan! He was protected, indeed, by something nearly akin to that

—sealed commission of a King,
Which kills and none dare name the murderer.

He was the brother, and now the favorite of Futtch* Khan—the Warwick of the East—the King-maker of Affghanistan.

From the period of the accession of Shah Mahmoud to the date of Mr. Elphinstone's mission to Affghanistan in 1809, the country appears to have been almost incessantly rent by intestine convulsions. The strife between Shah Mahmoud and Shah Sújah was distinguished by the alternating successes of the two brothers; first one, then the other was uppermost; the war of succession deluged the country with blood, and ended in the dispersion of the royal family. Dum singuli preliantur, universi vincuntur. Seven years of warfare between the Suddozye brothers prepared the way for the rise of the Barukzyes. Mahmoud Shah was weak and unprincipled—but he was a puppet in the hands of Futtch Khan, and as such, his party was a strong one. The grand error of Shah Zemaun's life had been his treatment of Sarfraz Khan. His brother Shah Sújah appears to have been equally unfortunate in his failure to propitiate Futtch Khan, the powerful son of a powerful father. But the latter had an enemy nearer home, in the son of Shah Mahmoud—the Prince Kamran, subsequently well known as the ruler of Heart, who accomplished the destruction of the powerful Wuzír.

We need not follow in detail the intricate history of Affghan politics, throughout the early years of the present century. Much has been written on the subject; but for the most part, with such an utter contempt for the value of dates, that the student who would endeavour to derive from these varied narratives, a clear, comprehensive, chronological view of the annals of Suddozye warfare, is pretty sure to be fairly bewildered. It is enough for us, that Dost Mahommed Khan followed the fortunes of his warlike brother, and at an early age was renowned as one of the most distinguished of the chivalry of Affghanistan. That whilst yet in his teens, he was a warrior of no mean repute, is certain; but making every allowance for eastern precocity, we still find it difficult to believe, that he could have performed the various exploits ascribed to him

during the life time of Futteh Khan, if the date of his birth be correctly fixed at so recent a period as the year 1793. From his very boyhood he was accustomed to a life of adventure, and being trained to arms and familiar with scenes of battle, he early acquired the power of handling considerable bodies of troops, and was at once, after his kind, a skilful leader and a dashing soldier, when yet scarcely a man. He was bold, reckless, and it is to be feared, wanting in those qualities which most command respect. His scruples were few; his errors were many; and as he often acknowledged, in after life, his youthful career was stained by many acts not to be looked back upon, without shame and contrition.

It was one of these errors—to use no stronger word—which led, it is supposed, to the inhuman treatment to which Futteh Khan was subjected by the Suddozyes. The Dost accompanied his brother on an expedition against Herat; the place was taken, and the young warrior, to use the language of Mr. Vigne “signalised himself, not in action, but in the zenana “of Feroz-ú-dín, which he forcibly entered, and amongst “other pranks, gave chase to Tokya Begum, daughter of “Taimur Shah and sister to Shah Mahmoud, pursued her “into a bath where she had taken refuge, tore off by force “from her person the bund-i-pajama or waist-band of her “trowsers, which was studded with very valuable pearls, and “escaped with his prize to his brother in Kashmir. Futteh “Khan wrote to Mahommed Azim Khan, telling him to seize “Dost Mahommed, and a guard was placed over him; but “before any further steps were taken, news arrived that Futteh “Khan had been blinded by Kamran, son of Mahmoud. The “insulted Begum sent her dress, torn and bandless to her “cousin Kamran, at Herat, who forthwith followed Futteh “Khan, took him prisoner as he returned from Khorassan, “where he had been defeated by the Persian prince, Ali Mirza, “and on the principle which considers that what is done by “one man is done by his family, put out Futteh Khan’s eyes, “to avenge the insult offered by Dost Mahommed to his own “cousin.”* What followed is well known. Enraged by so gross an outrage on a member of the Suddozye family, alarmed at the growing power of the Barukzyes, and further irritated

* Mohan Lal says, that the lady was sister of the Shah-zadah Kamran: but it is obvious that if she was the daughter of Taimur Shah, and sister of Shah Mahmoud (Kamran’s father), she was neither the sister nor the cousin, but the aunt of the Prince. The Dost appears to have acted throughout recklessly and unscrupulously. He massacred the palace-guard; seized Feroz-ú-dín; plundered the palace, and violated the harem. On hearing that his conduct at Herat had given offence to Futteh Khan, he fled to Kashmir, where his brother Azim Khan was employed; and there, Azim Khan, instructed by Futteh Khan, seized him.

by the resolute refusal of Futteh Khan to betray his brothers, who had effected their escape from Herat, Kamram and his father, Shah Mahmoud, agreed to put their noble prisoner to death. They were then on their way from Kandahar to Kabul. The ex-minister was brought into their presence, and again called upon to write to his brothers, ordering them to surrender themselves to the Shah. Again he refused, alleging that he was but a poor blind captive; that his career was run; that he had no longer any influence, and that if he had, he could not consent to betray his brethren. Exasperated by the resolute bearing of his prisoner, Mahmoud Shah ordered the unfortunate Wuzír—the king-maker to whom he owed his crown—to be put to death before him; and there, in the presence of the Shah and the Shah-zadah, Futteh Khan was, by the attendant courtiers, literally hacked to pieces. His nose, ears, and lips were cut off; his fingers severed from his hands; his hands from his arms; his arms from his body; limb followed limb, and long was the horrid butchery continued before the life of the victim was extinct. Futteh Khan raised no cry; offered no prayer for mercy. His fortitude was unshaken to the last. He died, as he had lived, the bravest and most resolute of men—like his noble father, a victim to the perfidy and ingratitude of princes. The murder of Sarfraz Khan shook the Suddozye dynasty to its base. The assassination of Futteh Khan soon made it a heap of ruins.

From this time, the rise of Dost Mahommed was rapid. He had the blood of kindred to avenge. The ingratitude, the cruelty of Mahmoud and his son, were now to be signally punished by the brother of the illustrious sufferer. Azím Khan, who ruled at Kashmir, counselled a course of forbearance; but Dost Mahommed indignantly rejected the proposition, and declaring that it would be an eternal disgrace to the Barukzyes not to chastise the murderers of the Wuzír, asserted his willingness to march upon Kabul, at the head of an army of retribution. Azím Khan, liking neither to enter personally upon so perilous an undertaking, nor to appear in such a juncture wholly supine, presented the Dost with three or four lakhs of rupees to defray the charges of the expedition—a sum, which was exhausted long before the sirdar neared Kabul. But in spite of every obstacle, Dost Mahommed Khan reached Kúrd-Kabul—two marches from the capital, and there encamped his army.

The Shah-zadah, Jehangír, the youthful son of Kamran, was then the nominal ruler of Kabul: but the management of affairs was entrusted to Atta Mahommed Khan—a man of

considerable ability, but no match for Dost Mahommed, and one who was now guilty of the grand error of underrating an adversary. This man had acted a conspicuous part in the recent intestine struggles between the Suddozye brothers. He had no love for the Royal family—none for the Barukzyes—but he had ambitious projects of his own, and to advance these, he was willing to betray his masters and league with their enemies. Whether the proposal came, in the first instance, from him or from Dost Mahommed, appears to be somewhat doubtful; but a compact was entered into between the two chiefs, and the cause of the Suddozye was sacrificed. Atta Mahommed marched out of the Balla Hissar, with the ostensible object of giving battle to the Dost. Nothing was wanted to complete the delusion. At the head of a well-equipped force, the Bamzai chief, proclaiming death to the rebels, moved upon Beh-meru. Drawing up his troops on commanding ground, he addressed them in language of well-simulated enthusiasm, invoking God to pour forth the vials of His eternal wrath upon the heads of all who should desert the cause of Mahmoud and Kamran. "With the same breath," says M. Masson, "in a style peculiarly Affghan, he turned round, and in whispers inquired for a Koran. The sacred book was produced; Atta Mahommed Khan, sealed, and with renewed oaths despatched it to Dost Mahommed Khan." Then followed a series of mock skirmishes, whilst the agents of the two parties were arranging preliminaries. A meeting between the principals was then arranged; it took place secretly and by night. The treaty by which it was agreed that the force under Dost Mahommed should be suffered to enter the Balla Hissar without opposition, was then sealed by Atta Mahommed and all the Barukzye brothers then present, with one exception. Pir Mahommed stood aloof. His brothers pleaded his extreme youth in justification of his unwillingness to enter into a business of such weighty import, and he was accordingly excused. A second meeting was then agreed upon. The chiefs met in the Búrj-i-wuzir—a garden-house of the murdered Futteh Khan—and there on a given signal, Pir Mahommed rushed upon the Bamzai chief, threw him to the ground, and blinded him. Atta Mahommed was fairly caught in the toils of his own treachery. It is alleged that he was, at the very moment of his overthrow, endeavouring to compass the destruction of the Barukzye brothers.* Be this as it may, the game was one of treachery

* Masson says, "The friends of the Barukzye chiefs pretend that the Mukhtahar intended to have blown them up; others wholly deny this statement, and regard the occurrence as naturally arising in a contest for power between desperate and

against treachery ; and though we cannot palliate the offences of one party, it is difficult to compassionate the sufferings of the other.

Having thus removed a dangerous rival—whether friend or foe—the seizure of the Balla Hissar was speedily effected. The Shah-zadah was surrounded by treachery. The delight, as he was, of the women of Kabul, for he was very young and beautiful, he had few friends among the Affghans of the sterner sex, and was little capable of distinguishing the true from the false. He was easily persuaded to withdraw himself into the upper citadel, leaving the lower fortress at the mercy of Dost Mahommed. The sirdar made the most of the opportunity, ran a mine under the upper works, and blew up a portion of them. Death stared the Shah-zadah in the face. The women of Kabul offered up prayers for the safety of the beautiful prince. The night was dark ; the rain descended in torrents. To remain in the citadel was to court destruction. Under cover of the pitchy darkness, it was possible that he might effect his escape. Attended by a few followers, he made the effort, and succeeded. He fled to Ghuzni and was saved.*

Dost Mahommed was now in possession of Kabul, but his occupancy was threatened from two very different quarters. Shah Mahmoud and Prince Kamran were marching down from Herat, and Azim Khan was coming from Kashmir to assert his claims, as the representative of the Barukzyè family. But the spirit of legitimacy was not wholly extinct in Affghanistan. The Barukzyes did not profess to conquer for themselves. It was necessary to put forward some scion of the royal family, and to fight and conquer in his name. Dost Mahommed proclaimed Sultan Ali, king of Kabul ; whilst Azim Khan invited Shah Sùjah to assert his claims to the throne. The Shah consented, an expedition was planned ; but the covenant was but of short duration, for the contracting parties fell out upon the road ; and, instead of fighting a common enemy, got up a battle among themselves. The Shah, who never lived to grow wiser, gave himself such airs, and asserted such ridiculous pretensions, that a quarrel arose ; and on being defeated in the conflict which ensued, he was driven back into ignominious privacy. Another puppet being called for, Prince Ayub, for want of a

reckless men. The deprivation of sight was in retaliation of the injury inflicted on the Wuzir, owing somewhat, it is said, to Atta Mohammed Khan's instigation. It is remembered that when Governor of Kashmir, the plucking out of eyes was one of his ordinary punishments."

* Masson,

better, was elevated to this dignity, and the new friends set out for Kabul.

In the meanwhile the Royal army, which had marched from Herat under Shah Mahmoud and Prince Kamran, approached the capital of Affghanistan. The Dost was in no measure prepared to receive so formidable an enemy. Weak in numbers, and ill supplied with money and materials, he could not, with any hope of success, have given battle to Mahmoud's forces. The danger was imminent. The royal troops were within six miles of the capital. Dost Mahommed and his followers prepared for flight. With the bridles of their horses in their hands, they stood waiting the approach of the enemy. But their fears were groundless. A flight ensued; but it was not Dost Mahommed's, but Mahmoud's army that fled. At the very threshold of victory, the latter turned back and flung himself into the arms of defeat. The causes of this extraordinary and most unexpected proceeding, have been variously explained. It is alleged by some writers, that Dost Mahommed, finding himself unable to cope with Mahmoud on the field of battle, resolved to accomplish that by artifice which he could not achieve by force of arms. Accordingly, he forged numerous letters, purporting to be written by and to bear the seals of Mahmoud's most influential supporters, and declaring their intentions of deserting the Shah and espousing the cause of Sultan Ali. These letters, it is alleged, were thrown, as though by accident, into the hands of Mahmoud and Kamran. The discovery of the supposed treachery of their principal supporters, so wrought upon their fears, that they determined not to risk an engagement before the walls of Kabul, but to fall back at once upon Herat. Another, and more probable story is that, finding when near the capital, that Fúr Díl Khan with four others of the Barukzye brothers were between them and Herat, and apprehending that these chiefs were about to lay siege to that place, they deemed it more prudent to fall back, for the security of a city already in their possession, than to advance for the purpose of attempting the seizure of a city in the possession of another. The Barukzyes were now dominant throughout Affghanistan. The sovereignty, indeed, of Azím Khan's puppet, Ayub, was proclaimed; but the country was in reality divided among the Barukzye brothers. By them the superior claims of Azím Khan were generally acknowledged; Kabul, therefore, fell to his share. Dost Mahommed took possession of Ghuzni. Fúr Díl Khan, Kohan Díl Khán and their brothers occupied Kandahar. Jubbar Khan was put

in charge of the Ghilji country. Yar Mahommed and his brothers succeeded to the Government of Peshawur. And the Shah-zadah Sultan Ali, Dost Mahommed's puppet, sunk quietly into the insignificance of private life.

But this did not last long. Shah Sújah had begun again to dream of sovereignty. He was organising an army at Shikarpúr. Against this force marched Azím Khan, accompanied by the new king Shah Ayub. No sooner were the Shah and his Wuzír fairly on the march, than Dost Mahommed stepped forward, again proclaimed Sultan Ali, and re-seated him in the Balla Hissar. Upon this Azím Khan returned to Kabul, and Sultan Ali vacated the royal apartments. What followed is eminently characteristic of Affghan history. Dost Mahommed advised Sultan Ali to murder Shah Ayub, and Azím Khan advised Shah Ayub to murder Sultan Ali. Sultan Ali indignantly rejected the proposal; Shah Ayub consented, on condition that Azím Khan would return the compliment by assassinating Dost Mahommed. This was agreed upon. Sultan Ali was strangled in his sleep. Shah Ayub then called upon Azím Khan to perform his part of the tragedy; but the Wuzír coolly asked, "how can I slay my brother?" and recommended a renewal of the expedition to Shikarpúr. The Barukzye forces again left Kabul, and proceeded southward, by the western route; but the army of Shah Sújah soon disappeared—melting away without a struggle; and Azím Khan, being in the neighbourhood of the Amírs, employed himself in the collection of the Sindh tribute. The immense quantity of treasure in camp, principally derived from the revenues of Kashmir, so excited the cupidity of Dost Mahommed, that he concerted with Sher Díl Khan to seize it,—a plot, which so alarmed Azím Khan, that he broke up his camp and incontinently returned to Kabul.

Azím Khan next planned an expedition against the Sikhs. He had no fear of Runjit Singh whom he had once beaten in battle. Dost Mahommed accompanied his brother, and they marched upon the frontier, by Jellalabad and the Karapa Pass. Runjit was on the look out for them. He well knew the character of the Barukzye brothers—knew them to be avaricious, ambitious, treacherous: the hand of each against his brethren. He thought bribery better than battle, and sent agents to tamper with Yar Mahommed and the other Peshawur chiefs. They listened to his overtures, hoping to be enabled in the end to throw off the supremacy of Azím Khan. Dost Mahommed received intelligence of the plot, and signified his willingness to join the confederacy. His offer was

accepted; and this important accession to the Sikh party communicated to Runjît Singh. Everything was soon in train. Azîm Khan was at Minchini—with his treasure and his harem, neither of which, in so troubled a state of affairs, could he venture to abandon. Yar Mahommed wrote to him from the Sikh camp that there was a design upon both. The intelligence filled the Sirdar with consternation and grief. He saw plainly the treachery of his brothers; shed many bitter tears; looked with fear and trembling into the future; saw disgrace on one side, the sacrifice of his armies and treasure on the other; now resolved to march down upon the enemy, now to break up his encampment and retire: night closed in upon him whilst in this state of painful agitation. The disastrous intelligence soon spread through the camp, though its precise nature was scarcely known beyond his own tent. His followers lost confidence in their chief. They knew that some evil had befallen him; that he had lost heart; that his spirit was broken. The nameless fear seized upon the whole army, and morning dawned upon the wreck of a once formidable force. His troops had deserted him, and he prepared to follow, with his treasure and his harem, to Jellalabad. Runjît Singh entered Peshawur in triumph, but thought it more prudent to divide the territory between Dost Mahommed and the brothers of Yar Mahommed, than to occupy on his own account, and rule in his own name. The division was accordingly made. In the meanwhile Azîm Khan, disappointed and broken spirited, was seized with a violent disorder, the effect of anxiety and sorrow, and never quitted the bed of sickness until he was carried to the tomb.*

On the death of Azîm Khan, (in 1823), Ishmael, the son of Shah Ayub—the youth who had murdered Sultan Ali—persuaded his father to seize the wealth of the deceased Wuzîr. The Shah called him a blockhead for his pains; but the Prince was not to be convinced by the contumelious rhetoric of his father. He still cherished the design of possessing himself of Azîm Khan's treasure; but Sher Dîl Khan, one of the Kandahar brothers, came to Kabul, entered the Balla Hissar, with a party of adherents, found Ayub and

* Azîm Khan does not appear to have recognised the strength of Dost Mahommed's character; and to this great mistake of his life, his premature death must be attributed. Shortly before the expedition to the Sikh frontier, he had not only contemptuously declared that he did not require the services of the Dost, but had actually laid siege to Ghuzni. Azîm Khan's batteries caused great slaughter, but Dost Mahommed could not be persuaded to open the gates of the fortress. A negotiation took place, and the brothers embraced; but they never forgave each other.

the Shah-zadah together, murdered the latter, and carried off the Shah.* By the assistance of Zimah Khan, the unfortunate monarch was enabled to make his way in safety to Lahore, where Runjít Singh allowed him a monthly stipend of a thousand rupces.

In the meanwhile Habib-úllah Khan, son of Azím Khan, had succeeded nominally to the power possessed by his deceased parent. But he had inherited none of the Wuzír's intellect and energy, and none of his personal influence. Beside the death-bed of his father, he had been entrusted to the guidance of Jubbar Khan, but he had not the good sense to perceive the advantages of such a connection. He plunged into a slough of dissipation, and when he needed advice, betook himself to the counsels of men not much better and wiser than himself. The ablest of his advisers was Amín-úllah Khan, the Loghur chief—known to the present generation as "the infamous Amín-úllah"—he who played so distinguished a part in the recent tragedies at Kabul. This man's support was worth retaining, but Habib-úllah having deprived the "good Nawab" of his government, attempted to destroy Amín-úllah Khan; and thus, with the most consummate address, paved the way to his own destruction. Dost Mahommed, ever on the alert, appeared on the stage at the fitting moment. Alone he had not sufficient resources to compete with the son of Azím Khan, but the Nawab speedily joined him; and soon afterwards, in the midst of an engagement in the near neighbourhood of Kabul, the troops of Amín-úllah Khan went over bodily to the Dost, and Habib-úllah sought safety within the walls of the Balla Hissar.

Dost Mahommed having occupied the city, invested the citadel, and would, in all probability, have carried everything before him, if the Kandahar brothers, alarmed by the successes of the Dost, and dreading the growth of a power which threatened their own extinction, had not moved out to the ostensible assistance of their nephew. Dost Mahommed retreated into the Kohistan; but the unfortunate Habib-úllah soon found that he had gained nothing by such an alliance.

* "One Haji Ali," says Mr. Mason, "who is reported to have shot the prince, despoiled the Shah of his raiments and clad him in his own; then by the sirdar's orders, placed him behind himself on a horse, and carried him off to the Burj Vazir. A singular spectacle was offered to the people of the city as Haji Ali bore the degraded monarch along the streets; but they had become familiar with extraordinary events and regarded them with apathy. The Sirdars when they had given the orders, consequent on the feat they had performed, returned to their dwellings in the city with the same composure after the deposition of a monarch, as if they had been enjoying a morning's ride."

His uncles enticed him to a meeting outside the city, seized him, carried him off to the Loghur country; then took possession of the Balla Hissar and appropriated all his treasure. Dost Mahommed, however, was soon in arms again, and the Peshawur brothers were before Kabul. The affairs of the empire were then thrown into a state of terrible confusion. The Barukzye brothers were all fighting among themselves for the largest share of sovereignty; but, according to Mr Masson, "their followers have been engaged in deadly strife when the rival leaders were sitting together over a plate of cherries." To this fraternal cherry-eating, it would appear that Dost Mahommed was not admitted.* Sitting over their fruit, the brothers came to the determination of alluring the Dost to an interview, and then either blinding or murdering him. The plot was laid; everything was arranged for the destruction of the sirdar; but Hadji Khan Khakur, who subsequently distinguished himself as a traitor of no slight accomplishments, having discovered in time that Dost Mahommed was backed by the strongest party in Kabul, gave him a significant hint at the proper moment, and the sirdar escaped with his life. After a few more brotherly schemes of mutual extermination which, although eminently characteristic we must pass by unnoticed, the brothers entered into a compact by which the government of Ghuzni and the Kohistan was secured to Dost Mahommed, whilst Sultan Mahommed of Peshawur succeeded to the sovereignty of Kabul. The truce was but of short duration.

Sher Dil Khan, the most influential of the Kandahar brothers, died. A dangerous rival was thus swept away from the path of Dost Mahommed. The Kuzzilbashs soon afterwards gave in their adherence to the sirdar, who now felt himself in a position to strike another blow for the recovery of Kabul. Sultan Mahommed had done nothing to strengthen himself at the capital; and, being summoned either to surrender or to defend himself, he deemed it more prudent to negotiate. Consenting to retire on Peshawur, he marched out of one gate of Kabul, whilst Dost Mahommed marched in at another, the followers of the latter shouting out a derisive adieu to the departing chief.

From this time (1826), to the day on which his followers deserted him at Urghandi, after the capture of Ghuzni by the British troops, Dost Mahommed was supreme at Kabul.

* Mr. Vigne says, that Dost Mahommed and Sher Dil Khan were the cherry-eaters. We do not pretend to determine the point.

His brothers saw that it was useless to contest the supremacy ; and at last they acknowledged the unequalled power of one whom they had once slighted and despised. And now was it that Dost Mahommed began fully to understand the responsibilities of high command and the obligations of a ruler both to himself and his subjects. He had hitherto lived the life of a dissolute soldier. His education had been neglected, and in his very boyhood he had been thrown in the way of pollution of the foulest kind. From his youth he had been greatly addicted to wine, and was often to be seen in public, reeling along in a state of degrading intoxication, or scarcely able to sit his horse. All this was now to be reformed. He taught himself to read and to write, accomplishments which he had before possessed scantily, if at all ; he studied the Koran ; abandoned the use of strong liquors ; became scrupulously abstemious, plain in his attire, assiduous in his attention to business ; urbane and courteous to all. He made, and without exposing himself to a charge of hypocrisy, a public acknowledgement of his past errors and a profession of a reformation. "The days," says General Harlan, and the truth of the statement is not to be questioned, "that Dost Mahommed ascended the musnud, he performed the "Toba," which is a "solemn and sacred formula of reformation, in reference to any "accustomed moral crime or depravity of habit. He was "followed in the Toba by all his chiefs, who found themselves "obliged to keep pace with the march of mind—to prepare for "the defensive system of policy, this assumption of purity, "on the part of the prince suggested. The Toba was a sort of declaration of principles ; and the chiefs viewing it in that light, beheld their hopes of supremacy in imminent hazard....In later life the Amír became sensible of the advantages arising from learning. Although knowledge of literature among Mahomedan nations is confined to a contracted sphere, at least the reputation of theological science was essential to the chief, on whom had been conferred the title of Amír-ul-Mominín, or commander of the faithful. To escape the humility of dependence upon subordinate agents, more especially the secretaries necessarily employed in all revenue and judicial transactions, he tasked his mind with the acquisition of letters, and became worthy, by his industry and success in the pursuit, of the greatest respect of the great, as he commanded the admiration of the vulgar, who are ever accustomed to venerate the divinity of wisdom."

It is not to be questioned that there was, at this time, in

the conduct of Dost Mahommed, as a ruler, much that may be regarded with admiration and respect even by Christian men. Power does not seem to have elated him with pride. Simple in his habits, remarkably affable in his manner, he was accessible to the meanest of his subjects, ever ready to listen to their complaints and to redress their grievances. He seldom rode abroad without being accosted in the public streets or highways, by citizen or by peasant, waiting to lay before the Amir a history of his grievances or his sufferings, and to ask for assistance or redress. And he never passed the petitioner—never rode on; but would rein in his horse, listen to the complaints of the poorest of his subjects, and give directions to his attendants to take the necessary steps to render justice to the injured, or to alleviate the sufferings of the distressed. Such was his love of equity, indeed, that people asked, "Is Dost Mahommed dead that there is no justice?"

He is even said by those who knew him well, to have been kindly and humane—an assertion at which many who have read the history of his early career will smile. But no one who fairly estimates the character of Affghan history and Affghan morals, and the necessities, personal and political, of all who take part in such stirring scenes as those which we have endeavoured faintly to describe, can fail to perceive that his vices were rather the growth of circumstances, than of any extraordinary badness of heart. He was not by nature cruel; but once embarked in the strife of Affghan politics, a man must either fight it out or die. Every man's hand is against him, and he must turn his hand against every man. There is no middle course open to him. If he would save himself, he must pause at nothing. Even when seated securely on the musnud, an Affghan ruler must, of necessity, commit acts abhorrent to our ideas of humanity. He must rule with vigor, or not at all. That Dost Mahommed, during the twelve years of supremacy which he enjoyed at Kabul, often resorted, for the due maintenance of his power, to measures of severity incompatible with the character of a humane ruler, is only to say, that for twelve years he retained his place at the head of affairs. Such rigor is inseparable from the government of such a people. We cannot rein wild horses with silkén braids.

But although Dost Mahommed was now in the enjoyment of a season of comparative rest, the even tenor of his life, as undisputed ruler of Kabul, was ever and anon interrupted by martial episodes—slight disorders, such as are inseparable from the constitution of Affghan society. A rebellion in Taghon occupied much of his attention in 1831;

the Sirdar moved out against his contumacious subjects, besieged and razed their strongholds, and drove them like cattle to the mountains. Soon afterwards he marched upon Balla-Bugh, which was held by Osman Khan, reduced it after a siege of two days, and then moved down with a strong force and battering train upon Jellalabad. Here Mahommed Zemaun Khan determined to offer a stout resistance. Some time before, being aided by the Peshawur chiefs and by Jubbar Khan, who deserted the sirdar at a critical moment, he had held out with good success, and his opposition would probably have endangered the safety of Dost Mahommed, if the Nawab (Jubbar Khan) had not again stepped forward to play the old part of negociator and induced a cessation of hostilities. The Kabul and Peshawur forces were withdrawn. Dost Mahommed affected contrition, and "wrote a series of dreadful imprecations on himself, if ever he wrested Jellalabad from him, on a leaf of the chief's Koran." Having thus allayed the fears of Zemaun Khan, the sirdar returned to Kabul, and removed Jubbar Khan from the government of the Ghilji country—a punishment which does not appear to have been wholly undeserved. But now, utterly regardless of the oaths he had sworn on that former occasion, he again appeared before Jellalabad, ran a mine under one of the bastions of the fort, effected a breach, and carried the place. The town, with the exception of the residence of Zemaun Khan and a few other parties under the special protection of the Dost, was given up to plunder. "As for the Nawab Mahommed Zemaun Khan," says Mr. Masson, who was in the neighbourhood of Jellalabad at the time, "as soon as the town was entered, he seated himself with the Koran in his hands, open at the part where Dost Mahommed Khan, two years before, had written the most horrible denunciations upon himself if ever he deprived him of Jellalabad." The Nawab's person was respected, but his power was gone. Jellalabad was placed under the Government of Amír Mahommed Khan.*

These, however, were but insignificant incidents in the eventful career of the Kabul chief. He was soon called upon to face a more pressing danger and to prepare himself for a

* As a set off to these services, Zemaun Khan made an effort to assassinate Dost Mahommed, but the creature employed to do the deed, having obtained entrance into the Sirdar's dormitory, relented just at the right time, and instead of murdering the sleeping chief, stole his pejammahs. These he presented to the Nawab and claimed his reward. The chronicles do not state whether he obtained it. It is not very clear, either, whether this little incident was the cause or the effect of the capture of Jellalabad.

more vigorous contest. The exiled Suddozye prince Shah Sújah, whose life had been one series of extraordinary vicissitudes, was about to make another effort to re-establish himself in the Dourani empire ; and with this object, was organising an army in Sindh. Had there been any sort of unanimity among the Barukzye brothers, this invasion might have been laughed to scorn, but Dost Mahommed felt that there was treachery within no less than hostility without, and that the open enemy was not more dangerous than the concealed one. Jubbar Khan, Zemaun Khan and others, were known to be intriguing with the Shah. The Nawab, indeed, had gone so far as to assure Dost Mahommed that it was useless to oppose the Suddozye invasion, as Sújah-úl-múlk was assisted by the British Government and would certainly be victorious. He therefore implored the Sirdar to pause before he brought down upon himself certain destruction, alleging that it would be better to make terms with the Shah. to secure something, rather than to lose everything. Dost Mahommed, who, knowing his man, knew that Jubbar Khan had thrown himself into the arms of the Suddozye laughed significantly, and said, " Lala, it will be time enough to talk about terms when I have been beaten." This was unanswerable. The Nawab retired, and preparations for war were carried on with renewed activity.

The Shah had penetrated as far as Kandahar before Dost Mahommed gave him battle. He had made Shikarpúr his place of rendezvous, but having entered the territory of the Amírs as a friend, he did not quit it before he had fought a hard battle with them and effectually beaten them. The pecuniary demands which he had made upon them, they had resisted ; and the Shah, having a considerable army at his command, thought fit to enforce obedience. Early in January 1834, an engagement took place near Rorí, and the pride of the Amírs having been humbled by defeat, they consented to the terms he demanded. Having arranged this matter to his entire satisfaction, Shah Sújah marched upon Kandahar, and in the early summer was before the walls of the city. He invested the place and endeavored ineffectually to carry it by assault. The Kandahar chiefs held out with much resolution ; but it was not until the arrival of Dost Mahommed from Kabul that a general action was risked. The Dost determined to lose no time in attacking the enemy—a determination strengthened by the Shah's fatuous abandonment of a strong entrenched position which he had taken up. Mahommed Akbar Khan commanded the cavalry ; Abdúl Sarmat Khan the infantry. The Sirdar made, according to his judgment,

the best possible dispositions, but no great amount of military skill appears to have been displayed on either side ; Akbar Khan's sowars charged the enemy with much gallantry, but a battalion of the Shah's troops, under an Indo-Briton named Campbell, fought with such uncommon energy, that at one time the forces of the Barukzye chiefs were driven back, and victory appeared to be in their reach. But Dost Mahommed, who had intently watched the conflict, and kept a handfull of chosen troops in reserve, now let them slip, rallied the battalions which were falling back, called upon Akbar Khan to make one more struggle, and at length succeeded in rolling back the tide of victory. Shah Sújah, who on the first appearance of Dost Mahommed had lost all heart, and actually given orders to prepare for flight, called in his desperation upon Campbell to "chupao-chupao ;" then ordered his elephant to be wheeled round, and turned his back upon the field of battle. His irresolution seems to have proved fatal to his cause. The game was up. The Barukzye troops pushed forward, Campbell, who had fallen like a brave man, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner with others of the Shah's principal officers, and all the guns, stores, and camp-equipage of the Suddozye prince fell into the hands of the victors. The scenes of plunder and carnage which ensued are said to have been terrible. The Kandahar chief urged the pursuit of the fugitive Shah, but Dost Mahommed opposed the measure, and the unfortunate prince was suffered to escape.

But scarcely had Dost Mahommed returned to Kabul when he found himself compelled to prepare for a new and more formidable enterprise. Runjít Singh was in possession of Peshawur. The treachery of Sultan Mahommed Khan and his brothers had rebounded upon themselves, and they had lost the province which had been the scene of so much intrigue. In their anxiety to destroy Dost Mahommed, they opened a communication with the Sikhs, who advanced to Peshawur ostensibly as friends, and then took possession of the city. Sultan Mahommed Khan fled. His defeat was most ignominious. The Sikh force, under Harí Singh, consisted only of nine thousand men ; and had the Affghans been commanded by a competent leader they might have driven back a much stronger force ; but the utmost imbecility was manifested.* The

*Mr. Maason, who was in Peshawur when the Sikhs entered, gives a graphic and amusing account of the affair, which is worth quoting—"after he had procured from the Sirdars beyond the ordinary complement of tribute, he sent a message to them, that he Sháhzáda Noh Nihál Singh, the grandson of Runjít Singh, who was with the army, desired to see the city, and it would be well that they should evacuate it, and retire to Bâghr-Alí Mardan Khán, when the Sháhzáda would ride round

Peshawur chiefs were everlastingly disgraced, and Peshawur lost to the Affghans for ever.

But Dost Mahommed resolved at least to make a vigorous effort to recover the country which the fatuous conduct of his brothers had lost. To this end he determined on declaring a religious war against the Sikhs, and began with characteristic energy to organise a force sufficiently strong to wrest Peshawur from the hands of the usurpers. To strengthen his influence he assumed, at this time, the title of *Amir al-Mominin* (commander of the faithful)* and exerted himself to

it, and then the army would retire towards Atāk. The morning came, when Sultān Mahommed Khān who had always his spy-glass in hand, descried the Sikh force in motion. All became panic-struck, and horses were saddled and mounted in a trice. The house was emptied as if by magic, and none remained in it but Abdūl Ghāṣ Khān, his party, and myself. We ascended the roof, and beheld the Sikhs moving forward in a very respectable style. In the van was the young Shāh-zāda on an elephant, with Harī Singh and a variety of Sikh chiefs, attended by a host of cavalry. Behind them followed the battalions of the court, advancing in columns at a brisk pace. On reaching the gardens attached to the house we were in, the first shots were fired, some Affghāns being concealed among the trees. They were soon cleared out, and the march of the force was not affected by the desultory opposition. Subsequently we heard some smart firing, and learned during the day that the Sikhs, pressing too close upon Hājī Khān, who covered the retreat of Sultān Mahommed Khān, the Khān lost patience and turned upon them. He handled them very severely, and, as admitted by themselves, checked their advance until the battalions came up. Khān Mahommed Khān, the brother of Hājī Khān, was badly wounded in this skirmish, but was borne off the field. Some very splendid instances of individual bravery were exhibited by the Affghans, and one gallant fellow cut down six of his opponents. The Sikhs, having completed the circuit of the city encamped under the Bālla Hissār to the east, the discomfited Sirdārs retired to Tūkkāl, and then to Shékhan, at the skirts of the hills. My Mīrza in the course of the day went to the Sikh camp, where he saw Harī Singh, who asked where I had been during the tamāsha or sport. He replied, that I had witnessed it from the roof. He then asked jocularly, where the Sirdārs had gone. The Mīrza said to Tūkkāl, to prepare for battle. The Sirdar laughed and said, no, no : *nasghir, nasghir* ; they have run away, they have run away ; some to Kohāt, some to Khaibar. I certainly was amused at the almost ridiculous manner in which the Sikhs had made themselves masters of an important and productive country, and Sultān Mahommed Khān was as much to be laughed at as to be pitied, for in place of adopting any means of defence, he had sent away the better part of his troops, and prohibited the citizens and people of the country from defending the city as they wished. Pīr Mahommed Khān was accustomed to say that he had three lakhs of rupees, and did not care who knew it ; that he had reserved them for such a crisis as this : that he would assemble the Ghāzīs, and do many wonderful things. Hājī Khān would, when such valorous speeches were made, embrace the Sirdār, saying he must kiss the lips from which such words flowed. Pīr Mahommed Khān, however, thought it better to keep his three lakhs of rupees and hastened to Kohāt to collect what he could from the inhabitants, previously to his departure ultimately from the country. The force with Harī Singh did not exceed nine thousand men : and had a show of serious resistance been made, he would at least have been obliged to temporise ; also, had the city, although an open one, been put in a condition for defence, and the system of *kūcher bundī* adopted, he was scarcely competent to have forced it. As it was, with a small force he possessed himself of a country which some years before, Runjīt Singh in person, with twenty-five thousand men did not venture to retain.

† He had been recommended by some to assume the titles of royalty—as death under a royal banner is Musulman martyrdom, and therefore ensures a translation to heaven—but he replied, that as he was too poor to support his dignity as a Sirdar, it would be preposterous to think of converting himself into a King.

inflammé the breasts of his followers with that burning Mahomedan zeal, which has so often impelled the disciples of the Prophet to deeds of the most consummate daring and most perfect self-abandonment. Money was now to be obtained, and to obtain it much extortion was doubtless practised. An Affghan chief has a rude, and somewhat arbitrary manner, of levying rates and taxes. Dost Mahommed made no exception in his conduct to "the good old rule," which had so long, in critical conjunctures, been observed in that part of the world. He took all that he could get; raised a very respectable force; coined money in his own name, and then prepared for battle.

At the head of an imposing array of fighting men, the Amír marched out of Kabul. He had judged wisely. The declaration of war against the infidel—war proclaimed in the name of the Prophet—had brought thousands to his banner; and ever as he marched, the great stream of humanity seemed to swell and swell, as new tributaries came pouring in from every part, and the thousands became tens of thousands. From the Kohistan, from the hills beyond, from the regions of the Kurdú-Kúsh, from still remoter fastnesses, multitudes of various tribes and denominations, moved by various impulses, but all noisily boasting their true Mahomedan zeal, came flocking in to the Amír's standard. Ghiljís and Kohistanís; sleek Kuzzilbashes, and fanatic Ghazís—horsemen and footmen—all who could lift a sword or a matchlock, obeyed the call in the name of the Prophet. "Savages from the remotest recesses of the mountainous districts," wrote one, who saw this strange congeries of Mussulman humanity,* "who were dignified with the profession of the Mahomedan faith, many of them giants in form and strength, promiscuously armed with sword and shield, bows and arrows, matchlocks, rifles, spears and blunderbusses, concentrated themselves around the standard of religion, and were prepared to slay, plunder, and destroy, for the sake of God and the Prophet, the unenlightened infidels of the Punjab."

The Mussulman force reached Peshawur. The brave heart of Runjít Singh quailed before this immense assemblage, and he at once determined not to meet it openly in the field. There was in his camp, a man named Harlan, an American adventurer, now a doctor, and now a general, to whom we have more than once alluded during the progress of this narrative. Clever and unscrupulous, he was a fit agent to do the Maharajah's bid-

* General Harlan.

ding. Runjít despatched him as an envoy to the Affghan camp. He went ostensibly to negotiate with Dost Mahommed; in reality to corrupt his supporters. "On the occasion," he says, with as little sense of shame as Mohan Lal manifests when recording his exploits in the same line, "of Dost Mahommed's visit to Peshawur, which occurred during the period of my service with Runjít Singh, I was despatched by the Prince as ambassador to the Amír. I divided his brothers against him, exciting their jealousy of his growing power, and exasperating the family feuds, with which, from my previous acquaintance, I was familiar, and stirred up the feudal lords of his durbar with the prospects of pecuniary advantages. I induced his brother Sultan Mahommed Khan, the lately deposed chief of Peshawur, with 10,000 retainers to withdraw suddenly from his camp about nightfall. The chief accompanied me towards the Sikh camp, whilst his followers fled to their mountain fastnesses. So large a body retiring from the Amír's control, in opposition to his will, and without previous intimation, threw the general camp into inextricable confusion, which terminated in the clandestine route of his forces, without beat of drum, or sound of bugle, or the trumpet's blast, in the quiet stillness of midnight. At daybreak no vestige of the Affghan camp was seen, where six hours before 50,000 men and 10,000 horses, with all the busy host of attendants, were rife with the tumult of wild emotion.*" Thus was this notable expedition brought prematurely to a disastrous close. Treachery broke up, in a single night, a vast army which Runjít Singh had contemplated with dismay. The Amír with the *debris* of his force, preserving his guns, but sacrificing much of his camp-equipage, fell back upon Kabul, re-seated himself quietly in the Balla Hissar, and in bitterness of spirit, declaiming against the

* It would appear that Dost Mahommed instigated by Mirza Samí Khan, seized Mr. Harlan, as well as the Faqír Azizúddín, who was also sent as an ambassador into the Amír's camp. The Dost endeavoured to throw the odium of the act upon Sultan Mahommed, hoping thereby to ruin him utterly in the opinion of the Sikhs; but Sultan Mahommed, after having taken a number of oaths on the Koran, pledging himself to compliance with the Amír's wishes, sent back the prisoners (or *hostages* as Dost Mahommed called them) to the Maharajah's camp. Mr. Harlan, in his published work says nothing about this; and the "forthcoming personal journal," promised some years ago, has not yet appeared. Mohan Lal says that "the appalling news (of the treachery of Sultan Mahommed) wounded the feelings of the Amír most bitterly. There were no bounds to the sweat of shame and folly which flowed over his face, and there was no limit to the laughter of the people at his being deceived and ridiculed. His minister, Mirza, Samí Khan was so much distressed by this sad exposure of his own trick, and still more by the failure of his plan in losing the Faqír, that he hung down his head with great remorse and shame, and then throwing away his State papers, he exclaimed that he would avoid all interference in the government affairs hereafter."

emptiness of military renown, plunged deep into the study of the Koran.

From this pleasant abstraction from warlike pursuits, the Amír was after a time aroused by a well-grounded report to the effect that Súltan Mahommed had been again intriguing with the Sikhs, and that a plan had been arranged for the passage of a Punjabi force through the Khybur pass, with the ultimate intention of moving upon Kabul. An expedition was accordingly fitted out in the spring of 1837; but the Amír, having sufficient confidence in his son Afzal Khan and Mahommed Akbar, sent the sirdars in charge of the troops, with Abdúl Samí Khan, his minister, as their adviser. The Affghan forces laid siege to Jumrúd, and on the 30th of April, Harí Singh came from Peshawur to its relief. An action took place, in which both the young sirdars greatly distinguished themselves, and Shumshúdín Khan cut a no less distinguished figure. The Sikh chieftain Harí Singh was slain; and his disheartened troops fell back and entrenched themselves under the walls of Jumrúd. Akbar Khan proposed to follow up the victory by dashing on to Peshawur; but the Mirza who, according to Mr. Masson had, during the action, "secreted himself in some cave or sheltered recess, where in despair, he sobbed, beat his breast, tore his beard, and knocked his head upon the ground," now made his appearance, declaring that his prayers had been accepted, and "entreated the boasting young man to be satisfied with what he had done." The advice was sufficiently sound; for strong Sikh reinforcements soon appeared in sight, and the Affghan army was compelled to retire. Akbar Khan plumed himself greatly on this victory, but it was not a very glorious achievement. In one respect, however, it was a heavy blow to the Maharajah. Runjít Singh had lost one of his best officers and dearest friends. The death of Harí Singh was never forgotten or forgiven.

We now nearly approach the period at which the stirring career of Dost Mahommed assumes a new and peculiar interest as bearing upon the most eventful epoch of the recent history of British India. The Shah of Persia had long threatened Herat, and in the summer of 1837, actually commenced his march upon that frontier city. On the 15th of November Ghorian capitulated; and a few days afterwards the Persian army was under the walls of Herat. In a recent article* in this journal, we considered at some length, the effect produced throughout India, and more especially in the Council-chamber

* Art. "Sir W. H. Macnaghten." No. 3.

of the Supreme Government, by the intelligence of the advance of the Persian army, and the assistance rendered to the Shah's force by officers in the Russian service. We shall not now enter anew upon this discussion, but proceed at once to notice the circumstances connected with the despatch of Capt. Burnes to the court of Dost Mahommed, and the subsequent proceedings of that officer at Kabul.

On the arrival of Lord Auckland at Calcutta as Governor-General of India, Dost Mahommed lost no time, after receipt of the intelligence, in addressing to his Lordship a complimentary letter expressive of his own friendly sentiments and his hopes of an entire reciprocity of kindly feeling. "The field of my hopes," he wrote in the spring of 1836, "which had before been chilled by the cold blast of wintry times, had, by the happy tidings of your Lordship's arrival become the envy of the garden of paradise." He then adverted to his relations with the Sikhs, saying "the late transactions in this quarter, the conduct of reckless and misguided Sikhs, and their breach of treaty are well known to your Lordship. Communicate to me whatever may suggest itself to your wisdom for the settlement of the affairs of this country, that it may serve, as a rule, for my guidance;" and concluded by adding, "I hope your Lordship will consider me and my country as your own;"—a hope, which in due course of time, was literally fulfilled. Lord Auckland took the Amír to his word.

The Governor-General returned a friendly reply to this friendly letter, expressing his "wish that the Affghans should be a flourishing and united nation;" enforcing upon Dost Mahommed the expediency of promoting the navigation of the Indus; hinting that it was his intention soon to "depute some gentlemen" to the Amír's court, to discuss with him certain commercial topics; and adding, with reference to the Dost's dissensions with Runjít Singh, "my friend, you are aware that it is not the practise of the British Government to interfere with the affairs of other independent States." If the Amír was ever aware of this, he soon learnt to his cost, that immutability is not an attribute of the practices of the British Government.

In accordance with Lord Auckland's intimation, "some gentlemen" were deputed on a commercial mission to the Amír's court. The gentlemen named were Captain Burnes, an officer of the Bombay infantry, who had recently published an interesting account of his travels through Central Asia, interspersed with chapters of Affghan history and politics—Lieutenant

Leech of the Bombay Engineers, who had acquired early in life an extraordinary proficiency in the oriental languages, Lieutenant Wood of the Indian navy, and Dr. Perceval Lord, a medical officer of rare accomplishments, whose early death on the field of battle, literature and science will long deplore. The mission was instructed, in the first place, to proceed to Hyderabad, with letters to the Amirs of Sindh, thence to ascend the Indus, and proceed to Peshawur, Kabul and Kandahar. The officers of the mission soon separated. Wood and Lord were despatched to Kúndúz, Leech was deputed to Kandahar, whilst Burnes, as the head of the embassy, was engaged at the court of Dost Mahommed, playing a more difficult game of diplomacy than he ever thought would fall to his lot. To his movements, as the chief actor on the one side in the events which followed, we purpose chiefly to direct our attention.

As the mission entered Affghanistan, it was met by friendly deputations from the Amír, bearing letters expressive of the warmest welcome and the kindest sympathy. Every honor was rendered to the British embassy; and as Burnes neared the capital, the favorite son of Dost Mahommed—that very son who, four or five years later, expelled the British so ignominiously from his country—came forward to meet the mission, and conduct it to his father's court. Mahommed Akbar was accompanied by a large retinue; and the procession which entered Kabul is said to have been highly imposing. The Amír indeed had spared no pains to render it so; his anxiety to give a fitting welcome to the delegates of a friendly power was so great, that not satisfied with such official pomp as his own immediate resources could impart to the entrance of the British mission, he requested the principal citizens of Kabul to aid him in welcoming the strangers. Nothing could have been more cordial than his reception of Burnes and his attendants. "He received us most cordially," writes Mohan Lal, "and near his own palace, a beautiful garden surrounded with "the most comfortable apartments, was allotted to us, as our "place of residence."

The mission entered Kabul on the 20th of September 1837. On the following day, the Amír formally received the representatives of the British Government, "with many expressions "of his high sense of the great honour conferred on him, in his "at last having had the means of communicating with an officer "of the British Government."* Burnes submitted his creden-

* Letters of Capt. Burnes to W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.

tials. The letters were opened by the Amír himself, and read by his minister Abdul Sami Khan. They introduced Burnes to his highness solely as a commercial messenger ; but this flimsy veil was soon dropped ; it was evident from the first that whatever might have been his instructions—whatever might have been the proximate, or rather the ostensible object of the mission, Burnes had ulterior designs, and that he in reality went to Kabul either as a spy or political diplomatist. He had not been three days at Kabul, before he wrote to Mr. Macnaghten to say that he should take an early opportunity of reporting what transpired at the Amír's court ; and ten days afterwards we find him announcing "the result of his inquiries on the subject of Persian influence in Kabul, and the exact power which the Kuzzilbash, or Persian party resident in this city, have over the politics of Affghanistan. Indeed, three months before, he had written to a private friend, "I came to look after commerce, to superintend surveys and examine passes of mountains, and likewise certainly *to see into affairs and judge of what was to be done hereafter* ; but the hereafter has already arrived." This, "seeing into affairs," this "reporting what transpired at the Amír's court," this writing at length the result of his inquiries into the subject of Persian influence, &c., &c., under cover of a purely commercial mission,—his credentials distinctly stating that he was sent "to confer with" Dost Mahommed "as to the best means of facilitating commercial intercourse between Affghanistan and India,"—is not altogether very unlike playing the part of a spy.*

On the 24th of September Burnes was invited to a private conference with Dost Mahommed. It took place in "the interior of the harem" of the Balla Hissar—Akbar Khan alone being present. Dinner was served, and "the interview lasted till midnight." The Dost listened attentively to all that Burnes advanced relative to the navigation of the Indus and the trade of Affghanistan, but replied that his resources were so crippled by his war with the Sikhs, that he was compelled to adopt measures injurious to commerce, for the mere purpose of raising revenue. He spoke with much warmth of the loss of Peshawur, which he alleged had been wrested from him whilst he was engaged in war with Shah Sújah. Burnes replied with a number of cut-and-dry sentences about the ability and resources of Runjít Singh—to all of which the

*On the 4th October Burnes wrote a long *political* letter to Macnaghten ; and on the following day, one in which he slightly touched on commercial topics, but soon rushed headlong into politics.

Amír cheerfully assented ; and acknowledged at the same time that he was not strong enough to cope with so powerful an adversary. "Instead of renewing the conflict," he said, "it would be a source of real gratification if the British Government would counsel me how to act : none of our other neighbours can avail me ; and in return I would pledge myself to forward its commercial and its political views." Burnes replied that he heard with pleasure this acknowledgement, and assured him that the British Government would exert itself to secure peace between the Punjab and Afghanistan, adding that although he could not hold out any promise of interference for the restoration of Peshawur, which had been won and preserved by the sword, he believed that the "Maharajah intended to make some change in its management, but that it sprung from himself, not from the British Government." The Amír showed great anxiety to be made acquainted with the precise character of these contemplated arrangements ; but all that Burnes could offer was a conjecture, that the Maharajah might be induced to restore the country, under certain restrictions, to Sultan Mahommed Khan and his brothers, to whom, and not to the Dost, it had formerly belonged.

On the evening of the 4th of October, Burnes was again invited to the Balla Hassar, the Amír having in the meantime waited upon him in his own quarters. At this second conference in the palace, the Nawab Jubbar Khan, the Dost's brother, was present. On this occasion, to the surprise of the British envoy, the Amír carried his moderation and humility to an excess which might almost have aroused suspicion. He declared that if the representative of Great Britain recommended him to do so, he would express to Runjít Singh his contrition for the past, and ask forgiveness ; and that if the Maharajah "would consent to give up Peshawur to him, he would hold it tributary to Lahore ; send the requisite presents of horses and rice ; and in all things consider himself, in that part of his dominions, as holding under Lahore." Upon this Burnes suggested that such an arrangement would be destructive to the hopes of Sultan Mahommed, who ought to be regarded with compassion ; and asked, whether it would not be equally advantageous to the reputation of the Dost that Peshawur should be restored to his brother. To this the Amír replied, that the country might as well be in the hands of the Sikhs as in those of Sultan Mahommed, who, indeed, was his enemy as it would never be believed that Runjít Singh had withdrawn from the countries westward of the Indus ;—little more passed at this meeting. Burnes retired to

speculate upon the conduct of the Dost and write letters to Mr. Macnaghten, at that time Political Secretary to the Government of India.

In the meanwhile the attention of the mission was directed to the state of affairs at Kandahar. The chief of that place, Mohan dil Khan, had not only declared his willingness to embrace the Persian alliance, but had determined on sending his second son, with the Persian agent to Persia, as the bearer of presents to the Shah and the Russian embassy. Against this course of procedure Dost Mahommed had protested. "Oh! my brother," he wrote, "if you will do these things without my concurrence, what will the world say to it?" There can be no doubt of the Dost's sincerity. Indeed, it was the conviction that the Kabul chief was entering with his whole soul into the British alliance, to the exclusion, as it was believed, of the Kandahar sirdars, that drove the latter to strengthen themselves with Persia. Burnes himself had no doubt that the Dost was at that time acting a straightforward part. On the 31st he wrote, that another conference had taken place on the 24th, and that what passed on that occasion "set Dost Mahommed's conduct in a light that must prove, as I believe, very gratifying to Government." He then stated, that on expressing the regret which he felt on being made acquainted with the misguided conduct of the Kandahar sirdars, the Dost had declared that if such conduct was distressing to the British minister, it was much more distressing to him; that he himself repented of having ever listened to the overtures of Persia; that he would take care publicly to manifest his desire to strengthen his relations with the British Government, and do every thing in his power to induce his Kandahar brothers to adopt a wiser course of policy. Burnes replied that he was delighted to hear the expression of such sentiments; but distinctly stated, "that neither he nor his brothers were to found hopes of receiving aid from the British Government"—that so long as they conducted themselves with propriety they might rely upon the sympathy of the British Government, but that they must, by no means, expect to derive anything more substantial from the alliance.* Burnes, who

* And on the 30th of December, Burnes, with reference to this promised sympathy, wrote in the following words to Mr. Macnaghten. The passage was not published in the official correspondence. It was thought better to suppress it—
'The present position of the British Government at this capital appears to me
'a most gratifying proof of the estimation in which it is held by an Afghan nation.
'Russia has come forward with offers, which are certainly substantial: Persia
'has been lavish in her promises, and Bokhara and other States have not been
'backward; yet in all that has passed, or is daily transpiring, *the Chief of Kabul*

had come to Kabul as a commercial agent, was without any political instructions. He could promise nothing. The most that he could do was to write, and to await patiently the receipt of letters from Hindústan.

And, in due course, letters were received at Kabul. There is in the published "correspondence relating to Affghanistan," a wretchedly garbled letter from Captain Burnes to Mr. Macnaghten, dated January 26th 1838, which, even as it stands in the authorised blue book, is an interesting and important document, but which in its true un mutilated form throws a flood of light on the true history of the transactions between Dost Mahommed and the British agent. Before this, Vickovich had appeared on the political stage. "We are in a mess here," wrote Burnes, in a private letter, on the 9th of January: "Herat is besieged and may fall, and the Emperor of Russia has sent an envoy to Kabul to offer Dost Mahommed Khan money to fight Runjit Singh!!!! I could not believe my eyes or ears, but Captain Vickovich, for that is the agent's name, arrived here with a blazing letter three feet long, and sent immediately to pay his respects to myself. I of course received him and asked him to dinner. This is not the best of it. The Amír came over to me sharp, and offered to do as I like, kick him out, or anything, but I stood too much in fear of Vattel to do any such thing; and since he was so friendly to us, said I, give me the letters the agent has brought, all of which he surrendered sharp, and I sent an express at once to my Lord A, with a confidential letter to the Governor-General himself, bidding him look what his predecessors had brought upon him, and telling him that after this, I knew not what might happen, and it was now a neck-and-neck race between Russia and us." The letters of which Vickovich was the bearer, like those brought by Burnes, were purely of a commercial tendency. They were written in the Russian and the Persian languages, the latter of which was translated by Mohan Lal, who gives in a few lines the substance of the more important one, the letter from the Emperor.* The

"declares that he prefers the sympathy and friendly offices of the British to all these offers, however alluring they may seem, from Persia or from the Emperor, which certainly places his good sense in a light more than prominent, and in my humble judgment proves that by an earlier attention to these countries we might have escaped the whole of these intrigues, and held long since a stable influence in Kabul."

* Mohan Lal says very shrewdly—it is one of the best passages in his book, "I have heard many people in their talking say, that if the letter of the Emperor touched upon no other points but those of trade, there was no necessity for taking such alarm at its appearance in Kabul, and that it was exaggerated in importance as it appeared to be felt by the Indian Government. Though I do not boast of

authenticity of this letter has been questioned Masson declares that it was a forgery—seal and all; alleging, in proof, that it bore no signature. To this Mohan Lal replies that the absence of the royal signature is a proof rather of the genuine than the counterfeit character of the document. "On the contrary," he says, according to Asiatic usage, these are the very reasons for confiding in the veracity of the letter. "In all countries of despotic government as Affghanistan, Turkistan and Persia, and their neighbour the Russians, letters are forwarded under the seal and not under the signature." If Mohan Lal wishes us to believe that Nicholas never attaches his signature to a letter, we must express our very positive incredulity; but we agree with him in thinking, that under the circumstances of the case, he would have been more inclined to omit than to attach the signature. The fact is that the letter was one to be acknowledged or repudiated as most convenient; it was intended to satisfy Dost Mahommed on one hand, and to be suspected by the European allies of Russia upon the other. That it came from the Cabinet of St. Petersburg we think there is little room to doubt.

The letter from Burnes, of the 26th of January, to which we have alluded above, and which we now have before us in an ungarbled state, contains a full account of an important conference between the Amír and the British agent, held after the receipt by the latter, of instructions from the Governor-General. At this meeting Burnes communicated to Dost Mahommed the sentiments of the Governor-General—a fact the record of which has been erased from the published letter—and recommended the Amír, in accordance with the opinions expressed by Lord Auckland, to waive his own claims to Peshawur, and be content with such arrangements as Runjít Singh might be inclined to enter into with Súltan Mahommed. To this the Dost replied that he bore no enmity to his brother, though his brother was full of rancour against him, and would

"being well versed in the histories of India written by talented English authors, but from what I have learned from them I come to the conclusion that the disguised word or appellation for politics is commerce, and that commerce is the only thing which expands the views and policy of territorial aggrandisement." A smart back-handed blow this, struck at his own masters.

*An attempt, in the published blue-book, was made to conceal the fact of the receipt of these letters, and to make it appear that Burnes acted entirely upon his own responsibility. The genuine letter commenced with the following words—"I have now the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your (the Political Secretary's) letters of the 25th of November and 2nd of December last, which reached me about the same time and conveyed the views of the right honorable the Governor-General regarding the overtures made by Dost Mahommed, &c., &c." In the published version the letter commences with the word, "regarding."

gladly compass his destruction ; that with Súltañ Mahommed at Peshawur he would not be safe for a day, and that he would rather see it directly in the hands of the Sikhs, than in the hands of an enemy ever ready to intrigue with the Sikhs for his overthrow. "Peshawur," said he, "has been conquered by the Sikhs ; it belongs to them ; they may give it to whomsoever they please ; if to Súltañ Mahommed Khan, they place it in the hands of one, who is bent on injuring me, and I cannot therefore acknowledge any degree of gratitude for your interference, or take upon myself to render services in return,"—and then follow these mollifying sentences which it was a gross injustice to Dost Mahommed to omit from the published letter : "I admit" (said the Amír), "that it will be highly beneficial in many ways to see the Sikhs once more eastward of the Indus, but I still can dispense with none of my troops or relax in my precautionary measures, as equal if not greater anxieties will attach to me—I have unbosomed myself to you, and laid bare, without any suppression, my difficulties. I shall bear in lively remembrance the intended good offices of the British Government, and I shall deplore that my interest did not permit me to accept that which was tendered in a spirit so friendly, but which to me and my advisers has only seemed hastening my ruin. To Runjít Singh your interference is beneficial, as he finds himself involved in serious difficulties by the possession of Peshawur, and he is too glad of your good offices to escape from a place which is a burthen to his finances, but by that escape a debt of gratitude is exactible from him and not from me ; and if your government will look into this matter, they will soon discover my opinions to be far from groundless, and my conclusions the only safe policy I can pursue." The Dost having ceased to speak, Jubbar Khan followed, proposing a compromise. He suggested that it might be found advisable to deliver over Peshawur conjointly to the Amír and Súltañ Mahommed,—Runjít Singh receiving from the two chiefs the value which he might fix as the terms of surrender. The Dost observed that such an arrangement* would remove his fears, and that

*Burnes commenting on the Nawab's proposal observes. "The observations coming from the Nawab Jubbar Khan are the more remarkable since he is devoted to his brother, Súltañ Mahommed Khan, and would rejoice to see him restored to Peshawur. They consequently carried with me a conviction that the Amír's fears are not groundless, and that they will deserve all due consideration before Government entered upon any measures for attaching this chief to its interests." This passage was, of course, suppressed.

if he appointed Jubbar Khan to represent him at Peshawur, he would be sure of an equitable adjustment of affairs. To this Burnes replied in general terms, that the withdrawal of the Sikhs to the eastward of the Indus would be a vast benefit to the Affghan nation, and asked Dost Mahommed whether he would rather see the Sikhs or Súlтан Mahommed in Peshawur. The Amír replied that the question put in plain words was a startling one ; but he asked in return, if that could be considered beneficial to the Affghan nation, which was especially injurious to him who possessed the largest share of sovereignty in Affghanistan? He then observed, in evidence of the truth of his assertions relative to the dangers to which he was exposed from the supremacy of Súlтан Mahommed at Peshawur, "Súlтан Mahommed Khan has just sent an agent to the ex-king at Lúdíanah (Sah Sújah) to offer his services to combine against me and to secure my brothers at Kandahar, in support of this coalition"—"what security," asked the Amír, "am I to receive against a recurrence of such practices?" He then continued, "as for the ex-king himself, I fear him not ; he has been too often worsted to make head, unless he has aid from the British Government, which I am now pretty certain he will never receive. If my brother at Peshawur, however, under a promise of being made his minister, and assisted with Sikh agents and money, appears in the field, I may find that in expressing my satisfaction at his restoration to Peshawur, I have been placing a snake in my bosom—and I may then, when too late, lament that I did not let the Sikhs do their worst, instead of replacing them by another description of "enemies." All this was carefully erased from the letter before it was allowed to form a part of the published blue-book ; and the following just observations of Captain Burnes shared no better fate : "It has appeared to me that they" (the opinions and views of the ruler of Kabul) "call for much deliberation. It will be seen that the chief is not bent on possessing Peshawur, or on gratifying an enmity towards his brothers, but simply pursuing the worldly maxim of securing himself from injury ; the arguments which he has adduced seem deserving of every consideration, and the more so, when an avowed partisan of Súlтан Mahommed does not deny the justice of the Amír's objection ;" and further on our agent observes (we omit many suppressed passages, which if we were writing a memoir of Alexander Burnes, we should be bound to insert), "since arriving here, I have seen an agent of Persia with alluring promises, after penetrating as far as

"Kandahar, compelled to quit the country, because no one has sent to invite him to Kabul. Following him, an agent of Russia with letters highly complimentary and promises more than substantial, has experienced no more civility than is due by the laws of hospitality and nations. It may be urged by some that the offers of one or both were fallacious, but such a *dictum* is certainly premature; the Amír of Kabul has sought no aid in his arguments from such offers, but declared that his interests are bound up in an alliance with the British Government, which he never will desert as long as there is a hope of securing one." There is much more in a similar strain—much more cancelled from the published correspondence—which we are compelled, from such an article as this, reluctantly to omit. The system of garbling the official correspondence of public men—sending the letters of a statesman or diplomatist into the world mutilated, emasculated—the very pith and substance of them cut out by the unsparing hand of the State-anatomist—cannot be too severely reprehended. The dishonesty by which lie upon lie, a century of lies, is palmed upon the world, has not one redeeming feature. If public men are, without reprehension, to be permitted to lie in the face of nations—wilfully, elaborately, and maliciously to bear false witness against their neighbours, what hope is there for private veracity? In the case before us the *suppressio veri* is virtually the *assertio falsi*. The character of Dost Mahommed has been lied away; the character of Burnes has been lied away. Both, by the mutilation of the correspondence of the latter, have been fearfully misrepresented—both have been set forth as doing what they did not, and omitting to do what they did. We care not whose knife—whose hand did the work of mutilation. We deal with principles, not with persons—and have no party ends to serve. The cause of truth must be upheld. Official documents are the sheet-anchors of historians—the last courts of appeal to which the public resort. If these documents are tampered with—if they are made to declare historical figments, the grave of truth is dug, and there is seldom a resurrection. It is not always that an afflicted parent is ready to step forward in behalf of an injured child, and lay a memorial at the feet of his sovereign, exposing the cruelty, by which an honorable man has been represented, in State documents, as doing that which was abhorrent to his nature. In most cases, the lie goes down unassailed, and often unsuspected, to posterity; and in place of sober History we have a florid Romance.

But still in spite of the declarations of Burnes that Dost Mahommed had little to hope from the operations of the British Government in the East, the Russian mission made but little progress at Kabul. Alluding to the negotiations of our agent, Vickovich wrote some time afterwards, "all this has occasioned Dost Mahommed Khan to conduct himself very coldly towards me; and then, as he daily converses with Burnes, from my arrival here to the 20th of February I have hardly been two or three times in his presence." The fact is that the Russian mission was scurvily treated up to this time, as we are assured on the concurrent testimony of the British and the Russian agents. But on the 21st of February, letters were received from the Governor-General, stating in the most decisive language, that there was no intention to accede to the propositions of the Amír regarding Peshawur; and then, but not till then, the conduct of Dost Mahommed underwent a change, and the Russian mission began to rise in importance. On the 2nd of March, Jubbar Khan visited Burnes, and a long discussion ensued relative to the intentions of the British Government, which Burnes again explicitly stated! And on the following day, Abdúl Samí Khan waited upon him, and went over nearly the same ground. He alleged Dost Mahommed "had often written to the British Government about his affairs, and in return they replied to him about their own;" and recurred to the expectations which the Dost had formed of receiving aid from the British and rendering service to them in return. Burnes attended to a message that had been sent to him, stating that the Amír would not wait longer than the vernal equinox in the hope of receiving British assistance, after which time he would consider himself at liberty to listen to the overtures of any other power. For this Abdúl Samí Khan apologised; but repeated, in general terms, the demands of the Dost, and the expectations he had formed of coming to a friendly understanding with the British. On the 4th, the Nawab Jubbar Khan again waited on Burnes. The discussion which ensued was much the same as that of the preceding day, with the exception of something very much like a proposition from the Nawab to betray his brother; but on the 5th he again appeared with a string of specific demands dictated by the Amír. "These consisted of a promise to protect Kabul and Kandahar from Persia; of the surrender of Peshawur by Runjít Singh; of the interference of our Government to protect, at that city, those who might return to it from Kabul, supposing it to be restored to Súlтан Mahommed Khan; with several other proposals." Upon this

Burnes with an expression of astonishment declared, that on the part of the British Government he could accede to none of these propositions; and added, that as he saw no hope of a satisfactory adjustment, he should request his dismissal. "The Nawab," said Burnes, "left me in sorrow."

Upon his departure, the British agent sat down and drew up a formal letter to the Amír, requesting leave to depart for Hindustan. In spite of what had taken place, the letter somewhat startled the Amír, who summoned a meeting of his principal advisers, "which lasted till past midnight."* The conference was resumed on the following morning; and about midday Mirza Samí Khan waited on Burnes and invited him to attend the Amír in the Balla Hissar. The Dost was even more gracious and friendly than usual; he expressed his regret that the Governor-General had shewn so little inclination to meet his wishes; but added that he did not even then despair of forming an alliance advantageous both to England and Afghanistan. A long argument then ensued—but it led to nothing. The old ground was travelled over, again and again. Burnes asked for everything he could, but promised nothing, for he had no power to make any concessions; and the meeting, though it ended amicably, was productive of no good results. Burnes took his departure from the Balla Hissar. He might as well have departed from Kabul.

On the 21st of March, the Amír wrote a friendly letter to Lord Auckland, imploring him, in language almost of humi-

* It is probably of this meeting, or one shortly preceding it, of which General Harlan, who has not much more regard for dates than Mohan Lal, speaks in the following passage. We must premise that Harlan had by this time quitted Runjít Singh's service and "taken the shilling" from Dost Mahommed: "The document (Lord Auckland's ultimatum) was handed to me amongst others. I satisfied myself, by the Governor-General's signature, of its authenticity, surveying the contents with extreme surprise and disappointment. Dost Mahommed was mortified, but not terrified The Governor-General's ultimatum was handed round and an embarrassing silence ensued. A few minutes elapsed when Abdúl Samí Khan recalled the party from abstraction..... He proclaimed that the Governor-General's ultimatum left no other alternative than the dismissal of the English agent, for the spirit of the Kuzzilbash party was supercilious and unyielding, though full of duplicity..... Nieb Mahommed Amír Khan Akhund-Zadab openly opposed the Kuzzilbash party and urged many weighty arguments in favor of a pacific settlement of the Amír's relations with the British Government, which had now assumed a position so inauspicious; he concluded his oration with these words, addressing the Amír: "There is no other resource for you but to introduce Mr. Harlan in the negotiations with Mr. Burnes, and he, through his own facilities and wisdom, will arrange a treaty, according to their European usage, for the pacific and advantageous settlement of your affairs, and to this proposition the council unanimously assented." The proposition, it appears, was made to Burnes, but Burnes declined. Harlan says "that he then wrote to the British envoy offering to negotiate upon his own terms;" but Burnes sent "a reply personally friendly," but "evinced a deficiency of knowledge of first principles concerning the rights of independent powers, in political negotiations." Burnes says nothing about this in his official letters. It is not difficult to perceive why.

lity, to "remedy the grievances of the Affghans," to "give them a little encouragement and power." It was the last despairing effort of the Affghan chief to conciliate the good will of the British Government. It failed. The *fiat* had gone forth. The judgment against him was not to be reversed. Other meetings took place—but Burnes knew them to be mere formalities. He remained at Kabul with no hope of bringing matters to a favorable issue, but because it was convenient to remain. He was awaiting the return from Kúndúz of Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood. The month of March passed away and the greater part of April; but these officers did not rejoin the mission, and Burnes determined to depart without them. Accordingly, on the 20th of April, he turned his back upon Kabul.*

The mission had failed. What wonder? It could by no possibility have succeeded. If utter failure had been the great end sought to be accomplished by the mission, the whole business could not have been more cunningly devised. Burnes asked every thing, and promised nothing. He was tied hand and foot; he had no power to treat with Dost Mahommed; all that he could do was to demand on one hand and refuse on the other. He talked about the friendship of the British Government. Dost Mahommed asked for some proof of it, and no proof was forthcoming. The wonder is not that the Amír at last listened to the overtures of others, but that he did not seek other assistance before: no better proof of his earnest desire to cement an alliance with the British Government need be sought for, than that involved in the fact of his extreme reluctance to abandon all hope of assistance from the British and to turn his eyes in another direction. It was not until he was driven to despair by resolute refusals from the quarter whence he looked for aid, that he accepted the offers so freely made to him by other States, and set the seal upon his own destruction. "Our Government," said Burnes, "would 'do nothing'; but the Secretary of the Russian legation came 'with the most direct offers of assistance and money, and as 'I had no power to counteract him by a similar offer, and got 'wiggled for talking of it at a time when it would have been 'merely a dead letter to say Affghanistan was under our protection, I was obliged, of course, to give in.' What better

* Mr. Masson says, that before its departure, the mission had fallen into contempt, and that the assassination of Burnes was talked of; he explains too, what, according to his account, were the real causes of Burnes' departure without his companions—but it does not come within our province to investigate, in this article, Masson's charges against the envoy.

result Lord Auckland could have anticipated, it is hard to say. If the failure of the mission astonished him, he must have been the most sanguine of men.

But we are not about to consider the conduct of the Governor-General of India, but that of the ruler of Kabul. We have endeavored to state, with the utmost fairness, the principal circumstances attending the failure of the British mission under Captain Burnes; and we cannot, upon a deliberate review of all these circumstances, come to a conclusion that there was anything unreasonable—anything that can fairly be interpreted into an indication of hostile feeling—in the conduct of Dost Mahommed. That from the very first he was disappointed, there is no doubt. He had formed exaggerated ideas of the generosity and munificence of the British Government in the East, and doubtless expected great things from the contemplated alliance. The mission had scarcely been a day in Kabul, when the feelings of the Amīr were shocked—the exuberance of his hopes somewhat straitened—and his dignity greatly offended, by the paltry character of the presents of which Burnes was the bearer. No one, ignorant of the childish eagerness with which oriental princes examine the ceremonial gifts presented to them by foreign potentates, and the importance which they attach to the value of these presents as indications of a greater or less degree of friendship and respect on the part of the donor, can appreciate the mortification of Dost Mahommed on discovering that the British Government, of whose immense resources and boundless liberality he had so exalted a notion, had sent him nothing but a few trumpery toys. Burnes had been directed to “procure from Bombay such articles as would be required to be given in presents to the different chiefs.” And it had been characteristically added,—“They ought not to be of a costly nature; but should be chosen particularly with a view to exhibit the superiority of British manufactures.” Accordingly the envoy had provided himself with a pistol and a telescope for Dost Mahommed, and a few trifles for the inmates of the Zenana, such as pins, needles, and play-things.*

* Harlan's account of the reception of these presents is at least amusing, and we see no reason to question its veracity:—“When the English Agent,” he writes, “who visited Kabul in 1837-38 produced his presents for the Amīr's harem (a breach of etiquette most inexcusable in any one pretending to a knowledge of oriental customs) they were distributed by the Sultanah mo'her, and it may be readily conceived that a more onerous duty could not have been imposed upon her ladyship, although the value of these donations was inconsiderable and adapted only to the frivolous tastes of savages, or the wretched fancies of rude, infatuated Africans. They consisted of pins, needles, scissors, penknives, silk-handkerchiefs, toys

Presents, far costlier than these, had been forwarded to Shah Sújah, when the mission under Mountstuart Elphinstone had set out for Affghanistan. The Amír was disappointed. He thought that the niggardliness of the British Government, in this instance, portended no good : nor was he mistaken. He soon found that the intention to give little was manifest in all the proceedings of the mission.

It is said that the Amír asked more than could reasonably be granted—that he had no right to look for the restoration of Peshawur, as that tract of country, on the dismemberment of the Dourani empire, had fallen to the share of Súltan Mahommed. It is very true that the country had once belonged to Súltan Mahommed—but nevertheless, the Amír's arguments were perfectly unanswerable. No one who has read the early portion of this article will doubt for a moment that Dost Mahommed had nothing to expect from the *friendship* of his brother. Súltan Mahommed had shown, by a long course of treachery, that he was prepared at any moment to betray the Amír.* To have established him at Peshawur would have been to have paved the way for the march of Runjít Singh's army to Kabul. So thought Dost Mahommed. Better to submit quietly to the unassisted enmity of the Maharajah, than to have an insidious enemy on the frontier, by whose agency

watches, musical snuff-boxes, &c., all of which were received with inexpressible surprise, and the feeling followed by a sense of disgust, intermingled with mortification and disappointment. Anticipations, a long time entertained, founded on the fact that Dost Mahommed had *conditionally* solicited the advent of a British agent at Kabul and sustained by the Amír's cupidity, kept their expectations alive with the hope of a golden subsidy. His highness was honoured with a pair of pistols and a spy-glass, as though the Governor-General would have suggested to the Amír an allegory of the conservative and offensive symbols of good Government ! Dost Mahommed exclaimed with a "pish," as he threw them down before him and averted his face, "Behold ! I have feasted and honoured this Ferínghee to the extent of "six thousand rupees, and have now a lot of pins and needles and sundry petty toys "to show for my folly ; " and again—"the distribution of the English trifles almost caused an insurrection among the inmates of the harem. Aga Taj thought her children entitled to choose before all the others, but in this fancy her highness was not gratified, and the disappointment gave rise to many expressions of asperity against the ruling power in her harem. Her little boy got hold of a musical toy called an accordion. As a matter of course, he soon managed to put it out of order, and her highness supposing in common with all Asiatics, that a Christian is capable of every science, sent to me with a request to repair it. I regretted the task exceeded my abilities in mechanics. I learnt from this source, the child of the princess royal, the ridicule and disgust which the English diplomacy and munificence excited in the minds of the ladies was general in the Amír's family, and did more to lessen the agent's ascendancy at the court of Kabul than can easily be imagined by those who are unacquainted with the potency of back-stair influence in an oriental court." There may be some exaggeration in all this—but we do not doubt that it is substantially true.

* Burnes spoke of Súltan Mahommed as "a very good man, but incapable of acting for himself ; and even alluded to his elevation to the chiefship of Kabul, as one course which might be pursued by the British Government on the rupture with Dost Mahommed "a very good man, indeed."

Runjít Singh might have accomplished that which he could not have achieved alone. It was mockery to talk to the Amír about Súltan Mahommed. He had nothing to look for from that quarter but the blackest perfidy—the most unrelenting hostility. As to the *claims* of Súltan Mahommed, the Súltan had sacrificed them by his own misconduct. Had he been true to his brother, had he been true to himself, he might have retained possession of his principality. Treachery on the part of Súltan Mahommed, treachery on the part of Runjít Singh, had lost Peshawur to the Affghans. It was the personal energy—the martial prowess of Dost Mahommed that had secured the supremacy of the Barukzyes in Affghanistan; and as Súltan Mahommed Khan wanted the ability or the honesty to hold his own at Peshawur, it was but natural and fitting that the chief of the Barukzyes should endeavour to enter into arrangements better calculated to preserve the integrity of the Affghan frontier. He desired, in the first instance, the absolute possession of Peshawur on his own account. He subsequently consented to hold it in vassalage to Runjít Singh. Had the British Government undertaken to effect an amicable arrangement between the Amír and the Maharajah (and such an arrangement might have been effected to the entire satisfaction of both parties), there is no room to doubt that Dost Mahommed would have rejected all overtures from the Westward, and proved to us a firm and faithful ally. But instead of this we offered him nothing but our sympathy, and Dost Mahommed, with all respect for the British Government, looked for something a little more substantial. That his conduct throughout the long negotiations with Burnes, was characterised by an entire singleness of purpose and straightforwardness of action, we do not take upon ourselves to assert; but we may with truth aver, that it evinced somewhat less than the ordinary amount of Affghan duplicity—somewhat less, indeed, than the ordinary amount of diplomatic chicanery and deceit. Singleness and straightforwardness do not flourish in the near neighbourhood either of Eastern or Western diplomacy, and perhaps it is not wise, on our own account, to look too closely into these matters. We doubt whether any Eastern potentate ever negotiated with greater sincerity and good faith than did Dost Mahommed upon this occasion; and if we can detect a flaw here and there, we ought not on that account, to condemn the general conduct of the man, but considering the school in which he had been educated, highly extol his freedom from the besetting vices of the country, when we see that his errors were few when they might have

been legion. The wonder is that he acted so honorably—that he was so sincere, so straightforward, so patient, and so moderate. He might have possessed all these qualities in much scantier measure, and yet have been a very respectable Affghan.

Burnes went, and Vickovich who had risen greatly in favor, soon took his departure for Herat, promising every thing that Dost Mahommed wanted—engaging to furnish money to the Barukzye chiefs, and undertaking to propitiate Runjit Singh. The Russian quitted Kabul, accompanied by Sirdar Mehír Díl Khan (who some time previously had arrived at Kabul with the object of winning over the Amír to the Persian alliance), and one Abú Khan, Barukzye, a confidential friend of Dost Mahommed, and on the present occasion, his representative. It had been arranged that Azim Khan, the Dost's son, accompanied by the minister Samí Khan, should be despatched to the Shah; but this arrangement being set aside in consequence of the scruples of the Mirza, Abú Khan was despatched in their place. There were now no half measures to be pursued. Dost Mahommed had flung himself into the arms of Persia.

Vickovich was received with all honour at Kandahar. A treaty between the Barukzye brothers and the Shah was drawn up and signed by the latter. The envoy sent it back to the Sirdars, saying, "Mahommed Shah has promised to give you the possession of Herat, I sincerely tell you that you will also get Ghorian, on my account, from the Shah... When Mahommed Omar Khan arrives here, I will ask the Shah to quit Herat, and I will remain here with 12,000 troops, and when you join, we will take Herat, which will afterwards be delivered to you,"—magnificent promises truly, and most refreshing to the souls of the Kandahar Sirdars. The letter was sent on to Dost Mahommed, but it did not fill the heart of the Amír with an equal measure of delight. The Russian alliance was unpopular at Kabul. It had "ruined him in the eyes of all Mahommedans." A crisis, too, was at hand. Intelligence had reached the capital to the effect that not only was the friendship of the British Government irrecoverably lost, but that an expedition was about to be equipped in the Company's dominions with the avowed object of entering Affghanistan, and placing Shah Sújah-úl-Múlík on the throne which he had before endeavoured to regain.

The intelligence alarmed the Amír. He was scarcely prepared for such a prompt manifestation of the displeasure of the British Government. He had not believed that it would at once assume so practical and so terrible a shape: clearly now before

him rose up, in all their dread proportions, the dangers which threatened his political existence. He saw at once that he had "played the fool and erred exceedingly," that a few thousand ducats from the Russians and the promise of a letter to Runjít Singh, were but trifles to weigh against an evil of such magnitude as a British army of invasion. But it was too late to repent—idle to revert with self-reproach to the past. It was left for him now to provide for the future. He began at once to strengthen the Balla Hissar and to repair the defences of Ghuzni. Money was required to provide means of resistance ; to raise it, he increased the burthen of taxation, which already pressed severely upon the inhabitants of the Kohistan, and in so doing lost a further instalment of his now waning popularity.

Ample time was permitted to the Amír to organise his plans of resistance. He, at least, was not startled by a sudden incursion of hostile troops into his dominions. With such formidable natural defences and abundant time to strengthen to any extent his artificial ones, he might have bidden defiance to the Suddozye Prince, backed by the whole British army. But one thing was wanting. The nationality of the Affghans seemed to be almost extinct. There was no union among the Barukzyc brothers. There was scarcely a chief in the country who was not prepared to sell his birth-right for a mess of pottage. Dost Mahommed had, indeed, long ceased to look for any effectual support from the other sons of Sarfraz Khan ; he now trusted to his own. It had for some time been his policy to supersede, as far as was possible, the influence of his brothers by putting forward his sons. Afzul Khan and Akbar Khan had done good service at Jamrud*. They had early evinced the possession of no small share of the military prowess and personal energy of their father. To them and to Hyder Khan he now entrusted the command of his troops. It was a perilous game that he was involved in, but he did not despair.

From the dust of Lú dianah rose Shah Sújah—the pensioned exile—the hopeless fugitive—the man of many reverses, now suddenly to become a king ; the signer of treaties, the favored ally of the British Government. In circumstances

* Mohan Lal says, that Afzul Khan really did the work, and Akbar Khan claimed the credit. "Since that period" (the battle of Jamrud), he writes, "the eldest son of the Amír. Mahommed Afzul Khan, with other heroes of the family, is very much disheartened. No feeling of true regard has since existed between the father and these sons, and Akbar Khan continues gaining the strength and favor of the Amír"... He exalts Afzul Khan, in other passages, and lowers Mahommed Khan—but we can scarcely regard Mohan Lal as an unprejudiced witness.

how changed—in character how unchanged ! Surrounded by an army of his own, which had sprung up as though by magic, supported by a brilliant force of well-disciplined European troops, and attended by a cluster of the most distinguished European diplomatists in India, the mendicant of yesterday re-entered his old dominions ; and as the battle was to be fought *for* him and not *by* him, he was full of confidence and courage. It is no part of the task which we have set ourselves, to describe the operations of the army of the Indus, or to discuss the policy of the expedition. In the month of July 1839, the Suddozye prince and the British army were before Ghuzni. Hyder Khan commanded the garrison. Afzul Khan, with his detachment, was in the neighbourhood. Akbar Khan had been despatched to contest the passage of the Khybur with Timour Shah ; and the Amír himself had determined, with his guns and his principal supporters, to take up his position on the road between Ghuzni and Kabul, and fling himself upon the advancing columns of the enemy, if they ever penetrated so far into his country.

The fall of Ghuzni—a fortress hitherto deemed impregnable—astounded Dost Mahommed and his sons, and struck dismay into their souls. Afzul Khan, who was prepared to fall upon our troops had they been repulsed before Ghuzni, found to his wonderment, that the British colors had been planted on the summit of the citadel ; and whatever may be the amount of that “ sound judgment and laudable quality of heroism,” of which Mohan Lal says he is so abundantly possessed, he cut no very distinguished figure upon the present occasion, but sought safety in flight. Abandoning his elephants and the whole of his camp equipage, which fell as booty into the hands of Shah Sujah, the Prince fled towards Kabul. His father greatly incensed, sent to order his immediate halt, and “ peremptorily refused to receive him.”* Dost Mahommed appears never to have forgiven this failure at a critical time.

In little more than four-and-twenty hours after the fall of Ghuzni, intelligence of the event reached the camp of the Amír. He at once assembled his chiefs, spoke of the defection of some of his people, expressed his apprehension that others were about to desert him, and declared his conviction that, without the aid of treachery, Ghuzni could not have fallen before the Feringhis. He then called upon all present who wavered in their loyalty, at once to withdraw from his presence, that he might know the extent of his resources and not rely upon

* Outlam.

the specious friendship of men who would forsake him at a critical moment. All protested their fidelity. A council was held and the result was, that the Nawab Jubbar Khan was despatched to the British camp* to treat with Shah Sújah and his allies. The Nawab mounted his horse and rode with unaccustomed rapidity to Ghuzni. There he was well received both by the Shah and the British mission. But his exertions were utterly fruitless. He tendered on the part of the Amír submission to the Suddozye prince, but claimed, on part of the brother of Futeh Khan, the hereditary office of Wuzír, which had been held so long and so ably by the Barukzyes. The claim was at once rejected, and the mockery of an "honorable asylum" in the British dominions offered in its stead. Jubbar Khan spoke out plainly and bluntly like an honest man. His brother had no ambition to surrender his freedom and become a prisoner on the bounty of the British Government. Had his cause been far more hopeless than it was, Dost Mahommed would have rather flung himself upon the British bayonets than upon the protection of the Feringhís. Jubbar Khan then frankly stating his own determination to follow the fortunes of his brother, requested and received his dismissal.

The Nawab returned to the Amír's camp. All hope of negotiation was now at an end, and Dost Mahommed, with resolution worthy of a better fate, marched out to dispute the progress of the invaders. At the head of an army, in which the seeds of dissolution had already been sown, he moved down upon Urghundi. There he drew up his troops and parked his guns; but it was not on this ground that he had determined to give the Feringhí battle. The last stand was to have been made at Maidan, on the Kabul river—a spot, the natural advantages of which would have been greatly in his favor. But the battle was never fought. At Urghundi it became too manifest that there was treachery in his camp. The venal Kuzzilbashes were fast deserting his standard. There was scarcely a true man left in his ranks. Hadjí Khan Khakur, on whom he had placed great reliance, had gone over to the enemy, and others were fast following his example. This was the crisis of his fate. He looked around him and saw only perfidy on the right hand and on the left. He felt equal to the occasion, but thus deserted, what could he do? Never had the nobility of his nature shone forth more truly and more lus-

*Whether this step was taken by Dost Mahommed on his own account, or whether it was recommended or agreed to by his principal partisans, does not very appear.

trously. In the hour of adversity, when all were false, he was true to his own manhood. Into the midst of his own perfidious troops he rode, with the Koran in his hand, and there called upon his followers, in the names of God and the Prophet, not to forget that they were true Mahommedans—not to disgrace their names and to dishonor their religion, by rushing into the arms of one who had filled the country with infidels and blasphemers. He besought them to make one stand, like brave men and true believers, to rally round the standard of the Commander of the Faithful; to beat back the invading Feringhís or die in the glorious attempt. He then reminded them of his own claims on their fidelity: "You have eaten my salt," he said, "these thirteen years. If, as is too plain, you are resolved to seek a new master, grant me but one favor in requital for that long period of maintenance and kindness—enable me to die with honour. Stand by the brother of Futteh Khan, whilst he executes one last charge against the cavalry of these Feringhí dogs; in that onset he will fall; then go and make your own terms with Shah Sújah."* The noble spirit-stirring appeal was vainly uttered: few responded to it. There was scarcely a true heart left. With despairing eyes he looked around upon his recreant followers. He saw that there was no hope of winning them back to their old allegiance; he felt that he was surrounded by traitors and cowards, who were willing to abandon him to his fate. It was idle to struggle against his destiny; the first bitter pang was over, he reassumed his serenity of demeanour, and addressing himself to the Kuzzilbashes, formally gave them their discharge. He then dismissed all who were inclined to purchase safety by tendering allegiance to the Shah, and with a small handful of followers, leaving his guns still in position, turned his horse's head towards the regions of the Hindú Kúsh.†

It was on the evening of the 2nd of August that he com-

* Havelock.

† The guns were found in position when the British troops reached Urghundi. "Onward," says Captain Havelock, "moved the force, and an hour had not elapsed since the day broke, when it came full upon the abandoned ordinance of the fallen Baukzye. Twenty-two pieces of various calibre, but generally good guns, on field carriages, superior to those generally seen in the armies of Asiatic princes, were parked in a circle in the Amír's late position. Two more were placed in battery in the village of Urghundi, at the foot of the hills. . . . The route by which we had advanced, was flanked by a deep impracticable ravine, on which the Affghan left would have rested; there their artillery had been parked, and would probably from this point have swept the open plain, and searched the narrow defile by which we would have debouched upon. Their front was open for the exertions of a bold and active cavalry, and here the Amír might at least have died with honour." But all this is mere speculation. It now appears that the Amír had no intention of making a stand at Urghundi.

menced his flight. A party from the British camp, commanded by Captain Outram and officered by a little band of dashing soldiers and bold riders, was soon in rapid pursuit. Hadji Khan Khakur, the apostate chief, rode with them. He had undertaken to betray his master. The rest is well known. The treachery which we had purchased for so many pieces of gold, was retributively turned against us. We reaped as we had sown; and Dost Mahommed escaped. Dost Mahommed crossed the Hindú Kúsh, and for a while fortune seemed to favor him. The Wullí of Kúlúm, who a little time before, had been at war with the Amír, now forgot all old animosities, and received the fugitive monarch with friendship and hospitality. To counteract this movement in the Usbeg country, a detachment of British troops was despatched to Bamecan. The operations of this little force had the effect ere long of driving the Amír out of the friendly country in which he had taken up his abode, and reducing him to the condition of a fugitive, more hopeless and forlorn than before he had thrown himself upon the protection of the Wullí. In the valley of Syghan, there is a fort called Sar-i-sung. It was held by one Mahommed Ali Beg, a chief who had given in his adhesion to Shah Sújah. It was essential to the safety of the Bamecan detachment that this fort should be held by a friend. Assisted by the Wullí of Kúlúm, one Khilich Beg laid siege to the fort. It had been arranged then, in the event of the capture of the place which had been calculated upon with some confidence, that one of Dost Mahommed's followers who was in the camp of the besiegers, should be appointed Governor of the place in the name of the Amír. This could not be permitted. A detachment was sent out from the British camp to raise the siege; Golaum Beg (the Wullí's son) and Khilich Beg fled, and the Usbeg force was completely broken up. The effects of this movement were most advantageous to British interests. Not only did it open the communications of the British force with Türkistan, but had a perceptible and immediate effect upon the fortunes of Dost Mahommed. "Dost Mahommed's star," writes an intelligent officer of the Bamecan detachment, "which had for a time shone forth was again dimmed by a cloud. His fortune waned, and the natural consequence was, that of those who followed the unfortunate monarch into exile, many now deserted him in his utmost need; his funds failed fast, and the ex-Amír was forced to grant a discharge to those of his followers who demanded it. During the month of November, many of these with their wives and families passed

"through Bameean on their way to Kabul.... They were "reduced to the most lamentable plight. The Amír had no "money and could not support so many dependants; they were "therefore obliged to resort to the sale of horses and other "property to procure the means of subsistence for themselves "and families. They remained with him for some time, hoping "that fortune would wear a more favorable aspect; but "Golaum Beg's unsuccessful expedition to Syghan dissipated "any bright visions which might have been conjured up; and "Dost Mahommed himself, now helpless and dispirited, gave "to many a written discharge under his own seal, and bade "them seek their livelihood elsewhere."*

What followed we shall do well to narrate in the words of the same able and accurate writer;—"I have said that the hopes "of a brighter fortune which this unhappy prince at one time "cherished, were rudely frustrated by the intelligence of "Golaum Beg's disaster, and the beneficial workings of Dr. "Lord's vigorous policy were fully developed. It is true that "the evil was merely averted; but as he could not possibly "have foreseen the events which afterwards rendered all the "advantage previously gained nugatory, the praise due to "him for having succeeded in driving the Amír from the "Southern banks of the Oxus, should not be withheld. Des- "pair was largely infused among the followers of the fugitive "monarch, and he himself, too, on whom care had laid its "heavy hand, no doubt shared in this feeling, and suffered "some anxiety to steal upon him, when he heard of the sudden "blow struck by the Feringhís, and knew not what more might "follow. He no longer felt himself secure, and almost imme- "diately prepared for flight towards Persia, where he felt sure "of a favourable reception, his mother being a native of that "country; but day by day he delayed his departure, perhaps "with a lingering hope that something advantageous might "yet occur to prevent the necessity of so long a journey,— "perhaps through financial difficulties; but, at length he set "out accompanied by his sons and his brother, the Nawab "Jubbar Khan; his journey, poor man, did not end in the way "which he had anticipated. I never heard the exact route by "which he was proceeding, but he must have passed within a "short distance of Balkh; for the Governor of that place, "which is subject to the rule of Bokhara, sent him a message,

* From a series of papers entitled "the British on the Hindú-Kúsh," published originally in the *Bengal Hurkaru*, and now quoted from Stocqueler's "Memorials of Affghanistan."

“requesting him to give him a meeting, as he had some proposals to make to him on the part of the Amír-úl-Múmu-
• mín.

“Dost Mahommed sent his brother the Nawab to him to hear what these proposals might be; but the Governor of Balkh laid hold upon the envoy, and declared that he would not free him until the Amír in person came. Accordingly the ex-chief went to procure the liberation of his brother, and when he arrived at that once famous, but now insignificant city, he found himself little less than a prisoner: Júbbar Khan was released, but the dethroned monarch was informed that the king of Bokhara desired his presence. Perfectly helpless, he could not but accede, and perhaps at the time he entertained hopes of a friendly reception. The Nawab returned to Kúlúm with his own and the Dost's family, while the other, accompanied by the young Khans, Akbar and Afzul, repaired to Bokhara. There, instead of meeting with the reception which first reports led us to believe awaited him, the whole party were thrown into dungeons, and thus did Dost Mahommed, in fleeing from the British, who would have proved then, as now, kind hosts rather than enemies, become dependent on the caprices of a tyrant.”

For a while the Amír and his sons were condemned to taste in all its bitterness, the misery of close confinement in the city of Bokhara. We know how the Amír of this place is wont to treat his Christian prisoners. His Mahomedan captives, whom he at first pretended to receive as guests, were dealt with somewhat more leniently—but the natural ferocity of the man was not to be kept down; and Dost Mahommed nearly became the victim of a treacherous murder. Baffled in this attempt on the life of his prisoners, and not daring openly to slay them, he kept them for a time under strict surveillance, forbidding them even to repair to *mosque*. This inhospitable treatment seems to have called forth a remonstrance from the Shah of Persia, in consequence of which greater liberty was allowed to the unfortunate princes—a relaxation of which they availed themselves to make their escape. Many romantic incidents are reported in connexion with this flight from Bokhara. The horse on which the Dost fled, being incapable of proceeding further, its rider transferred himself to a caravan which he chanced to overtake, and escaped detection only by dyeing his beard with ink. The Wallí of Kúlúm was delighted to welcome him again.

It was not long before the Amír again found himself at the head of a considerable force. His family, with the exception of the two sons who had shared his captivity in Bokhara, were

in the hands of the British. He knew the danger of his determined course; and when reminded that his wives and children were in our power, sorrowfully replied, "I have no family; I have buried by wives and children." As the Usbek fighting men flocked to the standards of Dost Mahommed and the Wallí of Kúlúm, the hopes of the former seemed to rise, and his determination to strike a vigorous blow for the recovery of his lost empire, gathered strength and consistency. To have cut upon the Bameean detachment, and emerging from the Hindú Kúsh, to have appeared on the plains below flushed with victory, raising the old war-cry in the name of the Prophet, and profiting by the notorious unpopularity of Shah Sújah in that part of the country, would have been a mighty achievement—one which would have rendered easy his triumphant progress to the very walls of the capital. He determined to make the effort, and in the month of September advanced upon Bameean, with a force of six or eight thousand men. To strengthen the British position, a reinforcement consisting of some details of irregular horse and a native infantry regiment, under Colonel Dennie, an officer of approved gallantry and skill, who had led the storming party at Ghuzní, was by this time on its way from Kabul. On the 30th August, a party of Usbegs, headed by Afzul Khan the eldest son of the Amír, advanced upon Bafgah, one of the British outposts, but was repulsed by the gallant little Gúrkah regiment and a party of Affghan horse. It was necessary, however, to withdraw the British detachment from this isolated post, and to fall back upon Syghan. On their way, one of the Shah's infantry regiments deserted its colors, and went over in a body to the enemy. This disaster filled the Amír with renewed confidence and he pushed on to attack the British position at Bameean, expecting to carry everything before him. On the 18th of September he came up with a portion of our force under Brigadier Dennie, which was advancing to Syghan to meet him. The Brigadier had only two guns, and not more than a third of his force; but with such terrible effect did these two guns* play upon the advancing columns of the enemy, and such was the steady gallantry of all arms, that the Affghan force lost heart and fled before the handful of Hindustani soldiers. The Dost, the Wallí and Afzul Khan escaped, leaving their camp equipage, their kettle-drums, their ammunition and their only gun upon the field. They "owed their safety to the fleetness of their horses."

* A howitzer and six pounder, from the 4th troop, 3rd Brigade, under Lieut. Murray Mackenzie.

"I am like a wooden spoon" said Dost Mahommed, "you may throw me hither and thither, but I shall not be hurt."—Having been defeated on the Hindú Kúsh, he now reappeared in the Kohistan. Disaffection was rife throughout that part of the country. The authority of Shah Sújah had been but imperfectly established. More than one fortress was in the hands of a recusant chief, and it was apprehended that the presence of Dost Mahommed would set the whole country in a blaze. Accordingly, at the latter end of September, a force under Sir Robert Sale was sent into the Kohistan. Sir Alexander Burnes accompanied it. It moved in the first instance on Tántandurrah. The fire of our guns soon caused its evacuation and the place was speedily taken. Sale then advanced upon Súlah; the attempt to carry the fort by assault was not successful; but the enemy, dreading a renewal of the attempt, effected their escape, and the bastions of the fort were destroyed. During almost the entire month of October, Dost Mahommed was flitting about from one place to another, to the extreme annoyance of our political officers and the discomfort of our troops. Various were the reports which reached the British camp, of the nature of his movements and the number of his adherents. Many of these were of a most exaggerated character; and, such at one time was the alarm which they seem to have created, and the gloomy forebodings which filled the minds of our political chiefs, that they predicted the necessity of concentrating all our troops in the Balla Hissar, and actually began to think of preparations for a siege. Guns were mounted on the Balla Hissar, so as to overawe the town which it was expected would soon be in a state of rebellion; the guards were everywhere increased, and Sir William Macnaghten talked about having "to submit to the disgrace of being shut up in Kabul for a time."* On the 11th of October it was known that the Dost was in the valley of Ghorebund. A detachment was sent to intercept his progress; but he moved off towards Nijrow, where he assembled his troops, in number it is said about four thousand, and on the 27th broke ground and moved down towards the capital. On the 29th, intelligence of the ex-Amír's movements having reached the British camp, the force under General Sale was sent out to meet the enemy. It was a critical moment. Such was the exasperation produced by the apparent success of the ex-Amír, even upon the kindly nature of the envoy, that he talked about showing no mercy to

* See the correspondence of Sir W. Macnaghten, as quoted in the *Calcutta Review*, No. III.

the man, who was the "author of all the evils now distracting the country." Shah Sújah was eager to "hang the dog;" and even Macnaghten could only say that he would defer the execution till he could hear from Lord Auckland on the subject. This was only the "*furor brevis*"—the temporary insanity of one, who would never so have applied the branding iron to the reputation of the country which it was his first duty to uphold. The generous sympathy, which even at this time was felt throughout the British camp towards the unfortunate Amír, is a national characteristic which it is pleasing to dwell upon—the spectacle of a brave man fighting for his liberty, fighting for the country from which he had been expelled by an invading army, was one which no true English soldier can have contemplated without feelings of admiration and pity.

On the 2nd of November—a day which has obtained a melancholy celebrity in the annals of the English in Afghanistan—the British force came in sight of the enemy. The army of the ex-Amír was posted at Purwundarra, and the Nijrow hills were bristling with the armed population of a hostile country. Dost Mahommed had no intention on that day of giving battle to the English. He was unprepared for the conflict, and would fain have avoided it—but an unforeseen occurrence precipitated the collision. On the first appearance of the British troops, the Dost evacuated the village of Purwundarra and the neighbouring forts, and was moving off to a position on some high ground, commanded to the rearward by a lofty mountain, when, at the suggestion of Dr. Lord, the British cavalry were sent forward to outflank the Affghans. The scene which followed is perhaps one of the most exciting, as it is the most melancholy in the whole Affghan drama. It was a clear bright morning. The yellow foliage of autumn glittered like gold in the broad sunlight. The opposite hills were alive with the enemy; the crisp, fresh air, so bracing and invigorating to the human frame, seemed to breathe confidence and courage. Dost Mahommed who since his defeat at Bameean, had often been heard of, never seen, by the British troops, and who had seemed to elude the grasp of the army of occupation like an *ignis fatuus*, was now actually within their reach. It ought to have been an hour of triumph. The Affghans were on the hills skirting one side of the pass; the British troops were on the opposite declivity. Dost Mahommed saw our cavalry advancing, and from that moment all thought of retreat seems to have been cast away far from him. At the head of a small band of horsemen—strong, sturdy

Affghans, but badly mounted, he prepared to meet his assailants. Beside him rode the bearer of the blue standard, which marked his place in the battle. He pointed to it ; reined in his horse ; then snatching the white Lúngí from his head, stood up in his stirrups uncovered before his followers, and called upon them, in the name of God and the Prophet, to drive the cursed Kaffirs out of the country. "Follow me," he cried aloud, "or I am a lost man." The Affghan horsemen advanced—the rest is painful to relate. The English officers who led our cavalry to the attack, covered themselves with glory. The native troopers fled like sheep. Emboldened by the craven conduct of the British cavalry, the Affghan horsemen rode forward, driving their enemy before them and charging right up to the position of the British, until almost within reach of our guns. The Affghan sabres told with cruel effect upon our mounted men ; Lieutenants Broadfoot and Crispin were cut to pieces ; Dr. Lord was killed by a shot from a neighbouring fort, which tore out his bowels ; Captains Fraser and Ponsonby, whose gallantry has never been surpassed even in the annals of old Roman heroism, still live to show their honorable scars, and to tell the story of that melancholy day.

In front of our columns, the Affghans, flaunting the national standard, stood for some time masters of the field, and then quietly withdrew from the scene of battle. Sir Alexander Burnes, awed by this disaster, wrote to Sir William Macnaghten to say that there was nothing left for the force but to fall back upon Kabul, and implored the envoy there to concentrate all our troops. Sir William received the letter on the 3rd of November, as he was taking his evening ride in the outskirts of the city. His worst forebodings were confirmed ; he little knew what thoughts were stirring in the breast of the ex-Amír. Dost Mahommed, in the very hour of victory, felt that it was hopeless to contend against the power of the British Government. He had too much sagacity not to know that his success at Purwun-darrah must eventually tend, by moving the British to redouble their exertions, rather to hasten than to retard the inevitable day of his final destruction. He quitted the field in no mood of exultation ; with no bright visions of the future before him. True, he had won the last throw, but the issue had ceased to be a matter of speculation. The hour in which, with dignity and grace, he might throw himself upon the protection of his enemies, now seemed to have arrived. He had met the British troops in the field, and at the head of a little band of horsemen, had driven back the cavalry

of the Feringhís—his last charge had been a noble one, he might now retire from the contest without a blot upon his name.

So thought the ex-Amír, as was his wont, taking counsel on his saddle. None knew in the British camp the direction he had taken—none guessed the character of his thoughts. On the day after the victory of Purwun-darrah he was under the walls of Kabul. He had been four-and-twenty hours in the saddle, but betrayed little symptoms of fatigue. A single horseman* attended him. As they approached the residence of the British envoy, they saw an English gentleman returning from his evening ride. The attendant galloped forward to satisfy himself of the identity of the rider, and being assured that the envoy was before him, said that the Amír was at hand. "What Amír?" asked Macnaghten. "Dost Mahommed Khan," was the answer; and presently the Amír himself stood before him. Throwing himself from his horse, Dost Mahommed saluted the envoy, and said he was come to claim his protection. He surrendered his sword to the British chief, but Macnaghten returning it to him, desired the Amír to remount. They then rode together into the mission compound—Dost Mahommed asking many eager questions about his family as they went. A tent having been pitched for his accommodation, he wrote letters to his sons, exhorting them to follow his example and seek the protection of the British Government.

The rest is soon told—a prisoner, but an honored one in the British camp, Dost Mahommed remained some ten days at Kabul, during which time all the leading officers of the garrison paid him the most marked attention. Men, who kept aloof from Shah-Sújah, as one to be religiously avoided, were eager to present themselves before the unfortunate Amír, and to show that they respected him in his fallen fortunes. He received his visitors with courtesy, and conversed with them with freedom. Seated on the ground he desired them to be seated; and seemed to take pleasure in the society of the brave men who did him honor. Captain Nicolson—an officer of distinguished gallantry and great intelligence, whose early death on the banks of the Sutlej his country has to deplore—who had been selected by Sir W. Macnaghten to fill the difficult and delicate office of custodian to the ex-Amír, acted on these occasions as interpreter. It may be doubted, whether a single officer quitted his presence without drawing

* Said to have been Súltan Mahommed Khan.

a comparison between the Amír and the Shah, very much to the disadvantage of the latter.

On the 12th of November 1840, Dost Mahommed, under a strong escort, commenced his progress towards the provinces of India. He appears to have recovered his spirits during the journey, and to have won golden opinions from all the officers who accompanied him.* The progress was a long and tedious one. His final destination was uncertain; but he was permitted, in the first instance, to proceed to Calcutta, where the Governor-General was then residing. A house was taken for him in the suburbs, and his annual pension fixed at two lakhs of rupees. At the Presidency he remained for some time. Lord Auckland treated him with marked kindness and attention; invited him to Government House; escorted him to such of the public institutions as were calculated to interest the Amír; showed him all the "lions" of Calcutta and the suburbs, and took him to his country house at Barrackpore. The ex-chief seemed to have no desire to shun the public gaze. He was constantly to be met in an English barouche on the course, or public drive; and might sometimes at sunset be seen to descend from his carriage and perform, *coram populo*, his evening devotions. The climate of Calcutta did not suit his constitution. He resided amongst us during the most unfavorable season of a not very favorable year; his health suffered, and for a while he was stretched on the bed of sickness—a trial which severely taxed his philosophy. "He condemned," says one who had several opportunities of conversing with him at this time,† "without measure the City of Palaces—but hardly knew how to say enough of the kind politeness and good will which had been evinced towards him by the *sahibs*; not alone the *sahibs*, but their *mehems*—in all of whose manners and expressions he observed kindness and friendship."

In the autumn of 1841, Dost Mahommed, attended by Captain Nicolson, turned his back upon Calcutta. A residence had been provided for him at Lúdianah, where the exiled

* During the halt at Jellalabad, the Dost having expressed a wish to see the Feringhis in their social hours, was invited to the Mess of the European Regiment. After dinner, he was conducted by Capt. Nicolson into the Mess Room, all the officers rising as he entered. He appeared to enjoy the music of the band, and the convivial songs which enlivened the evening—smoked a cheroot, and conversed freely with all who addressed him.

† Mr. Charles Grant, an intelligent young artist, of whose works we have already spoken in this journal. Mr. Grant has published, among other clever sketches of "Oriental Heads," a *livraison* containing portraits of the ex-Amír, Harder Khan, Ukrun Khan, &c., accompanied by some interesting and amusing letter press. The portrait, in the Calcutta edition is not, in respect of fidelity and spirit, behind any of the numerous likenesses of the Amirs, which have appeared in the volumes of Vigne, Burnes, Mohan Lal, &c. &c.

Shah Sújah pompous in his poverty, had dwelt before him. But, as he was proceeding towards the frontier, intelligence of the disastrous outbreak at Kabul—to Dost Mahommed it must have seemed the day of retribution—reached the Upper Provinces of India, and soon made its way to the Presidency. This tidings suggested at once the propriety of a change of route, and Dost Mahommed was escorted to Missúrie. The surveillance exercised over him, now as a matter of precaution, became more strict—stricter than the real circumstances, though not than the seeming exigencies of the case demanded. We believe him to have been guiltless not only of all participation in, or connivance at, the great popular movement for the expulsion of the British from Affghanistan, but wholly ignorant of the storm that was rising. Still, it was necessary that, at such a time, the ex-chief should be closely watched. His escape would have so strengthened the cause of our enemies, that to us it would have been a great national disaster. Of the vigilance that was exercised there was little to complain. But the threats—if ever they were more than threats—to send Dost Mahommed and his family to England as an act of imbecile retaliation, were cruel and unmanly.

The army of retribution, under General Pollock, marched upon Kabul, broke up the forces of Akbar Khan, planted the British colors upon the Balla Hissar, and returned to the provinces of India. Then the Governor-General, Lord Ellenbrough, issued that notable proclamation of the 1st of October, in which he spoke of Dost Mahommed, as a chief “believed to be hostile,” and soon afterwards published the following act of grace, restoring the exiled Amír to his country :—

Secret Department, Simla, 25th October.—“The advance of the British armies to Ghuzni and Kabul, having led to the restoration to freedom of the British prisoners in the hands of the Affghans, Dost Mahommed Khan, his wives and family, and the wife and family of Mahommed Akbar Khan, and many Affghan chiefs, remain in the absolute power of the British Government, without having any means of procuring their liberation.

To this condition of disgrace and danger has Mahommed Akabar Khan reduced his father, and his wife, and his family. and the chiefs his countrymen, by making war upon women, and preferring the continuance of their captivity and suffering for objects connected only with his own safety, to the general exchange of prisoners which was offered by the British Government, and the consequent restoration to liberty of those whose honor and whose happiness should have been most dear to him.

But the British Government is desirous of terminating, at the earliest period, all the evils which have arisen out of the Affghan war : and the Governor-General, enabled by the recovery of the British prisoners who were in the hands of the enemy, to follow the course most in accordance with clemency and humanity, declares that when the British army returning from Affghanistan shall have passed the Indus, all the Affghans now in the

power of the British Government, shall be permitted to return to their country

The Affghan chiefs who are thus released, will, before they pass the Sutlej, present themselves at the durbar* of the Governor-General in his camp at Ferozepore.

The wives of Dost Mahommed Khan and Mahommed Akbar Khan, and all the ladies of the family and household, shall be conducted with all respect to the frontiers of Affghanistan."

Becoming as was this resolution of the British Government to liberate the captive Amír, there was one passage in the above edict which raised a cry of indignation throughout India. To have dragged Dost Mahommed and his sons to the footstool of the Governor-General—to have paraded them at Ferozepore to grace the triumph of the British over his own countrymen, would have been an unmanly and a cruel act—a crowning injury, which would have disgraced the British name, and filled with hatred and contempt the breasts of the Affghan princes. It matters not what induced the Governor-General to abandon so unworthy a design. It was abandoned. Dost Mahommed was permitted to depart in peace. An escort was allowed him: he set forth and turned his back upon the British frontier. At the Court of Sher Singh, in his passage through the Punjab, he was received with kindness and respect. He entered his old dominions. The ravages of the destroying army, which had just quitted Affghanistan, were everywhere too visible as he advanced: but, melancholy as were the sights that greeted him, he at least breathed the air of freedom, and in this there was abundant solace. Of his reception we have no authentic accounts. It appears probable that at the period of his return, the minds of his countrymen were so engrossed with matters peculiarly affecting themselves, either as tribes or individuals—the natural consequences of the devastation which had been committed along the route of the avenging army,—that there was little room in their breasts for any feelings of nationality. He made his way quietly to Kabul, and, if in the midst of no great popular enthusiasm, certainly without anything approaching opposition, took up his abode once more in the Balla Hissar, and received the homage of the people. Since that time his mind has been occupied with the ceaseless intrigues inseparable from an Affghan court—intrigues which it would be unprofitable to narrate in detail, even if authentic materials could be collected. He appears to be weary of the bustle of war, and would, if his turbulent son Mahommed Akbar Khan could be induced to forego the wild delights of

* This was subsequently dispensed with.

ever-recurring excitements, fain repose quietly under the laurels which he earned for himself in early life.

It is said that he is especially desirous to cement an alliance with the "Sirkar Company," and that he is constantly exerting himself to counteract the Anti-British tendencies of his son Akbar Khan.

We have now brought the history of Dost Mahommed's life down to the present time. It has been our object to confine ourselves as closely as possible to pure narrative—condensing within a narrow space the record of the many events of a most eventful career. It is scarcely necessary that we should conclude this notice with a written character of the Amír, as his conduct best reveals what he is. Indeed, it has been said of Dost Mahommed that he has no character at all; and inasmuch as it is made up of inconsistencies, there is some truth in the assertion. The fact is that there is observable throughout his career traces of two separate characters—the natural character of the man, and the character shaped by circumstances. There is scarcely anything which may be said of Dost Mahommed, not to be substantiated by a reference to some incident in his career. He was just and unjust; merciful and cruel; cautious and rash; frank and treacherous. His virtues were his own. There was nothing in the accidents of his position to foster their growth whilst every outward circumstance tended to favor the expansion of opposition qualities. He is to be pitied rather than condemned. As a man he could not have escaped the temptations which beset his path. Often compelled to sin in self-defence—often compelled to heap crime upon crime, or perish in his inactivity—his life was one of almost perpetual warfare—of constant excitation of the passions. It is just that we should bring to the estimate of his character, a clear perception of all these pernicious accidents of position, for he appears never to have sinned in wantonness, but to have loved evil less than good; and, judging by what he was when removed from the destructive influences of unholy strife, it is probable that under a serener sky, and on a less barren soil, his virtues might have elevated him to a high rank among rulers and among men. Compared with his cotemporaries, he towers above them all, in the former if not in the latter capacity; no Affghan prince in the present century has shown himself so fit to govern. In many respects his conduct, at the most favorable epoch of his career, was a model for rulers in all parts of the world; and at the most unfavorable epoch, when the clouds of adversity gathered most thickly over his head, his heroism was of so romantic a character, that history in these

prosaic times can scarcely supply a parallel to it. History, indeed, has never more closely simulated romance, than when recording the remarkable career of this remarkable man.

* * There is much *vraisemblance* in the following passages from General Harlan's book, descriptive of the personal habits of Dost Mahommed, that we are induced to publish them in the form of an appendix to this article :—

"The Amír was not attended by a guard of regular troops, but his personal servants, many of whom were confidential household slaves, came armed into his presence. Every day, except Thursday morning, he sat in public to transact business. Thursday morning was devoted to the bath until ten o'clock; after this hour, those only visited him who were called. He usually employed the time before noon in auditing his domestic affairs in company with his Mirzas or writers. * * * *

Friday was appropriated to the promiscuous access of the populace. On this day, the gateway of his durbar was thrown wide open, and the door-keepers withdrawn. Every one who had a cause to urge, or curiosity to gratify, might come into the presence without impediment. The Amír heard all complaints in person, attended by the Langf. Civil causes were referred to this functionary for judgment, and the sentence was enforced by the Amír. Criminal causes, which were not likely to yield a fine, were also referred to the Langf, to shift from his own shoulders the odium of an onerous act. * * * *

The remainder of the week was employed in the transaction of miscellaneous business. The hours of business were confined to the forenoon. His highness, in common with all the Mahommedans, was an early riser, which custom is necessary to admit of the performance of the prescribed morning prayers. Of the five periods of prayer commanded by the traditional law, the first must be finished before sunrise, otherwise the act becomes "quzah," or "lapsed;" in this event the prayer is unacceptable to the deity, or of no avail; and the consequences attending neglect of religious duty should be deprecated by charitable donation, at least to the provision of a meal for the necessitous. Conscientious persons will perform this penitential hospitality, though the mass of the community are indifferent to the pious injunction. After the conclusion of this first religious duty, which commences the diurnal service and routine of life, he read a few pages in the Koran attended by his Iman. This functionary translated into Persian, or rather expounded in that colloquial dialect, the Arabic of the sacred volume, which the Mussalman holds to be the Word of God. In this employment he would be engaged an hour, more or less, as the task was longer or shorter. At the conclusion of this matin exercise, to which all the faithful who have singular pretensions to piety, are addicted, the chiefs who composed the durbar made their entree promiscuously, and with the simple ceremony of a bow, and the ordinary salutation "Usulam Allai-kúm," touching the forehead as they leaned forward with the inner surface of the four fingers of the right hand, took their seats on the right or left of his highness. They were seated generally according to the rank of each guest. * * * *

The salutation of every one was returned by an audible response, it being amongst the religious injunctions of the faithful, to reply to proffered civility a reciprocal acknowledgment. They are probably just in the esti-

mation of politeness when they ascribe humility and condescension to the courteous. These are qualities which all profess to admire and endeavour to practise, notwithstanding the exclusive bigotry of pure Mahomedanism. My place in durbar was alongside of the Amfr, on the left if the right should be pre-occupied, otherwise on the right. If his brother, the Nawab was there when I entered, he always gave place to me. The Nawabs Jubbar Khan and Mahommed Khan Populzye, whose daughter was married to the heir apparent, and myself, were the only officers who enjoyed the prescriptive right of seating ourselves on the same numed or felt, which his highness occupied. * * *

When recent spring fruit came into season the Amfr frequently breakfasted at nine o'clock, on mulberries or apricots, in which instance he usually abstained from the more solid repast at meridian. * * *

At twelve o'clock, the Prince and the elite retired and slept until two P.M. ; at this hour they arose to perform the second prayer. After his ablutions and toilet, the Amfr egressed from his harem, and mounting his horse, which was in waiting at the gateway, he sallied out upon his evening ride. He had a fondness for fine horses, and generally visited his stud in the afternoon ; but this occupation was more appropriate to the spring, when the brood mares and colts attracted his regard, and participated in his care. In the summer and fall, he luxuriated in the picturesque scenery about the city, from a favourite prospect point ; seated himself, with a few select friends on the bank of a running stream, of which there were several about the vicinity, and enjoyed a cup of tea, or visited some one of the magnificent, ornamental and useful gardens near the suburbs of Kabul, accompanied by a train of musicians. In the spring he viewed his stud daily about three or four P. M. He sat on a terrace made for the purpose, two or three feet high, covered with felts. Here many of his chiefs joined him, who did not usually attend in morning durbar. These were stipendiary lords, and mullahs or priests and familiar friends who enjoyed his confidence ; they passed their time in smoking the cullioon,* desultory conversation, complimentary commendations of the Prince's unique fancy for horses, and admiration of the promising brood of young colts, which were the delight of his highness and favourites of his taste. These companions passed the evening with his highness until he retired. He returned to his Derri Khaneh (place of durbar) at nightfall. Having previously performed the third prayer, he mounted his horse and moved into quarters. The evenings, when the weather permitted, were passed in a beautiful flower garden : we sat on a low terrace illuminated by a large lamp.

During the season of full bloom, the position was surrounded by an invisible and delightful fragrance of the ever wakeful floral nature ; the intoxicating perfume of the rose, the spicy pink breathing of sweetness, and the flood of grateful odour that bathed the senses from the enchanting "Shuhboo."† The genial air of midsummer, tempered by the everlasting Alps of permanent snow near the valley, gratefully clothed our nocturnal hours in a voluptuous mantle of serene repose. The music was there too, fitful, frantic, or pathetic as the feast of reason and the flow of soul invoked its mysterious influence which,

"Softly sweet in Persian measure,
Gently soothed the soul to pleasure."

* Persian water pipe.

† "Or nocturnal odour ;" the July or Jilly flower, that sheds its scent after nightfall, is so called by the Persians.

Kabul, the city of a thousand gardens in those days, was a paradise far removed from the agitating scenes of life, away from the world.

His highness kept very late hours, particularly during the long nights of winter. I have repeatedly sat up with him until three A. M. Dinner was brought after "usser," or the fourth prayer, which shortly followed sunset. The meal, similar to the breakfast, was served sooner or later, generally before eight o'clock, as his appetite suggested, although sometimes deferred until ten o'clock. When this was the case, fresh fruit would be introduced about eight, and the intermediate time was passed by his highness playing several games of chess with Kazi Budder-ü-Dîn, or in conversation. When his highness was engaged at chess, the conversation ceased, and the interlocutors gathered nearest the performers to observe the game and applaud the sagacity he displayed. I never knew him lose a game. The Kazi was always beaten. At the conclusion of each game the science of certain moves was discussed, and a sufficient amount of flattery bestowed on the unrivalled play of his highness.

Notwithstanding, the wily Afghans would aside pass winks and gestures from one to another, and occasionally some one more privileged than the rest, has been heard to taunt the Amîr by hinting that the Kazi played badly intentionally, and lost to flatter him. He took his rallying always in good part, and it is certain that the Kazi was much too complaisant ever to win a game even by chance. These nocturnal parties were conducted with perfect regard to etiquette and good manners. He was fond of listening to the relation of travels, and allusions to history; made frequent inquiries of merchants who were known to visit distant countries, concerning the manners and customs of the people they had seen, the character of the prince, the government, religion, and particularly, geography and topography, for which sciences he seemed to have a strong inclination. He was well acquainted with the Russian military system, and the best accounts obtained with accuracy and illustrative minuteness, I have heard of the destruction of the Janissaries by the last Sûltan of Turkey, was recited to me by the Amîr. He was much addicted to telling stories of his personal adventures; he delighted to talk of himself, was pleased with his own declamation, and vain of his eloquence. If merit is to elicit the reward of praise, he was justly entitled to admiration for the ready command of language and agreeable mode of displaying his talents in colloquial intercourse. Buffoonery never formed a part of his princely amusements, but refinement of moral or purity of design did not always characterise the work of his improvisators. His anecdotes were not unfrequently gross and trivial. Unsophisticated by the arts of intellectuality, he thought that nature unadorned was adorned the most." No event lost by relating any importance in reality, or was obscured by the nomenclature of modesty. He dealt a good deal in sarcasm, and was ever ready to trump his adversary's trick. Ridicule was a weapon that he flourished with considerable effect, and he good-humouredly made himself or his position the subject of serious wit. The demands of his courtiers, or rather the feudal lords represented the communities and constituted the most powerful element of the Government, kept the Amîr always greatly straitened for the resources of present means, and I have heard him make his poverty, which really was an extreme circumspection in providing for the necessities of his civil defence out of his civil list, the source of ridicule."

